FROM KAMPUNG TO CITY:

A SOCIAL HISTORY OF KUCHING MALAYSIA

1820-1970

by

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ABBREVIATIONS

CDN	Chinese Daily News
SAR	Sarawak Administration Report
SG	Sarawak Gazette
SGG	Sarawak Government Gazette
ST	Sarawak Tribune
ST	Sarawak Vanguard
US	Utusan Sarawak

PREFACE

One of the major effects of colonial rule in Southeast Asia was the stimulus given to urban development. For centuries cities had played important roles in the core areas of the region, with most states centered on urban settlements which had mercantile or magico-religious significance. But colonialism intensified the importance and scope of urban life for the Southeast Asian peoples; an interlocking network of ethnically heterogeneous cities, towns, and small trading bazaars emerged to serve the political, administrative, industrial, and economic needs of the colonial regimes. Old settlements were transformed into modern towns and new urban settlements were founded around forts and bays; along rivers, roads, or railroad lines; and adjacent to newly opened mines or plantations. These towns attracted immigrants from abroad--chiefly Chinese and Indians--as well as indigenous trading groups and migrants from nearby rural areas. Rapid urbanization became one of the most significant aspects of modern Southeast Asian history.

Despite the important role played by urban settlements in Southeast Asia, the cities in general and urban societies in particular have generated little interest among scholars. This is particularly true with respect to urban history--a field which has attracted considerably more attention from specialists on India, Sub-Saharan Africa, and Latin America, not to mention Europe and the United States. The few scholars who have devoted their attention to the historical study of individual urban centers in Southeast Asia have generally concentrated on the "primate cities," the major colonial and post-colonial capitals such as Singapore, Manila, and Jakarta which dominated their hinterlands politically, socially, and economically.[1] Several anthropologists and geographers have published short studies that deal with some aspects of urban history in smaller cities, but they are restricted in thematic or chronological scope.[2]

Although an ever-increasing proportion of the Southeast Asian population has been concentrated in urban settlements during the last two centuries, the social dynamics of urban life remain inadequately studied. This is particularly true for the intermediate-sized urban center--the smaller cities and larger towns which have absorbed much of the recent urban growth. Furthermore, many Southeast Asian towns are characterized by what is termed "social and cultural pluralism"--the presence of a wide variety of ethnic groups and subgroups, each with its own

language, religion, occupational specializations and social system. According to some scholars, most notably John Furnivall, these diverse groups have inherently antagonistic interests and outlooks, lack a social consensus, require an outside (usually colonial) force to maintain order, and find a common meeting ground only in the market place.[3] More recent advocates of Furnivall's model have added the criteria of incompatible institutional systems and communal-based political activity.[4] The communal violence which has sometimes characterized Southeast Asian states has usually been attributed to the pluralistic nature of society, yet little work has been done on urban pluralism.

There are many questions that a historical analysis of an urban society can seek to answer: what have been the implications of ethnic heterogeneity for urban political structure? How have various groups influenced one another in the urban setting? Have ethnic groups tended gradually to coalesce or have they remained rigidly separated? What kinds of institutions have given cohesion to different ethnic groups internally and to the heterogeneous urban society as a whole? What has been the importance of subgroups (Chinese speech groups, for example) in a pluralistic environment? Has the urban milieu been conducive to inter-ethnic harmony or has it promoted conflict? What was the impact of the Japanese occupation on urban society? What has been the influence of post-colonial political activity on urban centers that have developed under the tight restraints of colonial rule? To what extent has the plural society model, as elaborated by Furnivall and his followers, accurately described Southeast Asian towns?

Such questions will only begin to be answered after a number of histories of individual Southeast Asian towns have been written and the data from these studies examined comparatively. The following study of the social history of Kuching, an intermediate-sized Southeast Asian town and the capital of the Malaysian state of Sarawak, is offered a s contribution to the general effort. I use the term "social history" in a broad rather than narrow sense, since little attention is accorded to some common themes in the genre such as festivals, family life, or marital patterns. Furthermore, both economic and political structures are discussed in some detail where they relate to the development of Kuching society.

Kuching is the largest town in East Malaysia and the eighth largest urban center in Malaysia; it grew from a small Malay village in the 1820s into a multi-ethnic but predominantly Chinese settlement of about 100,000 by 1970. The selection of a Malaysian city results from the special significance of Malaysia for the social historian interested in social and cultural pluralism as well as urban history. With the exception of the city-state of Singapore, Malaysia is the most heavily urbanized nation and has the highest proportion of immigrant peoples in its population of any Southeast Asian country--Malays only slightly outnumber Chinese and there are large minorities of Indians,

immigrant Indonesians, Dayaks, and others. Most of the urban centers in Malaysia contain highly heterogeneous populations.

Kuching's chief historical deviation from urban patterns in West Malaysia is its legacy of a hundred years of rule by the Brooke rajahs. Beginning in 1841 three successive Englishmen--James Brooke (1841-1868), Charles Brooke (1868-1917), and Charles Vyner Brooke (1917-1941)--governed Sarawak as a private fiefdom, with Kuching as the capital. The Brookes were absolute if generally benevolent rulers, but Sarawak was not technically a colony; during most of the Brooke period England held a Protectorate over Sarawak but had little influence on domestic affairs. The English rajahs, not the British monarchs, were sovereigns. Brooke rule was generally conservative and aimed at protecting the indigenous peoples from the economic and political exploitation which the Brookes believed characterized colonial endeavors elsewhere. For this reason the impact of European control in Sarawak proved, in many respects, less intense than in other parts of Southeast Asia. Nonetheless, Kuching, as the capital and a constantly growing urban settlement, was subject to many of the same influences which affected other urban settlements in the Malay world. In 1946 Sarawak became a British Crown Colony and, in 1963, a state in the Federation of Malaysia.

The literature on Sarawak has been seriously distorted by the tendency of historians to focus primarily on the Brookes and the peculiar nature of their rule. Only recently have historians critically examined Sarawak from the Asia-centric perspective, the best example being Robert Pringle's fine study of the Ibans.[5] The present writer accepts the premise that macro-level (Brooke, colonial, or Malaysian government) political actions and affairs which affected urban life in Kuching should be discussed where relevant. But the emphasis throughout this book is on the people of Kuching, overwhelmingly Asian and only minimally European, and the type of society they produced. Chinese and Malays, as the largest groups, receive the most attention but some consideration is given to Indians, Dayaks, Japanese, Eurasians, resident Europeans, and members of other ethnic groups who played a role in urban society.

Although the study touches upon such aspects of Kuching's social history as demography, residential and occupational patterns, and the development of urban institutions, there is a concentration on five major themes of relevance to urban history in Southeast Asia as a whole. These include the role of the Christian missions and the mission schools in generating cultural change and the formation of new groups; the structure of urban government, particularly the role of indirect rule as an administrative tool in a pluralistic society; the nature of inter-ethnic relations; and the social structure of both the Chinese and Malay communities. Specifically, an attempt is made to determine the role of the speech groups in Kuching Chinese society and the extent of cohesion or factionalism within the Malay community. The final chapter places Kuching in comparative perspective by examining these problems as they have operated in

other Southeast Asian towns and cities for which comparable data has been available.

The field research in Kuching on which this study is based was carried out on two separate occasions, first from November, 1965 to June, 1966, under a field research grant from the East-West Center of the University of Hawaii, and again from October, 1970 to September, 1971, sponsored by a research fellowship from the Comparative World History Program at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. I was able to update some of the material through a brief visit to Kuching in April, 1978. An earlier version of this study was submitted as a dissertation for the Ph.D. in History at the University of Wisconsin. Revision of the manuscript for publication required a substantial reduction in length, including the elimination of most statistical tables and many footnotes in addition to several hundred pages of text. Readers seeking more information on many aspects of Kuching's history are referred to the dissertation, which goes into much greater detail on such subjects as demography, town expansion, leadership, economic history, municipal government, Chinese commerce, political activity, education, voluntary associations, and the Kuching-Bau War.

The sources for the study were primarily documentary, supplemented by personal interviews with knowledgeable residents. Many Kuching residents have a fairly keen sense of history, as settlement has been long and relatively stable, and informants were drawn from all ethnic groups and backgrounds. Information obtained in interviews was used where possible to offset the elite bias of official and other documentary sources, and to augment data in the documentary material. Sometimes written sources were unhelpful and interview material became the major source. Because of the possibly controversial nature of some of the material, the desire of some informants to speak largely off the record, and gleaning of information from more than one person, interview sources are only occasionally cited in the notes.

The major documentary sources include the Sarawak Gazette, the only regular newspaper in the state before World War II (published monthly by the government in English, with some articles in Malay, beginning in 1870); the Sarawak Government Gazette which commenced in 1908 and carried government reports, laws, and statistics; unpublished letters and various government records from the Sarawak Archives; post-war English, Chinese, and Malay-language newspapers and periodicals; visitor's accounts; associational publications; commercial directories; Anglican mission records; and anthropological studies. It should be noted that the documentary record is often incomplete; particularly for the Brooke period, there is a scarcity of statistical data of various kinds, including detailed census, occupational, immigration, marriage, and associational membership records. Such lacunae have made it difficult to treat certain subjects, such as population stability, the bureaucracy, intermarriage, social stratification, and social mobility, in as detailed a manner as

they deserve.

Romanization of Chinese, Malay, and Dayak terms and names presents special problems with the historical record filled with widely differing usages. For Malay and Dayak terms such as imam (religious leader) and tua kampung (village chief), and for Arab/Malay names such as Hashim, one widely used modern spelling has been arbitrarily selected. I also have elected to retain traditional Sarawak Malay spellings for certain terms in order to remain consistent with the historical record and local practice; hence, I use datu rather than datuk for a Malay chief and Kuching rather than Kucing now employed in West Malaysia and Indonesia. Chinese names and terms are more troublesome, for the different speech groups pronounce the same Chinese character in different ways. Kuching Chinese seldom use Mandarin pronunciation so using a Mandarin romanization system such as Wade-Giles will not suffice. Instead, Chinese names and terms are romanized in the way they appear in the original source, unless a generally accepted modern form has come into use.

A great number of people contributed to this project in one way or another, and only a few can be mentioned here. In particular I want to thank Benedict Sandin and Lucas Chin, the then curator and assistant curator of the Sarawak Museum in Kuching, as well as various members of their staff for allowing me complete access to the Sarawak State Archives and for providing facilities, advice, and encouragement. The Comparative World History Program at Wisconsin and the East-West Center at Hawaii generously financed my major field research. John Smail has stimulated my thinking in many ways and contributed a great deal to my understanding of Southeast Asian history. The late Walter Vella first sparked my interest in Sarawak and Southeast Asian history, for which I will be ever grateful. Philip Curtin, Daniel Doeppers, and James Scott, along with Professor Smail, read and criticized earlier drafts of this manuscript and gave much helpful advice. Michael Leigh, Bob Reece, Robert Pringle, Graham Saunders, and Gale Dixon generously provided me with information and advice from their own Sarawak research.

Some of my colleagues at the State University of New York at Buffalo, State University of New York at Stony Brook, University of Bridgeport, and at my current teaching post, University of Wisconsin at Green Bay, have given me important insights; I would particularly single out Tony Galt, Harvey Kaye, and Emil Haney at UWGB, and John Larkin at Buffalo. During the 1977-1978 academic year I taught Sarawak and Sabah history as a visiting Fulbright-Hays professor at the University of Malaya in Kuala Lumpur; I would especially like to thank my graduate and undergraduate students there for giving me much needed feedback on certain aspects of the manuscript. Several of my colleagues there were also helpful, especially Professors Khoo Kay Kim, whose own contributions to Malaysian social history have inspired many young scholars, and Ranjit Singh.

This study is intended as much for the people of Kuching as for the scholarly audience in Southeast Asia and the Western

world. Many people in Kuching were generous and helpful and I owe them a debt of gratitude. In addition to the numerous people who agreed to be interviewed, provided friendship, or cooperated in other ways, I would especially like to thank the Honourable Song Thian Cheok, mayor of Kuching, during my major research sojourn, and two former mayors, the Honourable Dato Ong Kee Hui and the Honourable Dato William Tan, who kindly took time from their busy schedules to talk with me about Kuching's past; Ong Kwan Hin, patriarch of the Ong family; the late Tan Kui Choon, long-time chairman of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce; Eliab Bayang, historian of the Kuching Ibans; Haji Zaitun bin Haji Suhaimi; Abang Muas Abang Safuani and family; Lim Chuan Chian; Fred Black; Nigel Heyward; and Mr. and Mrs. Lo Suan Hian. Part-time research assistants in Kuching, Lee Say Tshin and Haji Awang Waini Awang Kadir, rendered considerable help in the translation of Chinese and Jawi source materials. Finally, and most importantly, I want to express my deep gratitude to my wife Kathy, who served as editor, research assistant, and morale-booster through all phases of the project.

Postscript

This study was originally completed in 1976. The University of Malaya Press had agreed to publish this manuscript, and the first galley proofs were prepared in 1978. At that time I was able to update some of the material to include, in particular, information from the just completed dissertation by Robert Reece.[6] The second galley proofs were printed and corrected in 1980. However, since then, the University of Malaya Press has been subject to reorganization, including suspension of their publishing program. After several years of effort I was finally able to regain control of the manuscript in late 1983. I would like to thank Bill Frederick for helping to arrange publication with Ohio University's monograph series. The text remains as prepared in 1978, except for a few minor corrections and additions, based on recent published research by other scholars. These recent publications have been added to the bibliography. Heavy demands on my time and other scholarly commitments have prevented me from tracing and analyzing Kuching developments since 1970. However, I have added a very brief final section to Chapter IX on contemporary Kuching, based chiefly on a one-week visit to the town in June, 1985, at the conclusion of a one-year Fulbright-sponsored research sojourn in West Malaysia.

Green Bay, Wisconsin
August 28, 1986

Chapter I

FORMATION OF THE PRE-MODERN SETTLEMENT

1820-1841

Kuching is located in the southwestern corner of the modern Malaysian state of Sarawak on the banks of the Sarawak River (see Map 1). The settlement first appeared as a small and relatively unimportant Malay village in the early nineteenth century and did not achieve its modern development as a multi-ethnic urban center until after James Brooke became rajah of Sarawak in 1841. Nonetheless, the pre-Brooke village and the human and geographical environment out of which it grew are important to an understanding of later Kuching, for the modern town took much of its early character from the pre-modern Malay village. Furthermore, Kuching's development reflected in many ways urban patterns already existing in the Northwest Borneo region, for the new settlement conformed in many respects to well-established models.

The Bornean Environment

Kuching's founding and subsequent history can only be understood within the framework of the geographical contours of northwestern Borneo, for the Sarawak River basin constituted part of a larger and closely interrelated ecological and human world defined to a great extent by the natural environment. This world might be defined as stretching from the Sultanate of Brunei in the northeast to the Kapuas River basin in the southwest, in what is now the Indonesian province of Kalimantan Barat (West Borneo). Because the equator bisects this tropical region, the influence of a hot, humid, and rainy climate on human activity has been considerable. The northeast monsoon brings a very heavy rainy season and a dry season that is often wet as well. A common Borneo cliche that "water unites and land divides" helps explain a natural environment characterized by muddy swamps, thick rain forests, majestic mountains, meandering rivers, and a long shallow coastline.

The whole region generally can be divided into three broad geographical zones which, along with the other features, largely dictated the types of human settlements which could be established: a flat coastal plain, a hilly intermediate zone, and

MAP 1. NORTHWESTERN BORNEO C. 1820

interior highlands. Most of the narrow coastal plain consists of mosquito-infested mangrove and nipah (marsh palm) swamp, with peat soil unsuitable for agriculture. Rain forest still covered much of the hilly intermediate zone in the early nineteenth century, and agricultural activity consisted chiefly of shifting cultivation (swidden); later it became the main region for both mining and the growing of such export crops as pepper and rubber. Further inland lies a more pronounced highlands area with an extremely poor soil which gererally has restricted economic activity to nomadic hunting and gathering.

Rivers provided the only transportation and communication linkage between peoples in the three zones before the building of road networks in more recent decades. While some rivers, such as the Kapuas and Rejang, are long and navigable far inland, river systems close to Kuching, such as the Sarawak, Lundu, Sadong, and Samarahan, do not penetrate the interior for great distances but have been important arteries nonetheless. The Sarawak is navigable as far as Kuching for ships up to 2,500 tons. The importance of rivers for transportation resulted in the building of most pre-modern settlements along their banks. When maritime trade increased, major ports developed along the rivers, generally in delta regions or, like Kuching, on the upriver fringes of the coastal swamps. With few exceptions, the shallow seacoast contained no usable deep water harbors and bays and was exposed both to heavy tides and high winds during the northeast monsoon. Riverine locations also provided some protection from seagoing marauders and European frigates, for sandbars which barred entry to large ships and allowed smaller ones to proceed only at high tide protected most river mouths.

The human configuration in the early nineteenth century closely paralleled the geographical configuration.[1] To begin in reverse order, there was the largely Dayak interior. "Dayak" as a name generally is applied to all the non-Muslim indigenous peoples of the island, although in reality the term embraced a number of coherent ethnic groups and subgroups, who spoke a multitude of sometimes related languages and dialects belonging to the Malayo-Polynesian language family. These various groups have little in common other than certain cultural traits and an economic system generally based on shifting cultivation of dry rice. Most Dayak peoples in the nineteenth century lived in longhouses, large dwellings raised on stilts and containing a population of one or two dozen families living in separate apartments. Inter-group rivalry and warfare occurred frequently. The Dayak system of shifting cultivation required moving every few years to new land, and this land was sometimes claimed by another longhouse or ethnic group as part of its territory. Some Dayak groups were habitually aggressive, contributing to a state of tension with rival groups and with non-Dayaks downriver. Living primarily in the intermediate hilly zone, Dayaks constituted a heavy majority of the northwestern Borneo population.

A basically Malayo-Muslim coastal fringe complimented a mostly Dayak interior. For centuries Malayo-Muslim immigrants

from various parts of the archipelago had settled along the coast, particularly Javanese, Minangkabaus from Sumatra, Bugis from Celebes, and Boyanese from the small island of Bawean, north of Surabaya, as well as a small but influential group claiming Arab descent. Malayo-Muslim settlements along the lower reaches of the major rivers gradually developed into riverine trading ports. Newer Muslim immigrants and interior Dayaks who adopted Islam joined the settlements, becoming "Malay." Because of their strategic location at or near the mouths of rivers, the ports could control both the shipping routes along the nearby coast and the trade with the peoples upriver; port rulers made a handsome living from taxes, river tolls, and tribute from various dependents. The founders of these settlements and their descendants became hereditary elites, establishing sultanates and chiefdoms as their form of political organization. In the early nineteenth century there was a string of sultanates along the coastal fringe, the most important being Brunei in the northeast, and Sambas and Pontianak in the western coastal region.

Malayo-Muslim settlers were a highly mobile group and before long migrants moved upriver to establish trading posts located at the confluence of the main river and an important tributary. These trading posts became subsidiary Malay settlements exercising power over the people along the tributary through control of river transport. In effect they constituted small, subordinate, political units, generally operated as appendages of a downriver sultanate, and usually controlled by chiefs appointed by the sultan from among his relatives and supporters. In many cases a governor was an absentee, ruling through the local chiefs who in turn often resented coastal overlordship and sometimes rebelled against it, usually unsuccessfully. Trading post chiefs often married daughters of neighboring Dayak leaders, while other Dayaks joined the settlement, usually as Islamic converts, forming a highly mixed population.

If trading posts normally depended on downriver ports for their political and economic existence, upriver Dayaks relied on trading posts. Malayo-Muslim traders exchanged salt or salt fish, which Dayaks considered absolutely essential, as well as tobacco, bronze utensils and other items, for jungle produce of various types, such as rice and timber. Considerable opportunity existed for traders to put pressure on Dayaks to provide labor and other commodities due to Malay control of salt. In many cases Dayaks were exploited and sometimes even forced into some form of involuntary servitude; the more pliable were made to pay tribute. In both coastal ports and trading posts, Malayo-Muslims worked primarily as urban traders; some traveled as itinerant merchants in the rural districts. In port cities such as Pontianak some European observers considered Bugis to be as commercially proficient as Chinese.[2]

Malayo-Muslim settlement and political control correlated with the expansion of Islam along the coast and into the interior. Islamized Dayaks who, over a period of time, adopted a

Malay cultural, political, and ethnic identity, probably comprised the majority of upriver trading-post Malays, especially among commoners and dependents. It also may have been true for many of the aristocrats. A similar process, perhaps on a lesser scale, occurred in the downriver and coastal ports. Establishment of distinctively "Malay" communities out of mixed Dayak and Malayo-Muslim origins resulted from the virtual necessity for Islamic converts to leave the longhouse and settle in growing Malayo-Muslim settlements. A Dayak Muslim necessarily rejected such common and important Dayak cultural traits as pork-eating, festive drinking, bird omens, female equality, headhunting, and the prohibition against polygamy, all of which were incompatible with Islam.

Once settled in Malayo-Muslim communities, often as a dependent of a chief, a Dayak needed cultural values to replace those of the animistic, forest-centered past. He found these values in the coastal, archipelago, and Islamic customs of the immigrants, who were able to claim leadership because of their longer history of Muslim allegiance, greater sophistication, and claims to aristocratic birth. The Malay trading language brought by the immigrants was also adopted as the lingua franca and, eventually, as the language of the home. At the same time, Dayak influences contributed to the cultural mix, producing a new, local Malay culture distinct in many respects from that in other parts of the Malay world. Such a local culture characterized the Sarawak Malays of what is now southwestern Sarawak.[3]

In addition to Dayaks and Malays, a third group played an important role in northwest Borneo from at least the mid-eighteenth century.[4] Chinese trading junks had been active along the Borneo coast for centuries with Chinese trading and agricultural communities long present in such ports as Brunei, Mampawa, and Sambas. Chinese populations in the west Borneo ports grew considerably in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and most towns had important Chinese quarters. Trading-port Chinese worked primarily in retail trade, exporting, and artisan activities.

Hilly intermediate zones upriver in the basins of the Kapuas, Sambas, Landak, Mampawa, and Selakau rivers in west Borneo contained the majority of Chinese, however. In the mid-eighteenth century, Chinese colonists from Fukien and Kwangtung provinces began opening gold mines in these regions, as well as in a few areas near the coast, under the patronage of Malayo-Muslim chiefs, very much as later Chinese immigrants were to develop the tin industry of western Malaya. Gradually Chinese mining settlements gained considerable autonomy from their increasingly nominal overlords through formation of tightly knit frontier institutions known as kongsis, which began as small unions or partnerships of miners, who held shares in the cooperative venture. Later, as new Chinese joined the community, and as Malay suzerainty waned and inter-group rivalry over territory increased, the kongsis began assuming the function of both local government and secret society. At the same time they amalgamated

with neighboring kongsis to form strong, multifaceted organizations capable of administering Chinese communities and conducting mining operations as well as mercantile and agricultural activities that developed around the mining communities. Later most kongsis amalgamated into even larger federations, controlling many districts and sub-districts of the interior, and often engaging in warfare with rival federations, Malay overlords, and the encroaching Dutch.

Many Chinese merchants and some miners took wives from the surrounding Dayak communities, and over several generations be-came a settled and mixed group well acclimatized to Bornean life but retaining most elements of Chinese culture because of the constant influx of new arrivals from China. A number of sizeable, largely Chinese towns emerged in mining districts. The Chinese population of west Borneo in the 1820s numbered between 30,000 and 50,000. Some of these Chinese or their descendants would eventually settle in Kuching and its surrounding districts.

Chinese immigrating to northwest Borneo represented a number of different speech groups whose ancestral villages were located in the provinces of Kwangtung and Fukien along the South China coast. The speech groups generally originated in particular districts in China, spoke dialects of Chinese that were often mutually unintelligible, and brought with them certain variant social, cultural, and religious practices generally restricted to the areas of South China from which they came. Although the Chinese seemed a cohesive ethnic group to many outsiders, with a common style of dress, physical appearance, written language, and general religious tradition, speech group membership constituted an important point of division among them.

Important Chinese speech groups in northwest Borneo at this period included Hokkiens, Teochius, and Hakkas; there were also a few Cantonese. Hokkiens (sometimes called Fukienese) came originally from the city of Amoy and the surrounding counties in southern Fukien. The Teochius's (C'haochow) area of origin consisted of the seaport of Swatow and nearby districts of northeast Kwangtung. The Cantonese (Kwongfu) home area included the coastal region around Hong Kong and Macao, Pearl River delta, and city of Canton and its surrounding districts. Hokkien and Teochiu were closely related and mutually intelligible dialects, but the distinctive Cantonese language could not be understood by Hokkien or Teochiu speakers.

Hokkiens, Teochius, and Cantonese generally settled in urban areas of northwest Borneo and Southeast Asia, but the Hakkas developed as a predominantly rural group. The Hakka homeland in China included mountainous, less fertile regions of Kwangtung, Fukien, and Kwangsi provinces, and the group traditionally suffered discrimination and ridicule in both China and overseas for maintaining certain cultural traits strikingly different from other southern Chinese. The other South China dialect groups found the Mandarin-based Hakka language unintelligible. Traditional hostility between Hakkas and other speech groups became a continuing feature of Chinese life in northwest

Borneo, particularly since the Hakkas comprised an overwhelming majority in the mining districts, and the predominant group in the kongsis, while other speech groups concentrated in the trading ports.

Europeans provided a final element in this complex socio-political world. The Dutch had been intermittently interested in west Borneo since the beginning of the seventeenth century; in the early nineteenth century, they returned in force and established control throughout the region. By the 1820s the most important west Borneo sultanates, including Pontianak and Sambas, fell under Dutch control. Expanding Dutch influence brought them into inevitable conflict with other Malay sultans and chiefs as well as with the nearly independent Chinese mining communities of the interior. The ensuing periodic warfare resulted in the migration of many Chinese and Malays to the Sarawak River basin over the next few decades. Only Brunei among the major northwest Borneo sultanates remained free of European influence in the early nineteenth century. By the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries British merchants commenced visiting major ports along the northwestern coast.

Northwestern Borneo's population during the early nineteenth century remained overwhelmingly rural in its settlement pattern, but a few well-established urban centers with evolving urban cultures emerged. Since the later social development of Kuching paralleled in many respects that of these earlier towns, a brief examination of a few of these settlements can serve to focus our attention on similar characteristics of Kuching. One of the largest, and perhaps the most important, of the coastal or sub-coastal trading ports was Pontianak, founded by an Arab adventurer in 1772; its strategic position near the mouth of the Kapuas River gave it considerable influence over most of the settlements upriver and along the nearby coast.[5]

Pontianak contained a heterogeneous population whose disparate components generally resided in their own separate neighborhoods: Malay, Chinese, Bugis, and European. Doty and Pohlman estimated the 1838 population at around 15,000, including about 6,000 Malays, 5,000 Bugis, and 3,000 to 4,000 Chinese. Small Arab, Indian, and Dutch communities also existed but few non-Muslim Dayaks lived there. Chinese constituted some twenty to thirty percent of the total population, and within the Chinese group Teochius accounted for about sixty percent, Hakkas thirty percent, and Hokkiens and others ten percent. Hakkas were the most recent arrivals and occupied a separate ward.

Various ethnic groups in Pontianak seem to have had their own political structures, formed their own social institutions, and specialized in particular occupations. Chinese, for example, were governed in a form of indirect rule through their own headmen, with one headman for each of the three dialect groups. Malays and Arabs probably came under the direct authority of the sultan. It is unclear how the Bugis administration operated, but they may have had their own headman. Chinese also maintained their own schools, one operated by Hakkas and the other by

Hokkiens. A certain amount of occupational specialization occurred: Bugis, Chinese, and Arabs all engaged in retail trade but specialized in different products. Chinese apparently predominated among the laborers, mechanics, sugar manufacturers, and many other occupations. Certain common influences, most notably the general use of the Malay language as a lingua franca, alleviated Pontianak's social segmentation. Nonethelessethnicity seemingly served as the major determinant of social life and organizations. Evidence from other trading ports such as Sambas and Mampawa indicates patterns of ethnic composition, residential segregation, and social organization similar to Pontianak.[6]

In addition to ethnically heterogeneous port towns, another type of urban settlement with somewhat different characteristics developed, namely the Chinese mining towns of the interior and coastal regions.[7] Unlike trading ports these towns served primarily as political and economic centers for nearby Chinese mining kongsis and agricultural settlements. The largest of the mining towns, Montrado, differed in many respects from Pontianak, most significantly in ethnic composition; few if any non-Chinese lived in the town. Headquarters for a principle goldmining kongsi, Montrado had a population of about 10,000. Other Chinese towns like Mandor, Singkawang, and Pamangkat constituted variations on this pattern. Chinese mining towns more closely resembled small towns in China in their structure and population than they did the trading ports, with a strongly Chinese cultural environment; Montrado, for example, boasted four Chinese-medium schools.

The local goldmining kongsi usually governed Chinese towns, and the Chinese population was far more homogeneous than in the trading ports, being primarily Hakkas. Chinese kongsis did have close relations with the Dayaks, many of whose villages were situated in the Chinese districts. This close relationship led to a considerable amount of intermarriage between Chinese men and Dayak women, particularly in the towns, where a Dayak spouse brought some economic advantages to a Chinese trader seeking Dayak, as well as Chinese, clientele. No religious barriers prevented Chinese-Dayak unions, unlike the situation with regard to Chinese-Malay marriages in trading ports, where the Islamic religion of Malays, Bugis, and Arabs discouraged intermarriage with pork-eating, Buddhist-Confucianist-Taoist Chinese. Children of Chinese-Dayak unions in the Chinese towns were raised as Chinese, with little knowledge of Malay or other local languages. Although the local-born comprised a mixed Chinese-Dayak group, they retained a basic Chinese cultural orientation.

Northwestern Borneo's urban profile just prior to the founding of the modern town of Kuching included a mixture of types. On the one hand stood the heterogeneous, Malay-governed trading ports, sometimes founded by foreign-born adventurers with ethnically defined residential neighborhoods, indirect rule through leaders of the various communities, a certain amount of occupational specialization, separate social institutions, and Malayo-Muslim commercial activities. Malays seemed to form a

relatively cohesive group, but such Malay-Muslim immigrant groups as the Bugis appear to have retained, at that time at least, their separate identities. Chinese were predominantly Teochius, and to a lesser extent Hokkiens, who kept somewhat aloof from Hakkas, a group that appeared to have gravitated more recently to the trading ports. This reflected the importance of speechgroup particularism. The society which later developed in Kuching, also a downriver trading port, maintained many of these characteristics.

The Chinese towns, on the other hand, remained homogeneous Hakka settlements with a common government and culture, close relations with Dayaks, and mining the commerce as the major activities. A natural tension existed between largely self-governing kongsis centered in towns like Montrado and downriver Malay sultanates located in towns like Pontianak and Sambas, a tension that would be duplicated in Sarawak, where Chinese mining settlements developed upriver from Kuching. Urban conditions that emerged in the Sarawak River basin in the 1940s conformed in many respects to established regional urban patterns.

The Founding of Kuching

Northwestern Borneo's sociopolitical configuration in the early nineteenth century--Malayo-Muslim coastal fringe and trading posts, Chinese mining districts and towns, Dayak interior, and encroaching European presence--forms the background for the events which took place in the Sarawak River basin between about 1820 and 1841, leading to the establishment of a Malay village and later a multi-ethnic urban center at Kuching. The Sarawak River basin was a backwater by northwest Borneo standards and the location of no important settlements or states.[8] Contemporary European writers, some of them quite familiar with west Borneo and Brunei, knew little or nothing about Sarawak. However, a Dutch visitor to the district in 1823, probably just prior to the establishment of Kuching, recorded about a hundred Malays in the main settlement, mostly "pirates," with three houses of Chinese.[9] Like other districts, Sarawak's population prior to 1820 consisted chiefly of Malays and Dayaks. The entire district was sparsely populated and remained so before the coming of the Brooke's; in 1839 the estimated population of the entire basin numbered about 8,000, mostly Dayak with perhaps 1,500 to 2,000 Malays and a few Chinese.[10]

Early Malayo-Muslim immigrants to the district appear to have come principally from Sumatra and Java, for folklore accounts attribute the origins of the local Malay elite to a possibly mythical Datu Merpati Jepang of Minangkabau or Javanese ancestry.[11] Later Malayo-Muslim immigrants in the pre-Brooke period probably originated primarily in other northwestern Borneo settlements such as Sambas, Pontianak, and Brunei. Most local aristocrats by the early nineteenth century evidently had some immigrant blood but the great majority of commoners and depen-

dents were most likely of largely Dayak origin.

Apparently only two or three Malay villages existed alor the river immediately prior to the establishment of Kuching Local aristocrats and their followers lived at Lidah Tanah, a the point where the two main branches of the Sarawak River meet ten miles upriver from the site where Kuching later developed Lidah Tanah therefore became the major Malayo-Muslim trading pos in the district, and may have been the small settlement describe in the Dutch account of 1823. Commoners evidently lived a either Katupong, between Lidah Tanah and Kuching, or at Santubon at the mouth of the river.[12] Lidah Tanah's convenient locatio facilitated control of the riverine trade with upriver Dayaks.

Two Dayak groups assumed importance in the Sarawak Rive and neighboring districts in this period. Land Dayaks, the mos numerous group, lived largely in the hilly intermediate zone an mountainous interior southward from what was to become th settlement of Kuching. By the early decades of the nineteent century, they had become an unaggressive people no longer activ in headhunting who posed no military or political threat to othe Dayaks or to the Malays. Because of this they were heavil exploited and were often dependent on certain Malay chiefs. I the preceding decades they had gradually retreated further inlan to escape pressure from stronger groups. The only other grou then important in the Sarawak district, the Sebuyaus, constitute a branch of the Iban ethnic group. They lived in widely scat tered settlements just inland from the coastal swamp. More martial than Land Dayaks, Sebuyaus became traditional enemies o more aggressive Iban communities living to the east, in what i now Sarawak's Second Division.

Few if any of these Ibans (also known as Sea Dayaks) lived in the district, but they played an important political role i the Sarawak River basin. Ibans, one of the most feared head hunting peoples in Borneo, were a gregarious and mobile people, constantly moving out of their base in the Batang Lupar and Saribas River systems to seek new land for shifting cultivation. Some also joined with coastal Malay chiefs and other archipelago adventurers to go on marauding expeditions in search of heads. These activities brought them into perennial conflict with the Sebuyaus, Land Dayaks, and Malays of the river, as well as the English, whose later intervention in the area was largely a reaction to the marauding.[13]

The sultan of Brunei exercised nominal control of Sarawak, which marked the southern boundary between the Brunei territories and those of the sultan of Sambas. Brunei's political system operating in the district included only superficial control by the center and it is even possible that political and cultural influences from Sambas seemed nearly as strong. Sarawak, an unimportant political component of the realm, had been long neg-lected by Brunei. Political neglect was reflected in the economic sphere, for Sarawak provided only minor tax support to the sultanate.[14]

Sarawak's economic and political importance changed

dramatically with the discovery of antimony ore in the upper reaches of the Sarawak River around 1824.[15] The mineral was valued by the European nations; Singapore, founded in 1819, provided a market within easy sailing distance of the river. Furthermore, Land Dayaks could be coerced without difficulty into working the mines and antimony was easily worked and transported. These considerations persuaded Pengeran Makota, a Brunei prince and the nominal ruler of the district on assignment or lease from the sultan, to take up residence in Sarawak. Makota evidently established the first Malay village at what is now Kuching, probably sometime between 1824 and 1830.[16]

Selection of Kuching as the site for a new administrative center allowed Makota to avoid the jealousy and resentment his appearance would arouse among the local elite at Lidah Tanah while at the same time insuring him a settlement in which he would have full control. The decision also made geographical sense, as few good sites existed between Lidah Tanah and the sea: most of them were either too exposed to the sea-going raiders then infesting the coast, or suffered from poor soils and lack of fresh water. Located just south of the coastal swamp, Kuching was convenient to both the river mouth, twenty-one miles away, and the antimony mines twenty-five miles upriver. Finally, distance from the sea, availability of hills on which to build forts, and narrowness of the river all made Kuching easily defensible. Makota evidently intended the village as an administrative center and port for the antimony mines, and these remained the main functions until 1841.[17]

Kuching's establishment placed a politically and strategic-ally important port downriver from the trading post at Lidah Tanah and thus posed a threat to the latter community. Although Lidah Tanah had been a traditional Malayo-Muslim trading post subordinate to the sultanate up the coast, the absence of a down-river coastal or riverine port gave the village a welcome autonomy. Makota's arrival with his followers therefore became unpopular with the local Malay elite, whose own powers were reduced. Although the Sarawak chiefs were born locally, they supposedly gained their appointments from the sultan of Brunei;[18] most likely the sultan merely confirmed locally selected aristocrats in their offices. The three titled <u>datus</u> (chiefs) in pre-Brooke times, in order of importance, included the <u>Patinggi</u> (supreme chief), <u>bandar</u> (port chief), and <u>temonggong</u> (commander-in-chief); each had certain prerogatives and responsibilities inherent in his position. The three datus had varied powers over the local Malays and clearly held authority over the Dayaks, probably including a monopoly on birdsnests; a right to indirect taxation, including forced labor; and a right to seize Dayak property in lieu of taxes or to enslave Dayak debtors.[19]

Although the Dutch source of 1823 noted three Chinese shops in Sarawak, Chinese entered the district in significant numbers only after Makota's arrival. Lau Ah Chek, a Cantonese, reportedly came from China in 1830. He first settled in Batang Lupar and then in Satok, just outside of Kuching, where he cultivated

vegetables. He later became a leading personage in the Kuching Chinese community of the early Brooke years.[20] There may also have been a few Indian merchants in Kuching at that time; they were probably Moplahs, a Muslim group from the Malabar Coast of India. Living conditions in Sarawak in the 1830s were hazardous due to occasional piratical raids and a later civil war, and probably fewer than a dozen Chinese and Indian merchants lived in the various villages. The major Chinese settlement was in Upper Sarawak (now Bau district), upriver from Lidah Tanah. Local Chinese oral tradition puts the establishment of a Sambas-based Chinese mining community in Bau at around 1830,[21] but their activities terminated when civil war broke out between the Brunei Malays at Kuching and the local Malays from Lidah Tanah.

The civil war resulted from a variety of circumstances, the most important of them local resentment of Makota's increasing taxation and labor demands. The antagonism resulted in an uneasy alliance between the Lidah Tanah Malays and some Dayak communities, erupting into armed insurrection against Makota in 1835 or 1836. The local Malays, who moved their settlement upriver to Siniawan and Simboh, became involved with their Dayak allies in a civil war against the Bruneis at Kuching and whatever allies they could muster, an uprising in the Borneo tradition of upriver trading post rebellions against a downriver suzerain.

Sarawak's civil war disrupted antimony mining operations upriver, depriving Brunei authorities, including the sultan, of an important source of revenue. Since Makota seemed unable to end the conflict, the sultan sent his uncle and prime minister, Rajah Muda Hashim, to try to arrange a Brunei victory over the rebels. Hashim settled in Kuching, accompanied by a large entourage of relatives and retainers, substantially increasing the population of the village. The population of Kuching before the arrival of Hashim is unknown but undoubtedly small. By 1839, however, the village reportedly boasted a population of 1,500, the great majority of them slaves and other followers of Hashim and the fourteen brothers who accompanied him.[22] Although Hashim was a major Brunei political leader, the village in which he came to reside remained small and, to a European visitor of 1839, un-impressive:

> The town consists of a collection of mud huts erected in piles... The residences of the rajah and his four-teen brothers occupy the greater part, and their followers are the great majority of the population. When they depart for Borneo (Brunei), the remainder must be a very small population, and apparently very poor.[23]

Makota became only the third-ranking leader in Kuching, after Hashim and his brother, Muda Muhammed. The Siniawan Malays num-bered about 600.[24] Despite the presence of Hashim, the war continued although little actual fighting occurred. Neither side had a decisive advantage. When James Brooke, a wealthy English

adventurer, first arrived in 1839 on an exploratory visit, there had been little change in military fortunes for months, if not years.

The story of Brooke and his relationship with Hashim is well known.[25] Hashim viewed Brooke as a potential ally against the rebels; on Brooke's first visit Hashim implored him and his crew to help defeat the rebels but instead Brooke sailed for Celebes (Sulawesi). On his return to Kuching in late 1840, he found the situation unchanged and finally agreed to help in exchange for being appointed governor of the district. The Englishman then rallied a force of Malays, Dayaks, and Chinese mercenaries from Sambas and defeated the Siniawan rebels by storming their fort. With the rebellion ended, Siniawan was vacated and handed over to the Chinese for settlement, and Brooke became rajah (or governor) of Sarawak in 1841 after some months of negotiation, with Kuching as his capital. A new era in the settlement began, as an English ruler assumed control over a small Malay village.

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Chapter II

ESTABLISHMENT OF A MULTI-ETHNIC TOWN

1841-1857

The installation of an English rajah in the Brunei Malay village of Kuching inaugurated a new era which would see an administrative center for one small district develop into a trading port serving as the political, social, and economic capital of a much larger region. James Brooke, a well-educated, wealthy, liberal, and idealistic young Englishman set about to implement his programs, which included the improvement of the economy and the initiation of social changes to encourage what he conceived to be the welfare and protection of the population.

The first sixteen years of Brooke rule marked the beginning of new social, economic, and political currents in the small river port that paved the way for the emergence of a larger, more heterogeneous urban society than had previously existed in the district--a society in which Malays, Chinese, Indians, and Europeans would all play major roles. The changes also led to conflict and rivalry with an upriver Chinese mining settlement, resulting in the Kuching-Bau War of 1857. This altercation almost destroyed Kuching and the Brooke Raj itself and marked the effective end of the first phase of Kuching's development.

Demographic Changes

European control of Kuching in effect transformed a settlement that had once been a small trading post representing Brunei authority into a political capital equal in power and influence to that of a sultanate. Although the rajah as a local chief theoretically served Brunei's sultan, he constituted in fact a vigorous and independent power source within the traditional state system of northwest Borneo. Brooke's expanding state soon embraced nearby territories to the northeast, including Sadong, Batang Lupar, and Saribas districts. Kuching became not only the political center of a growing state, but chief trading port of an enlarged hinterland as well.

Brooke rule resulted in a considerable alteration of Kuching demographic and ethnic profile, with some changes apparent almost immediately. Soon after the rebel defeat by the

forces of Brooke and Rajah Muda Hashim, an influx of Siniawan Malays to Kuching altered the nature of the town's Malay population. The new rajah restored the three rebel datus to their former positions as local chiefs and they became his staunchest supporters. The Brunei leaders had returned home by 1844, taking most of their followers with them; Kuching's Malay community was transformed in-to one in which Sarawak River origins and influence predominated.

Brooke control brought peace and Kuching grew rapidly. The 1839 population had probably not exceeded 1,500 but within a few years far higher population figures were reported. The diversity of available estimates makes speculation hazardous but the settlement may well have grown to 6,000 or 8,000 by the late 1840s. It seems likely that the population in the early 1850s, after a significant Chinese influx, numbered 6,000 and 10,000.

Early population growth was chiefly Malay;[1] before 1857 Malays constituted eighty to ninety percent of the population; most Malayo-Muslim immigrants probably came from adjacent districts such as Sadong and Samarahan, seeking escape from difficult local political conditions or economic opportunities in a new and promising trading port. After the massacre of Rajah Muda Hashim and one of his brothers in Brunei in 1846, some of his relatives and followers settled in Kuching, reestablishing an aristocratic Brunei Malay element. Several sources reported the presence of recent Javanese immigrants, Rajah Muda Hashim is credited with having sponsored a settlement of some Boyanese, and a number of Sumatrans arrived in Kuching around the middle of the century. Like the port towns of west Borneo, Kuching seemed to attract Malayo-Muslim settlers from very diverse origins; these various immigrants did not coalesce fully into a common Malay ethnic group for some decades.

Small numbers of Chinese and Indians also began to settle. Some Chinese immigrated directly from China while others came after sojourns or even generations in other parts of Southeast Asia, particularly the Straits Settlements, Brunei, and west Borneo. The predominant speech groups probably included Hokkiens, Teochius, Cantonese, and Hakkas. At least two other speech groups seem to have also settled--the Hainanese and Chaoanns. Hainanese (pejoratively known as Hailams) came from Hainan Island, a part of Kwangtung Province, and spoke a dialect related (but not mutually intelligible) to the Fukien dialects such as Hokkien, since their ancestors had migrated to the island from that part of China. Chaoann, emanating from the south Fukien coast between Hokkien and Teochiu territory, spoke a dialect very closely related to, and easily understood by, both Hokkien and Teochiu speakers. Because of similarities of dialect and cultural patterns, and origins in adjacent and closely linked districts, the Chaoanns were sometimes considered to be a Hokkien subgroup; indeed, relations between the Hokkien and Chaoann groups remained very close in Kuching.

The Chinese in Kuching town probably numbered no more than 200 or 300 before 1850. Hugh Low reported about forty Chinese

shops in 1844,[2] and this provided the basis for the pasar (bazaar or commercial district) that developed along the waterfront. An estimate of the Kuching Chinese population in 1856 was 150.[3] The largest Chinese influx came in 1850, when 4,000 to 5,000 Hakkas fled from the town of Pamangkat in Sambas to escape the ravages of a Chinese-Dutch war then raging. Nearly 800 of the refugees settled in and around Kuching, where some took up market gardening and others became carpenters, blacksmiths, artisans or laborers.[4]

Although Hokkiens, Teochius, and Cantonese probably predominated among Kuching's traders, Hakkas accounted for most of the artisans and laborers and the great majority of suburban market gardeners. Only a few Chinese women settled in Kuching in this period, most of them presumably Hakkas from west Borneo. By 1856 around 800 Chinese were reported in the town and its immediate environs.[5]

In addition to Kuching's Chinese, another growing Chinese settlement developed upriver at Siniawan and Bau. After the termination of the civil war in 1840, a group of Hakka miners from a large Sambas-based kongsi made an agreement with Hashim to reopen goldmining operations in Upper Sarawak that had been suspended because of the fighting. Establishment of Brooke rule brought an influx of Chinese into the Bau district, most of them Hakka. The Bau settlement became a second urban center in the Sarawak River basin, and one based on the pattern of the Chinese mining town rather than the downriver trading post like Kuching. Over the course of a few years, the two differing settlements became rivals for political and economic dominance.

Moplahs, a group of Malabari Muslims who originated in Kerala on India's Malabar Coast, constituted the great majority of Indians in early Brooke Kuching. One source in the mid-1840s recorded a thriving Indian quarter, composed wholly of Malabari Muslims.[6] Brooke believed that Indians numbered several hundred in 1848,[7] which would have made the Chinese and Indian groups roughly equal in size before the Pamangkat Hakka influx of 1850. The Moplahs professed the Shia school of Islam, while Malays were orthodox Sunni Muslims. Although traditional enmity marked the two Islamic sects in many parts of Asia and Africa, no overt tension surfaced in Kuching. Moplahs built their own mosque in the early 1840s, but Malays seldom worshiped there or joined with Moplahs in religious ceremonies. The mosque served as a focus for Malabari community life. Most Moplahs came to Kuching directly from India or after sojourns in Singapore. At least in the early years they had a reputation for mobility, settling in Kuching for only two or three years and then returning to India after gaining their wealth. Few of them evidently brought their wives to Sarawak.[8] Later they became a more settled group.

In addition to Malays, Chinese, and Indians, members of other ethnic groups settled in the town and its environs. Brooke rule brought in some Europeans to staff the developing administration, but they remained a negligible percentage of the population. They included government officials, several of whom

brought families, and a few private traders and missionaries. Official and unofficial groups together probably never numbered more than fifteen before 1857. At least in the 1840s, a Sebuyau longhouse stood on Padungan Creek, one mile downriver from the bazaar, containing about sixty families,[9] although few if any Dayaks lived in the town itself before 1857.

Kuching's emerging ethnic profile reflected the physical structure. Except for Chinese market gardeners on the outskirts, Chinese and Indians largely lived in the bazaar, each in a separate quarter (see Map 2). Situated on the south bank of the river, the bazaar stood just across from the astana (palace), the office and home of James Brooke. Chinese shops stretched along the riverbank, facing the water. A separate quarter, just upriver from the Chinese bazaar, contained the Indian shops.

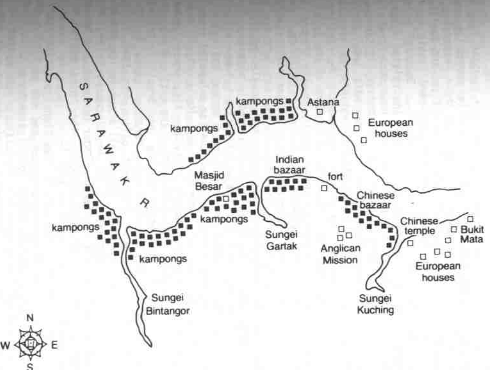
During the 1840s, Malay kampungs (neighborhoods or wards) were concentrated on the south bank upriver from the Indian bazaar; but by the early 1850s, some Malays moved across the river to the north bank, upriver from the astana. The kampungs stood as self-contained villages or neighborhoods with their own identity and structure based on family and social ties and, sometimes, on districts or countries of origin. Kampungs developed in clusters, often with few visible boundaries except perhaps a creek, and they developed from the tendency for dependents and semi-dependents to concentrate around a datu, influential trader, or other leader to whom they owed some allegiance. These kampungs often were named after that leader or sometimes the district of origin. Datus and their families tended to live on the south bank close to the bazaar while immigrants, such as those from Sumatra, evidently settled chiefly on the north bank when that area began to develop.

The Europeans lived apart from the Asians and concentrated on the north bank, where most of the rajah's officers lived, and in a hilly south bank area just downriver and inland from the bazaar. Much of this basic town structure--Chinese and Indians in bazaar, Malays in kampungs, Europeans around the astana or outside bazaar--followed the general pattern of Pontianak and other trading ports. The pattern would remain relatively consistent throughout the Brooke period.

Indirect Rule and Malay Community Structure

James Brooke served not only as rajah of a new and growing state but also as paramount local chief with final authority over all Kuching's inhabitants, whatever their ethnic group membership. Much like a sultan, he often exercised his prerogatives in local legal and political affairs. For much of his tenure as rajah, political problems within the state and the region threatened his position, placing him in need of strong local support. The type of local administration that developed was therefore one designed to maximize this support, an attempt, as he stated it, to "divide and govern."[10] Brooke utilized a form

MAP 2. KUCHING C. 1857



of indirect rule in which he delegated much of his local power to others, primarily leaders of the various ethnic communities. This system depended heavily on the local Malay elite, symbolized by the Siniawan datus. Over time these datus and the English rajah developed what might be termed a "symbiotic" relationship; this relationship in turn had a strong influence on Malay social and political structure.

Removal of most of the Brunei element by 1844 left Brooke and the Siniawan datus in control of a Malay community predominantly local born and generally loyal to their leadership. The datus owed not only restoration of their offices and families but their very lives to Brooke, who had persuaded Hashim to forego the traditional execution of rebel chiefs. Societal bonds had become severely strained in a civil war that pitted subordinate against overlord, and the datus may well have seen Brooke as the only available bulwark to their own compromised legitimacy. The rajah, for his part, badly needed advisors with local experience and prestige in his continuous struggle against various internal and external enemies. To obtain this support he confirmed the datus in their traditional position as leaders of the local Malay community, and undertook to secure their loyalty through generosity, including the introduction of regular salaries. Gradual imposition of a salary system for the datus generally removed the necessity for extorting revenue from Dayaks but left the chiefs with symbolic leadership of the indigenous peoples of the state, both Malay and Dayak, as well as considerable actual power over the local Kuching Malays. The relationship between white rajah and Malay datus formed in this period became the basis for a political partnership that would endure for a hundred years.

Datu Patinggi Ali, the paramount Malay chief, had been local leader prior to Makota's arrival. Ali, whose descendants occupied the highest office throughout the entire Brooke period, died in battle in 1844 while helping lead Brooke forces against Iban raiders. Ali's eldest son, Mohammed Lana, became datu bandar, the second most important office, in 1844. In 1854 Brooke dismissed Haji Abdul Gapur, Ali's son-in-law and successor, from office for reasons to be discussed below, and the office of patinggi was abolished; Bandar Mohammed Lana became the paramount chief. Mersal occupied the third titled office, temonggong, until his death in 1863.[11]

Confirmation of the datu's traditional position reaffirmed legitimacy of the Malay class system and was part of a general retention of premodern Malay social structure throughout the early years of Brooke rule.[12] The elite of the system were the aristocrats, known as <u>perabangan</u>, with the datus at the head. All male members of this group bore the title <u>abang</u> and females <u>dayang</u>; all descended from datus. Endogamy characterized marriages in this group, definitely so for females. Those whose aristocratic blood traced to Brunei ranked slightly below the perabangan, most of whom were of local origin. This smaller group, the <u>bangsa pengeran</u>, probably declined in status after the departure of Rajah Muda Hashim. Male children in this group were

called awang and female children dayang. On attaining age, a male could assume the title of pengeran, although declining the privilege occurred frequently.

The final group in the aristocratic "upper class" comprised those who boasted of Arab ancestry and claimed direct descent from the Prophet Mohammed. Europeans usually considered their claims to such exalted ancestry doubtful since they feared Arabs as potential political rivals. Furthermore, many acknowledged having some degree of Malay, Bugis, Sumatran, or other Malayo-Muslim ancestry, and few had any recognizably Arab physical traits. Arab adventurers settled in northwestern Borneo and other parts of the Malay world over some centuries, and many of those in Sarawak may have come from the Arab-ruled city of Pontianak. Many of the Sarawak Arabs may have had at least some partial Middle Eastern origins, and most Sarawak Malays seemed inclined to accept such claims at face value even if Europeans did not. Arabs constituted a prestigious group because of their relationship to Islam's homeland and occupied a high position in Kuching, dominating religious offices and taking active roles in both politics and trade.[13] Men in this group assumed the title of sharif or tuanku (your highness) in Sarawak but were addressed as wan before their marriage; females were always known as sharifa. This small group, culturally indistinct from other Malays, prohibited their women from marrying a non-sharif.

Two major groups of commoners apparently existed in the early Brooke period, nakodas and orang pereman. Nakodas (ship captains), a mercantile class, monopolized the coastal shipping trade; they also tended to dominate other forms of Malay commerce which were not already the preserve of the aristocracy. The title seems to have been one of respect, and nakodas constituted the most prestigious commoner group. Indeed, some observers considered them almost equal in real status to the datus and abangs.[14]

Orang pereman or free citizens probably constituted a high percentage of the Malay population. This diverse lower class group included peasants, fishermen, laborers, and retainers to aristocratic families. Some, particularly retainers, actually served as dependents of various members of the elite, although they were apparently free to detach themselves from this arrangement whenever they chose to do so. A patron-client relationship with an influential family contained considerable security, however; for many commoners, trade, by which one might eventually reach nakoda status, provided the only economically viable alternative to such a relationship. No formalized mechanism for upward mobility into the aristocracy evidently existed except to marry a daughter to an abang. No evidence suggests the frequency with which this occurred.

During the first half century of Brooke rule, a group of people who were generally termed a "slave" class by European observers existed. "Slavery" in the archipelago world differed substantially from that practiced in the Western Hemisphere and perhaps "dependent" better describes these people, although in

many cases the dependency could not be terminated except by the action of the patron. The dependency relationship was therefore stronger than that pertaining to the orang pereman retainers, who were not bound as tightly.

It would appear that two types of strongly bound dependents lived in Kuching: debt bondsmen and captives. The former resulted either from seizure for non-payment of debts or temporarily selling themselves into dependency to gain a more secure livelihood. They could theoretically regain their freedom by paying off their debts, a difficult solution because creditors, usually aristocrats, often imposed high interest rates. Transfer or sale of debt bondsmen without their permission was prohibited.[15] Captives generally descended from Dayaks who had been captured in Malay-Dayak conflicts or seized during pre-Brooke times for alleged transgressions against Malay rule. These people could be bought and sold freely, and their descendants generally inherited their status. To some extent this form of dependency constituted a mechanism for recruitment into the Malay group, with captive Dayaks required to embrace Islam an gradually lose their Dayak culture and language.

Most bound dependents served datus and merchants, and Euro-pean sources agreed that they were generally well-treated.[16] Most females were assigned to household work as domestics whil men worked in the household, on trading ships, or on farms owne by aristocrats. Some evidently had the freedom to hire them selves out and keep their earnings when not needed by thei patrons. Hugh Low noted that female domestics had the hardes existence because aristocratic women demanded more from thei servants than the men, particularly if a physically attractiv servant potentially invited the attentions of family males.[17]

The rajah made no attempt to abolish bonded dependency although he forbade the killing of "slaves" and welcomed as free men those that escaped from neighboring territories. Brooke him self strongly opposed what he, along with most Europeans considered a pernicious practice, but he felt constrained t concede to Bornean realities. The legal abolition of variou forms of bonded dependence did not come until 1886.

Aristocratic life differed considerably from that of nor aristocrats in Malay society. Polygamy, sanctioned by the Koran seems to have been fairly common among the datus, some of th other influential aristocrats, and a few of the wealthy traders but infrequent among most of the perabangan and almost unknow among the commoners and dependents of any station. Indeed, fo reasons that remain unclear, marriageable women in all class were difficult to find and dowries reportedly very high; lower class Malay men supposedly bonded themselves to a patron to ea dowry money. One result of the apparent high cost of marria was that divorce was relatively uncommon despite the Koran leniency in this regard.[18]

Life styles of various Malay social classes differed other respects as well. Aristocratic women remained secluded much as possible; in public, they wore the Sarawak version of t

veil, the sarong (skirt) extended to cover the whole head. Those women included in an aristocratic harem had their own apartments, staffed by their own female attendants.[19] The sheltered status of the aristocratic Malay women concerned some of the European wives. One of them noted unhappily in 1852 that:

> The Malays have not as yet learnt to give women their right place in society. They are still in measure their slaves, or at best their dolls, whom they like to see handsomely dressed, and employed in embroidery and cooking.... The higher their rank, the less they were allowed to appear in public, and, consequently, they were as silly and ignorant as children, and did not consider themselves capable of learning anything.[20]

Yet this same source also noted that many of the women could read and write Malay, and that they were accomplished weavers, embroiderers, and confectioners. Non-aristocratic women evidently seldom faced seclusion or veils, for they worked in gardens or otherwise helped bring in an income if not already attached as a dependent to an aristocratic family.

The position that Malayo-Muslim immigrants such as the Javanese, Boyanese, and Sumatrans occupied in the Malay social system at this early period remains unclear. Although some trading ports such as Pontianak and Sambas had significant numbers of these immigrants and their descendants, they apparently constituted only a minor segment of the population in Kuching. Sumatrans, mostly Minangkabaus from the town of Kayong, seem to have found employment mostly with the rajah, and one of their number, Encik (Inche) Boyong, became director of the Customs Department and Malay interpreter for the court. In contrast to the Sumatrans, who had considerable prestige, Javanese and Boyanese seem to have been largely orang pereman, employed as laborers or in agriculture and animal husbandry on the outskirts of the town. The Sumatrans and Boyanese both established their own kampungs. The relatively small numbers of Malayo-Muslim settlers undoubtedly facilitated their eventual integration into the dominant Kuching Malay community.

Although the rajah pledged to uphold Malay religion and custom, and a need for popular support prevented his initiating drastic social or political reforms, the years prior to 1857 did witness some changes imposed by Brooke on the Malay political system. The impact of certain Brooke alterations on political leadership constituted the most important development. For example, the decision to pay the datus regular salaries in lieu of traditional Dayak revenue tended to make the datus more like civil servants than rulers, despite retention of their symbolic power. Establishment of kampung chiefs or headmen, known as tua kampung (kampung elders), in each Malay village or neighborhood in 1854, further diluted the datus's power. The datus lacked even power to appoint these men, as village residents selected

them instead. The tua kampungs, a non-traditional institution in Sarawak, settled minor disputes and assumed responsibility for the village's good conduct. Although unpaid, they collected and received a percentage of kampung revenue and were also allowed to trade. Most tua kampungs probably came from the perabangan or nakoda classes.[21]

Besides decentralizing Malay political power, institution of tua kampungs also deprived the datus of power over some minor court cases which now faced settlement at the local level through mediation of the tua. An important judicial function regarding criminal cases did remain with the datus. A traditional institution, the Datus' Court (Balai Datu[2]) retained a high status under the bandar's aegis, assuming responsibility for settlement of most criminal or civil cases involving Malays or Dayaks. Chinese and European criminal cases came before the general or supreme court, as did serious Malay or Dayak crimes. The position of the datus was further buttressed by their inclusion in a council of state established by the rajah in 1855.[22]

These political changes affected Malays at all levels. Establishment of tua kampungs gave commoners, especially nakodas, theoretical access to positions of leadership, particularly in non-aristocratic kampungs. Another consequence was that criminal justice seems to have become more formalized. Traditionally the datus made legal decisions according to their interpretation of customary law (adat). Apparently no written legal code existed. Brooke introduced a written legal code to deal with murder, robbery, and other crimes soon after assuming office. Revisions to the undang-undang (Malay law code) were made; for example, the rajah encouraged datus, abangs, and religious leaders to establish new guidelines for Muslim divorce and marriage. The Brooke regime also instituted stiffer laws for determining the status of individual slaves so that doubtful cases gained their freedom.[23]

Not all Brooke reforms of traditional Malay political institutions attained universal popularity. Datu Patinggi Abdul Gapur became alienated from the Raj and received subsequent dismissal from office in 1854 because of his opposition to policies which tended to dilute datu power. The Gapur-Brooke conflict seems significant, since political and social stability of the Brooke position in Kuching and throughout the state depended on a close and enduring relationship between rajah and datus. Gapur's disenchantment evidently stemmed from the decisions to establish tua kampungs and to substitute a regular salary for the datus rather than annual collections from various Dayak tribes under their jurisdiction. The old arrangement had allowed ample opportunity for exploitation.[24]

The rajah, already disillusioned with Gapur, heard that the old datu was plotting revolution, although no evidence had been produced. Europeans considered the datu a traitor, and perhaps most Kuching Malays agreed, for the other datus supported Brooke's actions. This support came despite the fact that Gapur was a brother-in-law of the bandar and a cousin of the temonggong. Pringle has suggested that a latent rivalry between the

Brookes and the Malay chiefs existed, for the latter may have resented the rajah's political position, especially among once-subject Dayaks.[25] In any case the removal of Gapur destroyed a major obstacle to inauguration of a modified leadership system and therefore strengthened Brooke's hand in his subsequent dealings with the Malay elite.

The Structure and Impact of the Immigrant Communities

Political and social change for Malays largely involved modification of a strong, locally rooted system. For immigrant Chinese and Indians, transplanted from their ancestral homes, settlement in Kuching provided new challenges. Indians probably found adaptation easiest, since nearly all belonged to the same Moplah group and some may have arrived in Kuching after sojourns in the Straits Settlements. The Chinese, divided into various and often hostile speech groups, formed a much less cohesive community if indeed any community transcending speech group existed at all in this period.

Ascertaining the degree of cohesion among Kuching Chinese in the early Brooke period remains difficult, since Malays and Europeans recognized Chinese subgroup distinctions much less clearly than did the Chinese themselves. European writings of the period reflect a tendency to speak of the Chinese as an easily defined ethnic group. Yet, it may be that Chinese perceived members of other speech groups to be almost as foreign as were non-Chinese. To be sure, a Chinese identity existed, in that a common written language, social system, general cultural values, and similarities of dress, diet, and physical appearance held the speech groups together. A shared conception of being "Chinese" or at least originating from the same country may have proved equally important. On the other hand, few of the Kuching Chinese in this period had received a Chinese education, and consequently few could either read Chinese or speak Mandarin, the scholarly lingua franca of China. Members of speech groups speaking mutually unintelligible dialects, such as Hokkien and Cantonese, could therefore only communicate with each other in Malay or English if they did not understand the other dialect. At least one source, who may have been speaking of the period prior to 1857, noted that street battles between members of differing speech groups constituted a "nightly scandal."[26] The groups involved are unclear, but hostility between Hokkiens and Teochius--a significant feature of Kuching life in later decades--may have begun at this time.

The most significant hostilities divided the trading groups--Hokkiens, Teochius, Cantonese, and Chaoanns--from the traditionally disliked Hakkas who predominated among artisans, laborers, market gardeners, and miners. Since popular belief attributed Dayak blood to Hakka migrants from west Borneo mining districts, due to long-standing intermarriage patterns there, non-Hakkas looked upon these possibly mixed-blooded Chinese as

inferior. Hostility between Hakkas and the other speech gro
continued as a feature of Kuching life for many decades
played a significant role in the warfare of 1857.

Brooke administered immigrant communities through a sys
of indirect rule, although little evidence exists as to
mechanisms involved. A magistrate helped govern the Chin
community; he was evidently responsible for performing marria
and registering deaths, betrothals, births, and other even
The office of magistrate does not seem to have survived very l
after 1857. Perhaps an Indian magistrate also played a r
although documentary sources contain no mention of one. Possi
the Malay datus administered the Indians, most of them Musli
at least in matters of Islamic law. Such a system developed
later decades. Chinese and Indians at this time were still
few that a highly formalized leadership structure may not ha
been necessary, in contrast to the much larger and more tigh
organized Malay community.

A lack of information about Chinese and Indian administr
tion parallels a similar lacuna concerning leadership wit
various communities at this time. It does seem likely th
traders formed the predominant group among Chinese. The mo
important may have been Lau Ah Chek (Lew Ah Chick), the Cantone
pioneer who arrived in 1830. Lau, a merchant, bazaar landown
and farmer, also seems to have served as the rajah's steward.[27]

New immigrants inevitably brought with them their c
social, religious, and economic institutions, which helped
facilitate adaptation to a new urban environment and introduc
new forms of social organization. Chinese proved most likely
introduce new institutions. For example, the first Chine
josshouse or temple certainly existed by 1843, a combined proje
of all Kuching's speech groups. The Teochius erected a temp
almost as early.[28] Cantonese established Kuching's first volu
tary association in 1853, a speech group or dialect associati
known as the Kwong Wai Siew Association. This association repr
sented the interests of settlers from three districts in t
Canton region, provided welfare assistance, and operated
temple.[29] Dialect associations became common among the Southea
Asian Chinese, serving to reinforce speech groups as a maj
element of Chinese socioeconomic organization, but the Kwong W
Siew constituted the only known, legal, recognized association
Kuching before 1857. Perhaps Cantonese formed the stronge
speech group at this period, since they founded the only associ
tion and Lau Ah Chek's influence apparently extended so broadl
If a Cantonese dominance existed, the events of 1857 ended
since the Cantonese comprised a minor element in the Chine
community after that time.

Another Chinese social institution became much more contr
versial. Around 1850, several Singapore Chinese entered Kuchi
with the intention of forming a branch of a secret or tri
society. They evidently recruited several prominent local Chine
and intimidated others into collaborating. Brooke greatly fear
the potential power of these groups but could not convince a

Chinese to expose the society publicly because they feared reprisals from members. Finally he arbitrarily expelled and fined the leader, fined or imprisoned some followers, then promulgated a death penalty for future offenders.[30] After this episode, triad activities in Kuching rarely occurred, although they occasionally developed in nearby rural areas. Perhaps prohibition of secret societies contributed to the later strength of other types of social organizations, especially speech group associations, in an immigrant community needing some form of organization and loyalty to replace family and village ties left behind.[31]

The European community, although very small in comparison to both Chinese and Indian groups, had substantially more influence due to monopolization of high government positions and the natural prestige accruing to a ruling group. Apparently few distinctions divided government officials such as the interpreter, police superintendent, and resident (chief deputy to the rajah) from the half dozen private traders and missionaries living in the town at various times. The men of the mostly bachelor community often ate together at the astana and shared with Brooke long hours of fellowship during the evening. Turnover among Europeans was low, and some stayed on in official or private capacities for many years.

Introduction of a new religion, Christianity, constituted the major cultural influence deriving from European presence. The Anglican Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (S.P.G.) established the first permanent Christian mission in 1848, under the leadership of Rev. Francis McDougall, an Englishman and former physician.[32] McDougall located his headquarters in Kuching and soon afterwards supervised construction of the first church, St. Thomas's. McDougall became the first bishop of Sarawak and Labuan in 1855, based in Kuching.

Despite Brooke's opposition, the mission initially focused its attention on Malays, even importing a Christian Malay from Singapore to aid in their work. This aroused the Malay leadership's opposition, however, and, with the arrival of a Chinese catechist from Penang and the influx of Hakka refugees from west Borneo in 1850, attention shifted to the Chinese. By 1850, McDougall had baptized at least twenty Chinese adults, including the Chinese magistrate as well as many children, the roots of a developing Christian minority. Parents of children who attended one of the mission-operated schools provided most converts. De-spite these recruits, the mission attained only limited early success, partly because other Chinese held Chinese Christians, many of them Hakkas, in some contempt for rejecting traditional Chinese religion.

Education provided the major accomplishments of the early mission. Between 1848 and 1852, five schools were begun under mission auspices, only one of which survived the events of 1857. The Home School, begun in 1850, proved the most important. When the Hakka refugees from Pamangkat arrived, the McDougalls arranged through the Chinese magistrate to take ten Chinese

orphans or other destitute children into their home to be educated and raised as Christians. Within a few months the number of children under mission care grew to twenty-five, eighteen of them Chinese and the remainder Dayak, Malay, and Eurasian. This group comprised the nucleus for what later developed into St. Thomas's School.

The Home School, the only mission school to last more than a few years, also constituted a major vehicle for creation of a Westernized Christian Chinese subgroup. Using an opportunity to instill in the twenty to thirty students living with them values which they believed to be important, the McDougalls also carefully refrained from divorcing the children too much from their cultural origins and thereby reducing their potential as catechists or intermediaries. Students received both a strong dose of Christianity and of English values such as discipline and punctuality; furthermore, they learned at least a degree of proficiency in English, which later helped some of them to gain positions as interpreters or clerks in the civil service or with European firms. On the other hand, the school made a conscious attempt to teach Chinese to Chinese, and Malay to Malays. From the mixture of Chinese, Malay, and English languages in the curriculum, the Home School apparently attempted to create Christian bi-cultural brokers able to serve as Christian intermediaries between European and Asian cultures and communities. Since most students became Christians, and some later joined the mission staff or married catechists, the school achieved some success in this endeavor.

Other mission projects included two day-schools and one night-school for Chinese. These schools reportedly taught both Chinese and English and constituted agents for Westernization and Christianization like the Home School, although with an atmosphere considerably less intense and an influence consequently less apparent. None of them survived the conflict of 1857.

The first of two mission-sponsored, formal day schools for Malays opened in 1848, the first known formal school in Kuching, but with only a small, fluctuating attendance. Later another school opened in the datu bandar's house, but this closed in 1852, with the students invited to attend the Chinese day-school at the mission. The mission did not operate the only Malay schools, however. At least in the mid-1840s, a number of unofficial Koranic schools for boys were in operation, supervised by religious teachers, teaching Malay reading and writing, as well as Koranic reading and recitation of Arabic prayers.[33]

Christianity's biggest religious impact ironically fell upon the Malays, for considerable evidence exists that the mission activities spurred a Muslim revitalization. Europeans viewed the religious practices of the Sarawak Malays as very lax in the 1840s, with the small riverfront mosque poorly attended. Commencement of Anglican missionary activities, however, encouraged a Muslim revival. Attendance at the mosque began increasing considerably, and religious leaders even imitated the mission by calling the faithful to prayers with a bell and

holding daily services, with fines for absentees. A fundraising drive, begun in 1848 by the datu bandar to build a new mosque, resulted in completion of the first Masjid Besar (paramount mosque) in 1852. Partly because Brooke rule brought increased prosperity and wealth to Malays, the pilgrimage to Mecca attained more popularity.[34]

Whereas a European impact on Malays seemed most noticeable in the religious sphere, a growing Chinese and Indian presence affected the Malays economically, by threatening traditional Malay monopoly on certain kinds of trade. For those visiting Kuching's modern bazaar, where commerce resides almost entirely in Chinese and Indian hands, a Malay proclivity for trade in the early settlement is perhaps difficult to comprehend. Yet, in 1847, one prominent European observer wrote that "Malays would rather trade than work,"[35] and that their common goal consisted of getting together enough money to invest in stock so as to proceed upriver to trade among Dayaks, exchanging beads, salt, and brass for rice and jungle produce. According to that account, high profits and low overhead often resulted from Dayak hospitality. Nakodas, along with a few aristocrats, accounted for the most talented Malay traders. Hugh Low noted that the Malays "...taste for the pursuit of trade is quite a passion, and during all their early life they look steadily and anxiously forward to the time when they shall be able to indulge in it with profit themselves."[36] Even sailors on the nakodas boats invested in cargoes as small merchants, obtaining a percentage of the profit. Under Brooke, nakodas and other traders reportedly prospered, some investing in large boats and building imposing houses constructed of bilian (wood) rather than atap (thatch). A few of the nakodas traded as far away as Java and Bali as well as Singapore and west Borneo, exchanging sago procured from the Sarawak coast for European goods, Javan cloth, Chinese pottery, and brass work. Kuching nakodas also began visiting Oya and Muka as early as 1846 in hopes of securing some of the trade from that part of the Sarawak coast.[37]

The demise of Malay commerce did not occur until later, but the roots developed at this time. Chinese and Indians, well organized and frugal, slowly expanded their trading activities throughout the region. Ong Ewe Hai, a Singapore-born Hokkien, who first arrived in Kuching in 1846 at the age of sixteen, exemplified the Horatio Alger story of some of these early traders. Faced at an early age with providing support for a widowed mother and five siblings, Ong obtained some merchandise on credit, settled in Kuching, and then formed a small trading company in partnership with an older trader. It was an arduous life, involving collecting Malay and Dayak produce in a small boat along the river.[38]

Ong later became one of Kuching's wealthiest merchants and Hokkien community leader in the late nineteenth century, but other Chinese immigrants duplicated the self-sacrifice of his early life, not always successfully. Soon Chinese, and to a lesser extent Indians, made their mark on Sarawak's economic

life. By 1850 three or four Chinese- and Indian-owned schooner had entered the carrying trade, against nakoda competition, fo Chinese and European goods. A Chinese firm also built the firs factory to process wet sago into flour in Kuching in 1856 Chinese traders visited Land Dayaks, a traditional Mala clientele, by the late 1840s. Kuching shops established branche as far away as Skrang and Sarikei by 1850. By the mid-1840s Indians had gained ascendancy in the schooner trade betwee Kuching and Singapore, concentrating on importation of Europea goods into Sarawak, especially Kuching's well-stocked India bazaar. Indian boats also traveled to various towns along th coast.[39]

Several European traders also provided commercia competition. The first, and during the Brooke period only important European company, the English-operated Borneo Compan Ltd., established itself in 1856 with Brooke's encouragement Besides financing government commercial schemes, the compan purchased a steamer and opened a shipping service between Kuchin and Singapore. In this manner, the Borneo Company obtained foothold on the sago coast of what later became Sarawak's Thir and Fourth Divisions built a sago factory in Kuching, and gaine monopoly over Upper Sarawak's antimony mines.

Entrance of Chinese, Indians, and Europeans into commercial sphere once dominated by Malays placed the severa ethnic groups in direct competition with each other; occupationa identification did not yet wholly correlate with ethnic grou membership. Furthermore, a certain amount of cultural inter-mixing occurred. For example, most Chinese and Indians spok Malay, or at least the simplified form known as "bazaar Malay," necessity for transacting business in a largely non-Chines society.[40] During this period "bazaar Malay" developed as major language of trade among the different inhabitants of th town. Other modes of cultural change included the adoption o tea drinking by many Malays--a habit learned from Chinese.[41]

Despite some economic competition, inter-ethnic relations in early Brooke Kuching apparently remained relaxed. Surprisingly few cases of legal contention between Malays an Chinese traders developed. A numerically small Chinese minority as yet constituted no significant threat to the Malays, wh obviously had a powerful political influence and retained a hig degree of economic control. Little evidence exists on inter-marriage among different groups. Some Chinese merchants evidently married Chinese women, but whether they were brought from China and the Straits or obtained from the Hakka rural communities transplanted from west Borneo remains unknown. Poor Chinese occasionally sold daughters to Malays or other Chinese, and some Chinese traders probably obtained wives in this way. At least a few traders took Dayak wives. With Dayak and Hakka women evidently available, a Chinese gained little by marrying a Malay woman--a step which required both conversion to Islam and a substantial dowry. Even Indian Muslims maintained a clear separation from Malays and operated their own mosque.[42]

Although social contacts between the various ethnic groups may not have been extensive, and perhaps largely confined to the market place, some social activities transcended ethnicity. The annual regatta, initiated by Brooke in 1846 to celebrate the Western New Year, provides a good example. Most competitors were local Malays and Dayaks from nearby districts, with each datu sponsoring a boat manned by his dependents and other residents of his kampung. Chinese, Indians, and Europeans did not take part but mingled among the crowd as spectators. Brooke saw the regatta as a means of promoting social solidarity and support for his regime.[43]

Other types of social interaction also emerged. The Hokkien trader Ong Ewe Hai claimed to have lived in the house of a Malay during some of this early years, sharing meals and hardships with the family.[44] Peaceful inter-ethnic coexistence ended with the Kuching-Bau War of 1857, which dramatically altered social developments in Kuching.

The Kuching-Bau Conflict

A major watershed in Kuching's history occurred in 1857, with the eruption of what contemporary and later writers generally have termed the "Chinese Rebellion." Historians, discussing the event in considerable detail, have concentrated on political aspects, particularly the struggle for supremacy between Brooke and the Chinese kongsi at Bau. Most accounts have been pro-Brooke, viewing the conflict as a "rebellion" by treacherous upriver Chinese associated with the goldmining kongsi against a downriver rajah who, whatever his faults, followed liberal and just policies in his dealings with the kongsi. This interpretation obscures some significant socioeconomic aspects of the conflict. A broader and more fruitful interpretation would be to view the so-called rebellion as a war between two competing and roughly equal urban settlements, one a heterogeneous trading port and the other a Chinese mining town, for control of the Sarawak River basin in general and Upper Sarawak in particular. A well-established west Borneo rivalry was, in effect, transplanted to Sarawak.

Continued conflict over political and economic differences typified relations between the Upper Sarawak Chinese and Kuching authorities after reestablishment of the goldmining settlement in 1841. The basic incompatibility of interests between the two groups made antagonism inevitable, for the Bau kongsi had been transplanted from west Borneo, where powerful and largely self-governing Chinese mining communities traditionally disdained and disliked downriver states with political pretensions. Established in Sarawak before the arrival of the English rajah, it is hardly surprising that they should look upon Brooke as an interloper attempting to impose control where none effectively existed before. Brooke and his followers for their part could hardly suffer gladly an independent sociopolitical power center control-

ling some of the most valuable economic resources in the entire Raj, the gold mines of Upper Sarawak.

Initially the Hakka colony at Bau numbered no more than 200, too small a number to pose a serious hazard to Kuching's administration. But the 1850 influx of refugees from Pamangkat constituted a decisive change, for several thousand of the refugees, most of them Hakkas, settled in the gold districts. A refugee quarter of atap huts soon developed on the outskirts of Bau it-self, a town that in physical appearance and ethnic composition closely conformed to Chinese mining towns in west Borneo.[45] Upper Sarawak's Chinese population continued to grow by immigration and birth to some 4,000 to 5,000 by 1857.[46] A large Bau Chinese population brought considerable demographic implications, for the Bau settlement contained the largest and most important Chinese population in the state and constituted a sizeable group in a previously Malay-Dayak cultural sphere. In comparison, Kuching's Chinese community appeared small, numbering only around 800 by 1857.

In some respects, Bau-Kuching tension reflected rivalry between two Chinese centers. As long as Bau's Chinese population remained considerably larger than Kuching's, traders from the latter town faced a disadvantage in spreading their influence upriver. Chinese at Bau probably controlled some of the trade with upriver Dayaks. Bau boasted a sizeable bazaar and Kuching's bazaar was not much larger. Kuching's Hokkien, Teochiu, and Cantonese traders resented a Hakka-dominated Bau kongsi resistant to Kuching economic influence. Bau Chinese reciprocated the feeling. Furthermore, Kuching, a Malay, European, and non-Hakka Chinese political center, supplied goods and services but produced little, whereas Hakka-controlled Bau remained closely integrated with surrounding mining camps and relied chiefly on primary production of minerals for which Kuching served as traditional exploiter. Tensions arising from the general role of Kuching in relation to Bau no doubt contributed in some degree to other difficulties.

Numerous sources recorded the immediate causes and events of the fighting in February, 1857, in considerable detail,[47] but the impact on Kuching's Asian inhabitants has been largely ignored. Provoked ostensibly by a Brooke fine for alleged smuggling of opium, kongsi forces attacked and occupied Kuching, killing four Europeans in the undefended town. They avoided molesting the Malays but looted many European homes. As they withdrew from the town upriver, a group of younger Malays counterattacked, prompting the kongsi forces to reoccupy the town against a disorganized Malay opposition. There were many casualties on the Malay side, and about half the town, including many of the kampungs, burned down. Arrival of the Borneo Company steamer allowed Brooke and his Malay and Dayak allies to attack and rout the Chinese; as the kongsi Chinese fled to the border several thousand were killed and the rest driven out of the country. The Bau settlement lay in ruins and did not prosper again for some years.

Throughout the hostilities Kuching Chinese occupied an extremely difficult position. The kongsi warned the bazaar Chinese not to harbor any European refugees on their premises or to aid Europeans in any way, so they greatly feared kongsi retaliation. Chinese houses, like European ones, were robbed and looted, often by town malcontents. Many Christian Chinese fled to the mission house, where they found shelter with the bishop. A large number of Chinese men, women, and children evacuated downriver on a Chinese-owned schooner, accompanied by some Europeans. During the second occupation, remaining bazaar Chinese were as much kongsi targets as the Malays.[48]

Most bazaar Chinese probably followed a prudent neutrality during the occupation, although some found it expedient to hoist the kongsi banner; still, little evidence of widespread Chinese cooperation exists. Indeed, some Chinese seem to have gone out of their way to aid the Brooke cause by fighting alongside Brooke forces, shielding Europeans, donating arms, or financing resistance.[49] The fact that few Kuching Chinese escaped upriver with the retreating Bau forces provides the most telling evidence of their hostility to the kongsi. This is significant, for the bazaar Chinese remained aware of their precarious position with the Malays and Dayaks because of membership in the same ethnic group as kongsi members. Even during the occupation, Malays only reluctantly took in Christian Chinese at the behest of the bishop.[50]

A search of the bazaar soon after the second kongsi evacuation resulted in seizure of twelve suspects:

> The fury of the Malays knew no bounds with these fellows; they seized them by the [pig]tail, and dragged them along to the Court-house; here they kept them...till the Rajah arrived, standing over them with a drawn sword, and measuring the distance from their necks.[51]

Yet only one of these men suffered execution. Some were remanded but the remainder liberated, suggesting that they took no part in the conflict. The Chinese would also have proven more than human had they failed to be uneasy when Ibans held public head-cookings of their kongsi victims in the middle of the bazaar.[52] In large measure because of fear, many Chinese left Kuching soon after the war; the number who eventually returned remains unknown.

Conventional views of the war's impact stress political and economic destruction of Bau, demonstration of Malay and Iban support for Brooke, and mental and physical damage to the rajah himself. From Kuching's perspective, other aspects merit consideration. The mining and farming operations in Upper Sarawak suffered virtual destruction and the district depopulation. While this proved a damaging but temporary blow to Sarawak's economy, it presented unparalleled opportunities for two different groups--Hakka settlers living outside of Upper Sarawak, who began settling on the vacated lands and were later joined by

a few hundred Hakka exiles allowed by Brooke to return; an
Chinese and European merchants of Kuching, who could now expan
their operations into an area once difficult to penetrate. Ba
recovered only slowly and full recovery took years. But lan
became available for exploitation, with land and mining right
granted to the B.C.L., which soon moved into Upper Sarawak i
force. The Bau mines became the company's major economi
interest. Destruction of the kongsi leadership enabled Kuchin
Chinese to establish credit ties with the new settlers in Bau
bringing the district into the Kuching trading system. Absence o
a strong political organization in Bau meant that Kuching Chines
could form closer economic and social ties with the thousands o
Hakka immigrants who settled in the First Division over the year
because a major Hakka power base did not exist as an alternative.

Kuching's Chinese recovered slowly from the economic devas-
tation of 1857. Furthermore, confidence between the various
ethnic groups had to be restored. Some bazaar Chinese who ha
fled during and after the war gradually returned and resume
their business enterprises. Hokkiens and Teochius gained a
advantage over the discredited Hakkas which they exploited t
become economically dominant. Hakkas were not only less welcome
as immigrants but also fragmented and without leadership.
Antagonism towards Chinese remained for many years and inhibite
the community's growth. The Chinese themselves undoubtedly
became more law abiding for they realized their precarious
position. For their part Kuching Malays may have suffered shame
and frustration from their inability to defeat the kongsi on
their own, with their bitterness perhaps directed at Kuching
Chinese for years afterward. Nonetheless, Malay aristocrats
sparked the pro-Brooke resistance, reinforcing their strong
position in town leadership.

Chapter III

PATTERNS OF CHANGE IN A GROWING TOWN

1857-1900

The years following the Kuching-Bau War up to about the turn of the century mark a distinctive period in Kuching's history, a period reflected in a society intermediate between the Malay-dominated settlement of earlier days and the Chinese-dominated town of the twentieth century. During much of this period Charles Brooke, a new rajah with new policies, dominated the political life of town and state. Brooke rule proved conservative in many respects, with a slow pace of change. Nonetheless, certain patterns of change did operate during the late nineteenth century and this chapter considers some of these developments as they affected the town as a whole, while Chapter IV discusses the social organization of, and impact of change on, individual ethnic groups.

A major historical process influencing Kuching society was demographic; the town remained a predominantly Malay settlement before 1900, but Chinese and other groups grew in numbers and influence, altering the population's ethnic composition. Population growth also resulted in important alterations in the physical setting of the urban society. The late nineteenth century proved a crucial period economically, since during these years Chinese traders achieved their domination of commercial life at Malay expense--a domination significantly altering previous patterns of social and economic interaction. Christian missions emerged as a more important social and cultural influence in the last two decades of the century. Political as well as demographic, economic, and cultural factors influenced the emerging urban society during this period, particularly through the operation of indirect rule.

The Changing Ethnic Balance

Kuching recovered slowly from the 1857 devastation, but by 1870 had attained more prosperity and population than characterized the mid-1850s. Hugh Low, an old European resident who revisited the town in 1868 after an absence of over twenty years, expressed surprise at finding a bazaar of 250 shops where once

had stood only a swamp and about forty Chinese shops.[1]

Charles Johnson, the first rajah's nephew, who assumed th surname Brooke and took control of the state when James Brook retired to England in 1863, deserved much of the credit fo Kuching's recovery and subsequent development. He became raja in 1868, ruling Sarawak for the next half century as stronges and greatest of the three rajahs, and leaving his personal mar on both state and capital. The new ruler, with many years o experience in the Dayak interior and a fervent desire to impos his own notions of economic development, immediately set abou implementing policies to encourage Chinese immigration, which h believed would strengthen the economy. Brooke provided land t immigrants on liberal terms; Chinese in turn took up planting o cash crops.[2] Sarawak's economic growth and increased immigratio in the late nineteenth century inevitably affected Kuching, th capital and only port of entry; furthermore, the Sarawak Rive basin and adjacent areas experienced the greatest economi development. The deep river allowed Kuching to function as th major seaport of the region and thus to dominate coastal an riverine trade. Therefore, the stage was set for a more exten sive demographic and economic growth than had been possibl before 1857.

Most immigrants to Sarawak came in response to increasin economic opportunities provided by Brooke policies, with agricul ture, primarily the cash crops of gambier[3] and pepper, providin the backbone of economic growth. From the very first, growin and marketing of these two crops remained in Chinese hands. B the late 1870s, when many Chinese began cultivating gambier an pepper, increasing numbers of planters and laborers entere Sarawak in response to liberal Brooke land policies and plantin incentives. Boom conditions prevailed in the 1890s, many Chines making enough to return to China or to establish businesses i towns. In this way development of the rural economy contribute to a population increase in Kuching, and the prosperity of th gambier and pepper industries constituted the major influence t a changing ethnic balance. Other important economic opportuni ties attracting both Chinese and non-Chinese immigrants include resus-citation of the Upper Sarawak mining industry, expansion o sago production and exporting, and opportunities for retail trad resulting from Sarawak's gradual acquisition from Brunei of th Rejang, Baram, Trusan, and upper Limbang river basins, whic opened new markets.

Widely varying population estimates between 1857 and 190 preclude accurate documentation of Kuching's growth. A govern ment census of the First Division in 1876, which found 7,68 people living in Sarawak Proper (Kuching),[4] provides the mos accurate of available figures. By the turn of the century a increase to 12,000 or 15,000 seems probable. If a roughl accurate guess, the town doubled in population between th mid-1870s and 1900. Available sources also suggest a gradua increase in the Chinese proportion of the population and consequent decline in Malay numerical dominance. The 187

Kuching census enumerated 2,251 Chinese, 5,311 Malays, and 122 Indians; a dozen Europeans and a few Eurasians and Dayaks also lived in the town. Apparently the census included Malayo-Muslim immigrant groups such as Javanese and Boyanese with Malays. Although Malays still outnumbered Chinese by better than two to one, Chinese and Indians registered nearly thirty percent of the total, a marked rise from the ten percent in 1857. No estimates of ethnic composition exist for the later nineteenth century, but the Chinese proportion of the population probably increased as immigration quickened. Kuching was in transition from a chiefly Malay to a predominantly Chinese town.

Chinese entering the Kuching area in search of economic opportunities came under a variety of programs, some imported as contract laborers, primarily to work on small estates, and others coming under "group immigration" schemes such as one in 1898, which brought some 300 Christian Hakkas to Kuching's southern outskirts.[5] But a majority of Chinese came as free immigrants, to take up planting, commerce, or other occupations. Since few immigrants brought enough capital to establish their own firms or estates, most worked for others. In many cases an immigrant served as an apprentice in the business or trade of a relative; the majority probably worked for an employer from their own speech group. Because of a strong tendency for certain speech groups to specialize in particular occupations, dialect and occupation became closely correlated among new arrivals. After a few years, many could establish their own businesses. A large number of Chinese returned to China if they achieved success in Kuching, since an eventual return to China was a common goal; consequently a higher population turnover characterized the Chinese than any other major ethnic group. Nonetheless, many stayed, and the Chinese became a settled community.

Indians, who also came to Sarawak in response to increasing economic opportunities, comprised the second largest immigrant group. Supplementing the Moplah community already established in the town, other Malabaris came to join relatives or to start new businesses on their own. But Moplahs no longer constituted the only Indian group settling in Kuching. Tamils from Madras, most of them Hindu, began filtering in soon after the conflict of 1857. A further strengthening of the Tamil contingent came in 1897, when the Brooke government commenced importing Tamil contract laborers for work on government estates near Kuching and in the Public Works Department. By 1899 over 380 had arrived under this program, one third of them women;[6] many settled permanently. In 1866, sixty Sepoys (exiled Indian soldiers who had taken part in the Indian Mutiny of 1857) entered Kuching under government sponsorship.[7] These and later Sepoys almost all joined the police department, with most stationed in Kuching. A small and gradual influx of Sikhs and other groups with origins in the Indian subcontinent also began in the late nineteenth century.

Although Chinese and Indians provided the most visible immigration, many Malayo-Muslims settled in Kuching between 1857

and 1900. Several thousand probably arrived form west Borne Brunei, and various parts of the archipelago, but especially fr other districts of Sarawak. For example, immigrants from t Natuna Islands came to Kuching in 1873-1874, to escape politic difficulties, and Brooke recruited small numbers of Malays fr the Straits Settlements for government service. The rajah a the Borneo Company also sponsored the immigration of Boyanese the late 1860s and early 1870s, while Javanese settlers we reported in the 1870s and 1880s.[8] Many of the Malayo-Muslims, particular Javanese and Boyanese, settled in their own areas the outskirts of town; others settled in existing Malay kampun or formed new kampungs based on district or country of origin.

Other peoples also settled in Kuching in the late nin teenth century. Shortly after the end of the Kuching-Bau Wa James Brooke evidently sponsored the first Iban settlement. T rajah believed that a settlement of Ibans in the Kuching ar would act as a valuable defense and deterrent force again potential rivals. In 1858, he asked Jangun, a leader of t Balau Ibans at Banting in the lower Batang Lupar, to migrate wi his followers to Kuching. These Balau Ibans, allies of the raj and the traditional enemies of upriver Ibans who once raid along the coast, established a longhouse of eight families ne the bazaar; as the community began to expand they moved t settlement to Kampung Tabuan, about three miles southeast of t bazaar.[9] The Kampung Tabuan Ibans began the Kuching Iban comm nity which exists today, but only a few other Dayaks settled Kuching before 1900, mostly to serve in the military force or work for the Sarawak Museum as collectors.

Among other small ethnic groups, the earliest documenta reference to a Japanese presence came in 1889. By 1901, t government allotted a burial ground on the edge of town to t growing Japanese community. Japanese primarily worked as sma traders and hawkers, but they probably numbered fewer than tw dozen before the turn of the century.[10] Filipinos first arriv in 1888, after Charles Brooke had traveled to Manila to recru twenty members for a new constabulary band. During the 1890s this band included about twenty Filipinos, nearly all of the Tagalog-speaking Roman Catholics.[11] Bandsmen came to Kuching o contract and most returned to Manila after five or ten years, bu a few married local women, usually Land Dayaks, and settle permanently. The European and Eurasian communities remained ver small, with most of the men employed in the rajah's service.

Development of the Town and Its Environs

During the late nineteenth century, three significan ethnic groups--Malays, Chinese, and Indians--and a half doze smaller groups lived in Kuching, with the ethnic heterogeneity o the town readily apparent to even the most casual visitor residents in diverse dress jammed the streets: pigtailed Chines traders in blue silk jackets and wide black trousers; Malays i

patterned jackets, white trousers, gaily decorated sarongs, and handkerchiefs around their heads; Europeans in white uniforms and helmets; visiting Dayaks with beads and bangles on their arms and legs, and colorful waist cloths; Moplah merchants in long white Indian tunics and sarongs. The ethnic heterogeneity manifested it-self in the town's physical patterns. With extension of town boun-daries due to population growth, the dualism between a Chinese-Indian bazaar and Malay kampungs was extended and solidified.

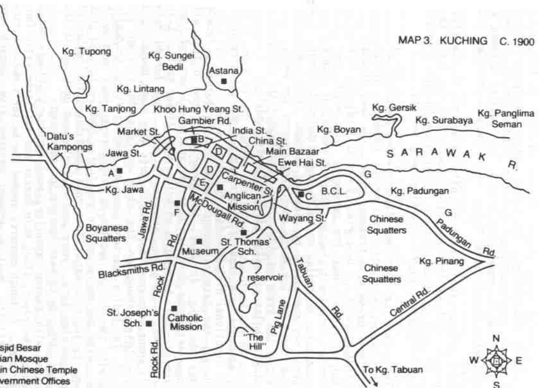
The relationship between ethnicity and residential patterns, as well as the physical situation of the town, can clearly be seen in a description recorded by Charles Brooke's wife, Ranee Margaret, in the late nineteenth century.

> The Bazaar runs for some distance along the banks of the river, and this quarter is inhabited almost entirely by Chinese traders, with ...[a few] Hindoo [Indian] shops.... Groceries of exotic kinds are laid out on tables near the pavement, from which pur-chasers make their choice... Behind the Bazaar rise a succession of hills, on which are situated European bungalows surrounded by pleasant gardens of flowers and fruit.... The Malay town lies towards the west, along the banks of the river, and beyond the town stretch miles and miles of flat forest land.[12]

Bazaar, kampungs, and urban fringe comprised the major residen-tial and functional divisions (see Map 3).

During the late nineteenth century, the bazaar's facade gradually changed. In 1871, the government ordered that all buildings facing the river (on Main Bazaar Street), most of them of thatch or plank, be rebuilt of brick, with timber roofs. Even poorer artisans living on Carpenter Street, just behind Main Bazaar's shops, replaced their thatch huts with plank houses, and began building shops on the then empty south side of the street.[13] The Indian quarter, known as Kampung Kling, gradually merged with the Chinese section as new Chinese shops were built upriver, with the Moplah mosque and Indian theatre located just adjacent to India Street. This road constituted the center of Indian community life. More bazaar development occurred in the 1880s and 1890s, as Chinese immigration increased.

Even with bazaar expansion, most important Chinese shops fronted on the river, along Main Bazaar and its later extension, Gambier Road. Although commerce seemed the bazaar's most charac-teristic activity, most government offices also concentrated there, including the court house. Some back streets contained artisan workshops of various types as well as small retail estab-lishments and restaurants. For example, Carpenter and China streets contained carpenters, shoemakers, and bakers. Particular occupations tended to be located in the same area. Thus, Carpen-ter Street gained its name because most early settlers on the street were carpenters. By the 1880s, businesses along the


MAP 3. KUCHING C. 1900
Kg. Tupong
Kg. Sungei Bedil
Astana
Kg. Lintang
Kg. Tanjong
Khoo Hung Yeang St.
Gambier Rd.
Kg. Gersik
Kg. Surabaya
Kg. Panglima Seman
Kg. Boyan
Datu's Kampongs
Market St.
India St.
China St.
Main Bazaar
Ewe Hai St.
Jawa St.
S A R A W A K R.
A
B
C
D
D
E
F
G
G
Kg. Jawa
Carpenter St.
Anglican Mission
B.C.L.
Kg. Padungan
McDougall Rd.
Wayang St.
Chinese Squatters
Padungan Rd.
Boyanese Squatters
Jawa Rd.
Rd.
Museum
St. Thomas' Sch.
Kg. Pinang
Chinese Squatters
Blacksmiths Rd.
reservoir
Tabuan Rd.
Rock
Central Rd.
St. Joseph's Sch.
Catholic Mission
Pig Lane
"The Hill"
Rock Rd.
To Kg. Tabuan
N
W
E
S
Key
A Masjid Besar
B Indian Mosque
C Main Chinese Temple
D Government Offices
E Bandstand Esplanade
F Sarawak Club
G Sago Factories

street had become more diversified but a concentration still existed. A certain amount of ethnic and sub-ethnic specialization paralleled occupational specialization. Main Bazaar and Gambier Road contained mostly Hokkien, Teochiu, and Chaoann shops, since these groups, predominantly retail merchants, importers, and exporters, needed close access to docks and warehouses along the riverbank. Hakkas and, to a lesser extent, Cantonese, constituted the majority of artisans, who were concentrated on back streets.

The crowded and compact bazaar contained mostly two- or three-story shophouses, with many shopkeepers, their families and assistants living above the shops. Upper stories often included small cubicles for rent to laborers and others. During times of economic distress in rural districts, unemployed and often diseased laborers crowded the bazaar, sleeping in Chinese temples and living by begging or through the charity of shopkeepers. Even in times of general prosperity a steady number of scavengers engaged in such activities as street cleaning.[14]

The development of the bazaar was not without difficulties. All towns in Sarawak suffered periodically from fire, and Kuching was no exception. The worst fire in the town's history occurred in January, 1884, when most of the buildings on Carpenter and China streets were destroyed:

> From a house at the corner of China and Carpenter Streets, the fire spread.... As flames headed toward Main Bazaar...the scene was indescribable, wealthy traders and shopkeepers flinging their goods out into the streets by the bank of the river...assisted by coolies and people of all kinds who in a great many cases only added to the confusion by plundering shops and making off.... [From] the house of Ghee Soon and Company, the largest Chinese firm...poured forth a strange medley of valuables. Balls of opium, cases of champagne and spirit, casks of arrack, kerosene oil, chests of money, gambier, etc....[15]

A total of 130 houses were destroyed, and many others damaged. The fire gave everyone a chance to rebuild, however, and the buildings were soon reconstructed in brick. Thereafter, Kuching bazaar had very little trouble with fires.

In contrast to a Chinese and Indian bazaar, the overwhelmingly Malay kampungs contained elements of both village and suburb, a part-urban, part-rural atmosphere which contributed immeasurably to the adjustment of formerly rural Malays to town-dwelling. Many Malays, in some kampungs a strong majority, worked in the bazaar, primarily for the government, but on returning home they faced a wholly Malay milieu. Most Kuching kampungs occurred in clusters, often with few visible boundaries, but an individual kampung usually stood as a self-contained neighborhood with its own identity and social structure. The basis for this identity lay in administrative jurisdiction,

family ties, and, sometimes, different ancestral origins. Ea kampung had a tua kampung and its own surau (prayer house later, in the twentieth century, it often contained its o social and recreational clubs restricted to residents of th kampung. A definite sense of belonging to a particular kampu existed, with many Malay families associated with a particul one since settling in Kuching. Due to slight variations spoken Malay among different groups of kampungs, the accent of Kuching Malay easily identified his kampung. This remained tr in the modern period.

Of the three main concentrations of kampungs, the kampun of the Datu's Peninsula, on the south bank to the west of t bazaar, comprised the largest and most important. As t original Malay settlement, and because of their long existen and nearness to the bazaar, these kampungs remained the mos aristocratic. All datus, most perabangan, and a hi percentage of Malay civil servants lived on the Datu's Peninsul A second group of kampungs stood on the north bank. Unlike t Datu's Peninsula, the north bank held a heavy concentration migrants from other parts of Sarawak and Malayo-Muslim immigrant from other countries. Immigrant origins especially characteriz a string of kampungs which developed downriver from the astan Kampung Boyan, nearest the astana, was believed to be settled Boyanese; Minangkabaus formed Kampung Gersik; and Kampur Surabaya may have been established by arrivals from Java. Excep for Kampungs Gersik and Boyan, which contained a large number government employees, most of the north bank kampungs maintaine a more rural orientation than those of the Datu's Peninsula du to their relative isolation from the bazaar. Small sampan provided the only cross-river transportation. A final, smalle kampung concentration stood at Padungan, east of the bazaar; large number of immigrant Malays evidently lived in thi neighborhood.[16]

A sizeable number of Chinese, Tamils, and Malayo-Muslim also lived on Kuching's outskirts, in what might be called th "urban fringe." Except for a few European houses, Chinese marke gardens occupied most of the fringe area not covered still wit jungle in the 1850s and early 1860s. Later in the century however, the area began to lose its wholly rural character wit an influx of settlers and the appearance of shops, small indus trial operations, and residences of wealthy bazaar merchants Padungan, the most important fringe neighborhood, contained sag factories, brick kilns, and other small industrial activities and a population that included both Malays and Chinese; the tw groups may have lived together in the same kampung.[16] A larg number of Padungan Chinese were employed in the sago factories which provided housing in crowded thatch "coolie" sheds. B 1900, the outskirts were in the process of transition from "urba fringe" to residential and industrial suburbs, a process tha paralleled the construction of roads and extension of townshi boundaries.

Except for some urban fringe neighborhoods, most notabl

Padungan, residence was largely a function of ethnic group membership, symbolized by the dualism between bazaar and kampung. The residential compartmentalization of different ethnic groups resulted from a number of factors, perhaps most importantly government policy. Laws generally prohibited Chinese from purchasing land and houses or residing in Malay kampungs because the government believed it "undesirable that Chinese, and other such classes, should mix with them [the Malays]."[17] Non-Muslim Chinese also faced barriers against operating shops in kampungs without government consent. In 1900, Brooke issued an order reserving the entire north bank for some miles downriver to the Malays and other Muslims for planting and building, with Chinese and other non-Malays granted the south bank, downriver from the bazaar, for industrial and other activities.[18] This ruling confirmed an existing tendency for Malays to dominate the north bank, and Chinese the south bank.

Malays do not appear to have been barred from living among the Chinese, but in practice few did so. Most shunned the bazaar as a place of residence because of the presence of numerous dogs (considered unclean animals by Muslims), lack of space for gardens, and a preference for single-family, detached houses. Furthermore, few Malays operated retail shops. Residential segregation therefore resulted largely from governmental policy and cultural particularism.

The Rise of Chinese Commercial Hegemony

Establishment of Chinese commercial dominance constitutes perhaps the most significant development in Kuching's social history between 1857 and 1900, radically altering the nature of a once small Malay town. The pace of change was dramatic. In the late 1850s, most Chinese worked as small shopkeepers with two chief sources of income--jungle and swamp produce collected by Dayaks and Malays and obtained in exchange for consumer goods; and retail trade among Chinese and Malays in Kuching and at various places throughout the immediate hinterland. Indians mostly operated small shops, dealing primarily in piece goods for a largely Malay clientele; a few others operated schooners to Singapore and along the Sarawak coast. Malays included nakodas, some of whom had fairly substantial fleets which traded in coastal districts and outside Sarawak, and small Malay traders who worked primarily in Dayak areas. Some Malay aristocrats found their high status and influence useful in undertaking trading ventures. One large European firm, the Borneo Company Ltd. (B.C.L.), concentrated largely on planting, mining, and shipping; because of these activities, the company garnered a share of the export trade. Over the next few decades a small number of Japanese and European traders also established themselves, concentrating on retail trade.

By 1900, Kuching's trading system had been altered drastically. Chinese had broadened the scope of their activities

to include planting, exporting, importing, mining, and service
The Malay trading elite, on the other hand, had nearly di
appeared, while Indians, Europeans, and Japanese mostly remain
small traders. Only the B.C.L., among non-Chinese interest
still controlled a sizeable section of the economic life.

Chinese achieved their domination only through sti
competition with other groups, particularly Malays. Although t
Chinese commercial community gained strength in the late 1850
it remained very small and possibly numerically inferior to t
Kuching Malay trading group. Furthermore, Kuching nakod
actually expanded their activities under the more secure cond
tions prevailing under the Raj, particularly along the "Sa
Coast," where the sago produced by Melanau cultivators had lo
constituted a profitable trading item for Brunei aristocrats w
carried it directly to Singapore for processing. By 185
Kuching Malay traders were carrying sago directly to Kuching f
processing, with the "Sago Coast" becoming the area of greate
Malay trading strength.

But Kuching Chinese also entered the sago trade, gainin
eventual domination of it. Chinese gained control by givi
better prices for sago and establishing factories in Kuching an
later, elsewhere to process it. An article in the Saraw
Gazette of 1878 described the process well:

> At Oya...a few Malay traders, some of that place, others from Kuching, desired me to interfere with the Chinese traders up river, some of whom have opened shops in the different villages, and restrict them to trading in boats, upon the ground that they, the Malay traders, could not compete with the Chinese and were consequently unable to earn a livelihood. I replied that such a step would be an unusual one and I thought the Melanaus would deal with those who should sell the goods the cheaper whether Chinese, or Malays, and it being desirable to encourage the extension of trade I could not comply with the request preferred by them.[19]

A Chinese towkay (trader) evidently built the first sag
refinery in Kuching in 1856.[20] This development allowed coasta
traders to bring the unrefined, wet sago directly down the coas
for processing, from where it could then be exported to Singapor
as dry flour. The number of sago factories in Kuching gre
rapidly; by 1875, five had appeared, all owned by Chinese firms
and by 1899, ten.[21] Furthermore, Chinese traders began movin
into Muka after incorporation of the territory into Sarawak i
1861, and soon established shops. Within thirty years thes
traders, usually agents for Kuching firms, had relegated th
Malays to a very minor role in the trade, depriving nakodas o
their major commercial interest.

Chinese traders outmaneuvered the Malays for control o
the sago industry, but in some other agricultural activitie

Chinese themselves pioneered in the development. For example, both major export crops of the late nineteenth century, gambier and pepper, developed largely under Chinese auspices, bringing considerable wealth to Kuching Chinese since many traders operated gardens and exported the products.[22] The gambier and pepper industries constituted the mainstay of Sarawak's economy until introduction of rubber in the early twentieth century.

Kuching Chinese traders also established control over much of the retail trade and import business as well. For example, since Sarawak never established a rice industry capable of supplying all the needs of the population, rice had to be imported, primarily from Bangkok; Chinese, with business ties to other Chinese firms in Southeast Asia, could obtain the rice. Similarly Chinese could procure luxury goods, primarily through the entrepot of Singapore. Chinese retail shops depended on Chinese importers to supply them with the necessary goods. In the early days of Brooke rule, Malays constituted the prime consumers for Kuching's retail shops, but as the Chinese population grew over the years the great majority of customers became Chinese; many Kuching shops also expanded their operations to outstations, often against initial Malay opposition.[23]

Chinese economic activities reduced the scope of Malay trading operations so effectively that, by the 1880s, commerce had ceased to be at all significant among Kuching Malays. Some small-scale Malay traders remained both in Kuching and other areas, but their shops generally seemed poorly stocked in comparison with the Chinese. In Kuching they nearly all concentrated in kampungs, where restrictions on Chinese settling or running shops safeguarded their position. Although the position of nakoda almost disappeared, a few wealthier aristocrats and Sumatrans remained in the shipping business at least until the 1920s, sometimes sending boats as far as Java and Sumatra. Occasionally a Malay went into partnership with a prominent Chinese. The last major Malay trader died in 1886, effectively marking the end of the Malay trading period in Kuching.[24]

Reasons for the development of Chinese commercial hegemony vary, but lack of competition from other non-Malay trading groups surely constitutes an important feature. The B.C.L. had considerable success in mining and shipping, but also worked in close cooperation with Chinese interests. In any case, the company decided early to leave retail trade to the Chinese. Brooke discouraged European financial speculation in Sarawak, except for the B.C.L., and this may have hindered other European interests. Indians seemed content to remain largely in their established retail businesses, and few took any interest in planting or the export trade. The Indian trading community remained small in comparison to the Chinese; its major component, the Moplahs, had concentrated on textile and brassware retailing for generations. Japanese never numbered many more than a hundred even after 1900, too few to provide a challenge.

The most important reasons for Chinese success, however, would seem to lie in the nature of the Chinese trading system,

for Chinese benefited from a combination of capital, organiz tion, and attitude. Most Kuching Chinese traders had ties wi Chinese business interests in Singapore, enabling them to procu credit in cash or goods in exchange for the promise of futu goods to be delivered. A credit relationship therefore lubr cated the Chinese economic system. Chinese held a better positi for investment than Malays and also for financing operations other Chinese acting in various outstations as agents for Kuchi firms while indebted to their patrons. Whereas a Malay trad generally worked on his own, and without any significant inves ment capital, a Chinese comprised part of a highly organiz system. The Chinese trader, through his patron-client relatio ships, could operate on a low profit margin because of backing patrons. Furthermore, a Chinese could usually count on suppo from members of his family, clan, and speech group, and lat from mutual help associations of various kinds. The attitude the Chinese traders--a willingness to work long hours daily wi the single-minded goal of making money--aided their enterprise.

Chinese trading networks and aptitude were hardly unique Sarawak, of course; similar developments characterized Chine society in other parts of Southeast Asia. But an important loc variation lies in the nature of Brooke rule. The second raj and his officers believed Chinese commerce to be a desirab activity, partly because the Chinese produced the great bulk Sarawak's revenue through exports and their patronage of gover ment monopolies, such as opium, and partly because commer seemed to Europeans a natural Chinese talent likely to expand t economy. Both Charles Brooke and his successor, Charles Vyn Brooke, held little sympathy for Malay trading activity. Th English rajahs believed that government officials should n maintain trading sidelines, as this would compromise the morality and impartiality. Since most Malay aristocrats Kuching were government servants, this debarred them fr commerce. Officials usually viewed nakoda traders as nor productive; the Gazette noted in 1878: "Our opinion is that a soon as the Malay gives up the empty form of a trading nakodh without capital or credit, he will take up his proper positior which he is fast doing."[25] Brooke regarded agriculture as a mor proper occupation for Malays who could not be governmer servants.

Although the government took few steps to prohibit trade b non-civil servants, regulations to require registration and t restrict the opportunities of itinerant traders, many of the Malay, discouraged Malay petty trade.[26] Furthermore, Mala traders received little encouragement or protection from Chines competition; over the decades their morale gradually declined and Chinese replaced Malays as the major commercial group.

Whatever the reasons for the demise of the Malay tradir class, it does seem clear that nakodas and other Malay trader demonstrated a potential for commerce. Yet, it would be mistake to overestimate their promise for developing into moder retail traders or their entreprenurial example for modern Malay

inte-ested in mercantile careers. The nineteenth-century Malay entrepreneurs were not really urban retail merchants like the Chinese but rather shippers and rural barter-traders disinclined to the steady give-and-take of an urban shopkeeper. They could not withstand the challenge of a more efficient Chinese trading system.

Malays lost their commercial leadership to Chinese but received compensation in the form of preferential treatment for government service positions. Expansion of the Brooke Raj and population growth inevitably resulted in an increased demand on governmental departments and a corresponding increase in the number of government workers. Europeans held the highest administrative and supervisory appointments, but Malays, Chinese, and a few Eurasians filled subordinate positions, such as those of clerk, surveyor, teacher, or court interpreter. Throughout the entire Brooke period Malays gained a majority of positions, including a few educated immigrants from Sumatra or the Straits Settlements. Most local born Malay civil servants came from aristocratic families, some of them graduates of Christian mission schools. By the end of the century the bureaucracy constituted an important institution in Kuching and a major avenue for Malay employment.

Expansion of Christian Missionary Activity

A gradual expansion of Christian missionary activities provided a major influence on social and cultural change during the late nineteenth century, for missions played important roles in education and the development of Westernized and Christian segments of the town population. The important Anglican mission founded by the McDougalls in 1848 received stiff competition from a Roman Catholic mission established in 1881, under the supervision of the Mill Hill Fathers. For the remainder of the Brooke period, Anglican and Roman Catholic missions waged strong competition for converts in the building of a Christian community.

Both missions made slow progress in recruiting members and both concentrated on Kuching Chinese, but the Anglicans had more success before 1900. During the first two decades of its existence the Anglican mission made converts very slowly and ordained its first Chinese deacon, the Hakka headmaster of the Anglican school, only in 1865.[27] By 1869, a year after the departure of the McDougalls, church rolls included only 200 Chinese.[28] Recruitment proved more successful in the 1880s and 1890s, and gained impetus with the influx of 300 Christian Hakkas in 1898; they soon affiliated with the Anglican church in Kuching and their leader, Kong Kwui En, became the mission's leading Chinese catechist. By 1900, Chinese Anglicans in Kuching may have numbered several thousand.[29] The Catholic mission grew more slowly; by 1891, after ten years of hard labor, the Mill Hill Fathers had recruited only about 350 converts throughout

Sarawak.[30] By 1900, Chinese Catholics probably numbered in t hundreds in Kuching.

Education proved the major activity undertaken by mission with mission schools developed under their auspices becoming t most important educational institutions in Kuching during t Brooke period. The Anglican mission established the fir mission school, St. Thomas's, in 1848. The school was original co-educational, but a separate girls' school began in 1886, lat to be called St. Mary's, the first female educational instituti in Sarawak. With some financial assistance from Brooke, t Roman Catholic mission established St. Joseph's School in 188 It educated both boys and girls until the founding of a separa school, St. Theresa's Girls School, in 1885. Catholic schoo during this period maintained primarily clerical teaching staff but the Anglican schools employed both lay and mission teachers.

Over the course of the century, mission schools educated increasing number of Kuching students. The largest school, St Thomas's, enrolled 177 students by 1900. St. Mary's remaine small, but St. Joseph's grew rapidly, from twenty students 1883 to eighty in 1899. By the end of the century, St. Joseph' attained almost half the size of long-established St. Thomas's An influx of day students as well as expansion of boar ing facilities helps account for rapid increases during th 1890s.[31] Few other schools existed in Kuching before 1900, wit two Malay schools the most important (see Chapter IV). Bu former students of a mission school constituted the majority o people with any locally obtained education. Chinese comprise the great majority of mission school students, with most of th remainder Dayak.[32] By the late 1880s and early 1890s, Malays an Indians began to enroll in larger numbers although never consti tuting an important proportion of mission school students befor 1900. Malay parents generally feared that Christian school would corrupt their children's Islamic faith.

St. Thomas's original purpose was to turn out mission cate chists, and the mission recruited some Chinese and Dayaks in thi way. But most graduates of both St. Thomas's and St. Joseph' became clerks in government or private industry. Some of the left Kuching to seek employment in Malaya, particularly Selango and Singapore, but a majority seem to have stayed in Kuching During the late nineteenth century St. Thomas's educated a muc larger number of civil servants for the Sarawak governmen service than did St. Joseph's, the majority of them Chinese Because of preparation for clerical and bureaucratic careers mission education constituted a vehicle of upward mobility fo Hakka Chinese, since Hakkas comprised a majority of Chines students. Hakkas became the Chinese group most inclined towar civil service careers because they had better chances of succes in government service than as merchants.

Besides producing clerks, mission schools also helpe create a Westernized and largely Christian group among th Kuching Chinese. St. Thomas's and St. Mary's schools produced significant proportion of Anglican converts, while parents o

relatives of converted schoolboys accounted for many others. Chinese and Dayak boarders at mission schools were most likely to adopt Christianity. Boarders comprised a majority of St. Thomas's students, with day students accounting for only ten to twenty percent of the enrollment.[33] The fact that in 1876 all boarders were Christian illustrates the close correlation between boarding and adoption of Christianity. A similar predominance of boarders existed at St. Joseph's, with sixty of the eighty students being boarders in 1899.[34] Schools evidently attempted to house Chinese and Dayak boarders in separate quarters, since the government feared that Dayak boys educated in Kuching would "acquire bad habits from their Chinese comrades."[35] Brooke policy toward the Dayaks often reflected this implicit European view of the Dayak as a "noble savage."

Mission policies after 1857 consciously reflected a desire to spread Western influence. As Seymour has noted, an incipient public school tone appeared increasingly at St. Thomas's in the 1860s, with a growing emphasis on teaching of English.[36] Bishop McDougall openly hoped that English would become Sarawak's major language and a unifying medium for all local ethnic groups. Boarding students received a strong dose of European culture, ranging from cricket to plum pudding. Charles Brooke encouraged implementation of Western values by giving school speeches extolling Western values such as individual responsibility, industry, and liberty.[37] Christian missions in general, and mission schools in particular, constituted important influences for social and cultural change--influences that became even stronger after 1900.

Development and Incipient Modification of Indirect Rule

Kuching's growth after 1857 required certain changes in administration, since the informal methods employed by James Brooke proved inadequate for dealing with an increasing Chinese, Malay, and Indian population. Although Charles Brooke did not face the security problems of his predecessor, and had less need for total reliance on the Malay elite, he nonetheless believed, as did his uncle, that a form of indirect rule provided the most appropriate system for governing an ethnically heterogeneous society. A more formal indirect rule system developed between 1857 and 1900, however, than existed previously, with a larger European bureaucracy and more carefully defined roles for leaders of various Asian communities. Nonetheless, flexibility marked Brooke's indirect rule, since the process of governing occasionally involved interaction among the elites of different communities.

Administration of the township and of various ethnic groups were separate functions. Kuching township constituted part of the First Division, with division of Sarawak into five administrative jurisdictions in 1873.[38] The resident was chief divisional administrative officer; the Brookes always appointed a

senior European officer to the post, and the resident of
division ranked second only to the rajah as an import
government figure.

Although the divisional resident lived in Kuching and de
with many aspects of Kuching's political and economic life,
delegated many less-important administrative duties to a s
ordinate European officer generally termed the resident
Kuching, a post equal in stature to that of an outstat
resident, but not to that of a divisional resident. The re
dent's duties were ill-defined and subject to the orders of
divisional resident, but they appear to have been wide rang
and largely concerned with township operations.[39] Apparently
resident also served as an unofficial town social chairma
frequently officiating at the annual regatta and racing meetin
and often presiding over the Sarawak Club, which was restric
to Europeans.

Despite growing administrative formalization, the ra
continued to take an interest in township affairs as well
various governmental operations centered in Kuching, and
routinely visited various offices almost every day:

> At nine o'clock, he would cross the river. A little group of officials would be waiting on the landing-stage to greet him and would form up in procession behind him as he walked, under a ceremonial but tatteredly yellow umbrella, carried by a sergeant of the Sarawak Rangers, to the Court-house. A Malay retainer carrying books and a paper umbrella in case of rain brought up the rear. The (Divisional) Resident with four Datus were lined up there to greet him. After shaking each by the hand, he would visit the Treasury and the Resident's office, then would be accessible to anyone who wished to see him, or... would move to the Court-room to preside over the judiciary. At the end of the morning he would walk back in procession to the landing-stage, and go home for his luncheon. He liked to go, on horseback or foot, in the late afternoon to inspect whatever public work was at hand. Sometimes in the evening he entertained guests.[40]

Yet, Brooke, a benevolent despot, and his European office
generally confined their attention to the administration
Kuching's economic and political structure, not the soc
structure. European officials exercised control over Malay
Chinese, and Indians through the elites of each community in
manner similar to that practiced before 1857.

Indirect rule applied most strictly to Malays. As
earlier years, the traditional aristocracy headed by the dat
administered the Malays. No ambiguity existed in Malay leade
ship structure, with the datus clearly recognized by all as t
major Malay personalities. During Charles Brooke's rule the

were four titles datuships. Although the datus's authority over Malays extended throughout Sarawak, Kuching Malays filled all titled datuships during the nineteenth century; thus the datus and the Kuching Malay elite overlapped. Other persons held datu rank outside of Kuching, but none received titled datuships or had state-wide authority.

The highest datu, the bandar (port chief), served essentially as the premier chief in Kuching and the entire state; he also sat as president of the Datu's Court (Malay Court). The bandar inherited the functions of the original patinggi (paramount chief) with abolition of that office in 1854. The datu imam (high priest), religious head of the Malay community, became the second most important official under Charles Brooke. Although originally second only to the bandar and patinggi, the office of temonggong (commander-in-chief) gradually declined in importance. The fourth officer, the datu hakim (judge) served as major authority on Malay adat (custom) and Islamic law. The establishment of this position did not come until 1886 and may have reflected the growing complexity of the Malay community and a gradual formalization in the Brooke legal system. Sometimes a fifth position--that of datu muda (young datu)--was awarded to the bandar's eldest son and heir apparent.

Brooke always selected the datus from among leading aristocratic families, generally from the most prestigious personalities. Other datus had to pass on his appointments but always approved the selection. A report of a Supreme Council meeting in 1890 described one process of selection and indicated that ratification of the rajah's choice was by unanimous consent.[41] Brooke paid the datus a regular salary. Their most important local duty was to sit on the Datu's Court, which met regularly in Kuching and handled all legal cases involving Malay customary law. The Kuching Datu's Court had jurisdiction over the town and some nearby kampungs such as Matang and Quop, and also considered serious cases from elsewhere in Sarawak. They also sat in rotation on the Police Court for petty crimes, and on various other local bodies. In addition to their control of the local Malay community, the datus held some largely symbolic power in state administration through appointment to two state-wide bodies: the Supreme Council, an elite advisory body where three datus and one other Kuching Malay held the only non-European seats; and the Council Negri, a larger advisory body where the Bandar sat with the rajah on the front dais as the paramount indigenous chief. As Charles Brooke expressed the official feeling, the datus had the experience without which the Raj "could not satisfactorily enforce obedience and administer justice."[42] In most cases the datus occupied their positions until death except when ill health forced them into premature retirement, in which case the term tua (elder) was added to their title. None of the offices was legally hereditary, although in practice a son or brother always succeeded the bandar. Most datus lived in the south bank kampungs, favored residential areas for aristocrats.

The administration of Chinese and Indians proved somewha less formal than for Malays. Information on the governing of th Indians remains sketchy but the government probably administere them informally through their community leaders, most of the merchants. Throughout most of the period the Chinese apparentl operated through a triumverate of Chinese leaders who first immi grated to Kuching before the Kuching-Bau War. These men, La Kian Huat (a Teochiu), Ong Ewe Hai (a Hokkien) and Chan Ah Koh (Chaoann), were three of the wealthiest towkays and the acknowl edged leaders of their respective communities.[43] Whether the held any official positions remains unclear, but they certainl functioned as unofficial headmen.

Perhaps Brooke followed the Dutch pattern in Pontianak an other parts of the Netherlands Indies by later giving Chines leaders like Law, Ong, and Chan the title of Kapitan China thereby officially recognizing their positions. Kapitans as a insititution existed by the 1890s in Kuching and probably ha appeared earlier. Apparently no kapitans were serving in 1877 for in that year the Sarawak Gazette mentioned a suggestion fo appointment of such officers as "the medium of communicatio between the working classes and the government."[44] Perhap Brooke recognized the first kapitans shortly thereafter. kapitan China General for all Kuching appeared a little later with responsibility for mediating between the entire Chines community and the government. After appointment of a paramoun Kapitan, similar in some respects to the datu bandar, kapitan for each major speech group evidently became secondary official in charge of their own groups. The office of kapitan constitute the only formal recognition of power accorded to Chinese in th nineteenth century, for Chinese played no state-wide politica role. Also unlike Malays, Chinese lacked their own court.

Apparently the Hokkien, Teochiu, and Chaoann speech group each had a kapitan; the Hakkas and Cantonese probably had suc officers as well. Evidently the government did not select th kapitans but dealt with de facto leaders, all of them wealth merchants. A kapitan's duties included keeping his community o speech group under control, acting as intermediary betwee government and his community, and advising the government o Chinese custom and opinion. Although this left the Chines community largely self-governing internally in most respects, i was obviously intended that kapitans would persuade the Chines to accept government decisions. Before establishment of th Chinese Court in 1911, the Kapitan China General or anothe kapitan sat as an advisor in court cases involving Chinese. I the nineteenth century the kapitans received no salary but gaine a reinforcement of their prestige and power both with the govern ment and with their communities through this system of indirec rule.[45] If Hakka and Cantonese kapitans existed before 1900 they evidently played a negligible role in consultations betwee Brooke and Chinese community leaders. On the other hand, Law Ong, and Chan or their representatives nearly always attende important meetings until they passed from the scene in the 1880s

in the 1890s the Kapitan China General, Ong Tiang Swee, assumed the role of major Chinese spokesman. Perhaps the government preferred to deal primarily with the Hokkien, Teochiu, and Chaoann kapitans since these groups were paramount among the Chinese trading community.

Chinese, Indian, and Malay leaders were often consulted before imposition of laws affecting their communities. For example, regulations regarding Chinese theatres, processions, public observances, gambling practices, and many other matters were always submitted to leading Chinese merchants for an opinion before being implemented.[46] Besides arranging consultations on proposed laws, the government listened to suggestions and complaints. Thus, because of a joint complaint by some Chinese and Indian merchants of the town in 1880, the rajah made the laws of bankruptcy stiffer in order to render it more difficult to escape from debts by declaring bankruptcy.[47] Brooke supported cooperation with leading Chinese traders in most matters, and instructed his European officers to treat them with consideration. As an example, when Ong Tiang Swee complained to the rajah about the actions of a European civil servant in Kuching, Brooke wrote to the officer ordering him to discontinue the disputed activity:

> I must request that there will be no repetition of it, as to quarrel with such men [as Ong] is liable to do the Government much injury. They are the capitalists that we have most to depend on, and a certain amount of consideration and respect should always be paid to them. They may sometimes be a little difficult to manage, but they are generally ready to show respect and willingness to abide by orders, and assist in whatever may be going in works of charity and liberality...[48]

Consultation and deliberation did not always mark the government-towkay relationship, for in rare times of emergency the rajah could issue demands which had to be met. Such a situation occurred during a serious cholera epidemic of 1888, when a Chinese religious procession sought to stop the cholera before it claimed more victims. The procession, which featured a loincloth-clad spiritualist who was carried on a chair of swords, alarmed the rajah and ranee; as the ranee later wrote:

> The minds of the people were in danger of becoming unhinged by this daily spectacle, and the man who sat in the chair was beginning to exercise an undesirable influence over the people in the Bazaar....The Rajah therefore ordered the procession to be suppressed.... [When it continued] he sent a force of police...to arrest the sword-chair man and imprison him. The following morning...a band of Chinamen encircled the gaol, and somehow managed to liberate the fanatic. The Rajah...sent for the principal shopkeepers in the

> Bazaar, and informed them that if the man was not restored to the prison before six o'clock that evening, he would turn the guns of the Aline [a steamer] on to their houses in the Bazaar.... I remember seeing the Aline heave anchor and slowly take its position immediately in front of the Bazaar. At five o'clock that evening a deputation of Chinamen asked to see the Rajah. "The man is back in gaol," they said; "he will not trouble the town any more." The Rajah smiled genially at the news [and] shook hands with each member of the deputation....[49]

The direct action of the rajah not only indicates the occasio
role of Brooke in town affairs but also suggests that the As
elite recognized that, however much respect the rajah earned a
person and as a ruler, he could also call upon European te
nology in an emergency. In any case, the event described ab
proved very rare, with government and Asian elites normally a
to reach an amicable accord in the solution of problems.

Appointments to advisory and public service positi
further illustrate a government tendency to delegate authority
elites of different communities in administering their
affairs. For example, in 1871, a new law appointed two Chines
one European, and one Indian as coroners, with responsibility
their own communities; two Malays served in that capacity
larger kampungs, and the tua kampung in smaller ones. Chin
sat on both the Bankruptcy and Debtor's courts. When a pauper
hospital opened in 1895, to relieve the distress of diseased a
unemployed laborers in the bazaar, leading Chinese me
chants accepted appointments as guardians; Hokkien and Teoch
towkays paid two thirds of the cost.[50]

This indirect rule system led to development of eli
groups owing their status primarily to leadership in their
communities and not to their abilities for satisfying pa
community needs; furthermore, the system helped to solidi
boundaries between various groups. From the perspective
social interaction, it would appear that the administrati
responsibilities of ethnic elites increased a tendency towa
segmentation by ethnic group membership; indirect ru
constituted an important component in development of a plur
society.

Social segmentation in the political system was n
absolute, however, for some developments promoted ethn
integration within the framework of a common urban politic
structure; these developments eventually led to modifications
the indirect rule system. Perhaps most importantly, the fir
tentative steps towards eventual establishment of a multi-ethn
municipal board for the township began. Such a board did n
materialize in the nineteenth century, but a commercial organiz
tion composed of leading merchants of various communities, t
Sarawak Chamber of Commerce, established in 1873, constituted
many respects a precursor to such a board.[51] With a membersh

which largely if not entirely lived in Kuching, the chamber was designed as a pan-community elite body and included European, Chinese, Indian, and Malay members. Perhaps the organization played a role as almost a surrogate municipal advisory board, since it held its meetings in a government office and its major responsibilities included facilitating trade, monetary transactions, traffic and freight. The chamber also suggested improvements to town and roadways from a commercial perspective, which involved it in clearly municipal affairs as well as helping to standardize weights and measures and acting as advisor to the Creditors and Debtors Court.

If the chamber could be considered a quasi-municipal board, it was neither elective nor appointive but rather open to any merchants of wealth who wished to join. Most of the leading European, Chinese, and Indian traders probably became members, as well as a few Malay nakodas; its structure restricted membership only to the wealthiest. The chamber held discussions in Malay, with minutes kept in English, and the organization provided a very useful forum for leading merchants of various communities to gather together.

No evidence specifying the duration of the first chamber exists and it may only have lasted for a few years; but some evidence suggests that one or more successor organizations developed before the turn of the century. Brooke reportedly ordered dissolution of one successor organization in 1900 because of its "tendency to dabble in political affairs,"[52] although the nature of these political affairs remains unclear. Closure of this later chamber may also have resulted from formation, probably in the 1890s, of a Chinese Chamber of Commerce, which perhaps drained off Chinese interest. Another pan-community chamber of commerce did not form again until 1950, but a municipal board finally appeared in 1921. The Chamber of Commerce therefore constituted a formal if limited mechanism for seeking the advice of the governed in the solution of certain types of township problems, such as trade policies or road-building priorities, and represented the first tentative steps toward formation of a municipal government.

The chamber of commerce represented only one of several indications of joint action in solving certain types of township problems. Malay datus sometimes played a role, albeit a largely passive one, in the adjudication of an ostensibly Chinese problem, indicating that some largely Chinese problems developed into municipal problems; the noise of a Chinese procession or monopolization of good land for Chinese burial plots affected Malays, Indians, and Europeans as well as Chinese. In a similar way, the jury system also brought together members of several ethnic groups. Jurors selected from various ethnic groups sat on all juries dealing with criminal matters. An analysis of the juries listed in the Gazette for the 1890s reveals that the average composition appears to have been five Chinese, two Malays, and one Indian. The predominance of Chinese jurors probably reflected the higher incidence of crime in the Chinese

community as well as the fact that many Malay cases were proba adjudicated by the tua kampungs.[53] Generally the jury memb were selected from among leading citizens.

The jury system's success cannot be easily evaluated, one might expect Malay jurors to favor Malay defendants, w Chinese sympathetic to Chinese, especially if their own spe group was involved. However, little criticism of the sys appeared in the Gazette, and the conviction rate apparen remained high. Use of the jury system did establish the pr ciple that criminal behavior concerned all communities rat than that of the accused alone.

Chapter IV

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND COMMUNITY LIFE

1857-1900

Social organization became more complex as Kuching emerged from pioneering days into a period of more rapid economic, political, and cultural evolution. For Malays social change was most apparent in the areas of social stratification, assimilation of Malayo-Muslim immigrants, and development of Malay-medium schools. Major developments among Chinese included the accentuation of speech group distinctions, monopolization of influence and power by several speech groups, creation of a Westernized section of the community, and establishment of important voluntary associations. By 1900, Kuching society seemed in many respects a plural one, but a limited number of activities and institutions helped to integrate the diverse elements of a heterogeneous population and to promote communal harmony. At least partly as a result of such integrative forces, general harmony marked inter-ethnic relations in this period.

Evolution of Malay Society

To outsiders the Malays in Kuching and elsewhere have often seemed a conservative people, disinclined to alter greatly the contours of their way of life. Certainly little evidence exists of any radical change among Malays during the Brooke period, and elements of continuity with the past remained pronounced. Yet, between 1857 and 1900, the Kuching Malay community underwent a gradual but significant process of change. An influx of Malayo-Muslim immigrants and encroachment by Chinese upon Malay commerce perhaps constituted the two most important forces for change. We have already seen how Chinese mercantile accomplishments led to displacement--and ultimate demise--of the nakoda class. The decline of the nakoda, one of several important alterations in Malay social stratification, had an important influence on the Malay aristocracy's position.

As one of the most prestigious and influential Malay groups, the general disappearance of the nakodas eliminated the only group which might have threatened the hegemony of the aristocracy. Furthermore, the nokodas predominated among higher levels of the commoner class; their disappearance widened the gap

between aristocrat and commoner. Although some former nako
and hajis of commoner status continued to occupy positions j
below that of the lower aristocrats, it would seem that Ma
class structure became more rigid.

Abolition of bonded dependency in 1886 also affected soc
stratification. Control of dependents often determined
status of aristocratic and commoner families alike, so abolit
removed a major component of prestige. "Slavery" as an insti
tion had gradually declined throughout the early Brooke peri
and by the 1870s wealthy Malays began reducing the numbers
their bonded dependents. By the early 1880s many Malay lead
favored abolition. The Gazette noted the reasons for t
growing sentiment in 1883:

> Whatever may have been the case in past years, at present the relations between master and bondsman are much as follows, that the master has to feed and clothe a slave (unless the latter is working on his own account) and is singularly lucky if he succeeds in getting any work in return. Slaves are so protected by law from any ill-usage or even neglect that the owner has no means whatever of enforcing his orders; masters always say in conversation that their followers are an expensive nuisance.[1]

Malay wives constituted the main opposition to abolition, f
they feared removal of their domestic help.[2]

Brooke first introduced the idea of abolition in 1881, b
Supreme Council approval did not come until five years late
The datus, who wanted more time to make the "necessary prepar
tions" for the change among their community, requested continu
delays in approval;[3] some datus had already publicly liberat
their dependents. Many dependents evidently preferred to rema
with their former masters as domestic servants so abolition h
little immediate impact on Kuching. Furthermore, former depe
dents still occupied society's bottom rung, although as commone
rather than bondsmen. But liberation of bonded dependency, ho
ever incomplete initially, constituted a profound change whi
challenged the very foundations of traditional Malay soci
stratification as well as the maintenance of an aristocratic w
of life based on control of dependents. Aristocratic women lo
power over their domestics, marking a first step towards the
eventual emergence from a highly sheltered and protected exi
tence. The late nineteenth century therefore saw the disappea
ance of two major social groups of the pre-Brooke and ear
Brooke community--nakodas and bonded dependents--as well
changes within the aristocracy itself.

A changing social stratification did not weaken the bas
Malay community structure since this period also saw the gradu
development of a cohesive Kuching Malay community out of mix
Malayo-Muslim accretions. The ability of the local Malay gro
to integrate and assimilate immigrants of similar language a

religion had long been demonstrated in the pre-Brooke period, when newcomers from Java, Sumatra, Brunei, west Borneo and elsewhere joined with Islamized Dayaks, sometimes through intermarriage, to form Malay settlements with a coherent ethnic and cultural identity. This practice continued into the middle Brooke period, when the pace of Malay-Muslim immigration increased considerably. Hundreds of Malayo-Muslim immigrants may have settled in Kuching between 1857 and 1900, and these newcomers by and large merged rather imperceptibly into the Malay group within a few decades, normally within a generation.

Malayo-Muslim settlers came, like their predecessors, from various parts of the archipelago world, but particularly from other districts of Sarawak, the Natunas Islands, west Borneo, Sumatra, the Straits Settlements, and Bawean; probably the largest number arrived from other districts of Sarawak. Minangkabaus from Sumatra assumed important roles in Malay education and government service. They also tended to segregate themselves in their own kampung, Gersik, established just downriver from the fort on the north bank. Although Minangkabaus eventually assimilated into the predominant Malay group, in the late nineteenth century they often wore distinctively Sumatran-style clothing. Boyanese immigrants from the island of Bawean often retained over generations their Boyanese-Javanese surnames such as Som; they established their own kampung on the north bank and also lived on the urban fringe just southwest of the bazaar. The Boyanese achieved recognition as grooms for ponies owned by Europeans, and generally as handlers of animals; others worked as market gardeners, carpenters, and laborers. Another group, the Jawi Peranakans (Jawi Pekans), derived from mixed Muslim Indian and Malay origins; Brooke recruited them from Singapore and Penang as teachers and civil servants. A small group, they tended either to return to the Straits or to merge with the Kuching Malay community upon completion of their service.[4]

A liberal Malay ethnic definition allowed development of kampungs based on area of origin and retention of different patterns of dress and naming. Yet, Malayo-Muslim immigrants never constituted communities or subgroups wholly separate from the Malays for they came under the authority of Malay chiefs, replaced their own languages with the local Malay dialect, intermarried freely with Malays, and merged into Malay social structure at appropriate levels. Even the Sumatrans, perhaps the most individualistic of immigrants in this period, did not constitute a separate community with separate schools, voluntary associations, or leadership structure. They were generally regarded as Malays, albeit Malays of a rather special kind since the Minangkabaus earned wide admiration throughout the archipelago world for their learning and piety. The relationship between Minangkabaus and the Malay elite is discussed below.

The relative ease of Malayo-Muslim assimilation resulted in large part from a local Malay social system made flexible by a long history of incorporating Muslim elements of diverse background, including Dayak. Furthermore, most immigrants came as

individuals or in small groups, often to join kinsmen who had preceded them; they did not comprise large and cohesive immigrant groups. Communication with their home areas was usually difficult and infrequent; Kuching-based schooners and junks sailed far more regularly to China or Singapore than to Sumatra or Pontianak. No doubt, the tendency of Brooke to govern through ethnic blocs, as well as to discourage ethnic ambiguity, also contributed to identification of immigrants with major ethnic categories.

The general cohesiveness of the Malay community despite mixed origins helps explain why no Malay voluntary associations of any kind developed in the nineteenth century. Unlike Chinese, most Malays had not come as immigrants; therefore they needed no social organization to serve in place of family, clan, or village ties. Unlike the immigrant Chinese, a balanced Malay community sex ratio made a stable family life possible. Furthermore, the kampung provided a focus for social relations very similar to that of a small rural village, allowing even Malayo-Muslim immigrants to join and become a part of a neighborhood group. A fragmented Chinese community, concentrated in the bustling but more anonymous bazaar, lacked such a sense of belonging. The informal social linkages of kinship, neighborhood, patronage, and reciprocity bound local-born and immigrant Malays together and made formal social organization unnecessary. The presence in Kuching of a strong, prestigious, and well-defined Malay elite able to hold the allegiance of the entire Malay community greatly facilitated integration of immigrants. Unlike urban Malay communities in Malaya, no ambiguity about local leadership or divided loyalties existed, for the datus administered the Malay community, setting the political tone; this tone favored strong loyalty to the Brookes. The datus, particularly the Bandar Abang Haji Bua Hassan (Bolhassan) also set the moral and social standards for the Malay community. Bua Hassan, the premier Malay of the period, served as bandar from 1865 until his death in 1906, a span of over forty years.[5]

The son of Datu Patinggi Ali, Bua Hassan, the first patinggi under James Brooke, took part in many of the Brooke campaigns against Malay and Iban rebels and also helped rally the pro-Brooke forces during the Kuching-Bau War and the "Malay Plot." His appointment as bandar undoubtedly resulted in part as a reward for his faithful assistance to the Brooke cause. Although a conservative in many respects, he created an atmosphere which welcomed some social change; for example, elimination of bonded dependency and formation of the first formal Malay schools. On the other hand, the bandar's only wife, Datin Isa, served as the acknowledged leader of Malay female society and a bulwark of social conservatism. She strongly opposed a plan by the rajah's wife, the Ranee Margaret, to teach Malay reading and writing to some of the datus's wives and daughters. The datin told the ranee that:

> Writing amongst the women is a bad habit, a pernicious custom. Malay girls would be writing love letters to clandestine lovers, and undesirable men might come into contact with the daughters of our house.... I hope it will never come to pass.[6]

In the end the datin finally relented and allowed her own daughters to attend the classes. According to the Ranee Margaret, Datin Isa's "ideas on ceremonial dress and deportment were as rigid as the aristocratic old ladies of early Victorian days,"[7] and her "blameless life set the standard of conduct for Malay women"[8] in Kuching. Although accepting some change, the datu and datin represented and encouraged stability, and this may have promoted the acceptance of gradual change as well as the integration of Malayo-Muslim immigrants into the Malay community.

Bua Hassan strongly influenced the other datus, for throughout the period most of them were related to him, indicating the supreme importance of the descendants of Datu Patinggi Ali in the Malay power structure.[9] In the 1890s, two of the four datus--the bandar and imam--were brothers, and a third--the hakim--was a son of the bandar. The temonggong occupied the only post apparently not held by a close relative of Bua Hassan.[10]

Two separate categories of leadership played important social roles below the datus--the tua kampungs and religious officials. Every kampung had a chief, whose major duties included settlement of minor disputes, keeping order, collecting taxes, and serving as spokesman for his kampung to higher authorities. They served as local administrators of adat law, with power to inflict fines on offenders. The tua kampungs therefore constituted an intermediary institution between the datus and the kampung Malays. Several of the kampung chiefs from the north bank also played symbolic roles in the administration of the state, serving in the Supreme Council or Council Negri. Since most of the aristocrats lived on the south bank, Brooke may have felt that the increasingly populous north bank also needed representation and a voice in Malay affairs. Initially the tua kampungs received a small percentage of taxes collected, but later the government paid them regular salaries. Not all tua kampungs came from aristocratic backgrounds. Only in the more aristocratic kampungs, such as Java and Bintangor on the south bank, an aristocrat, often a datu, usually served as a tua kampung. But in other kampungs, a respected commoner or a nakoda might gain election; frequently they were hajis. The office commonly passed from father to son. Election as a tua provided one of the few vehicles for upward mobility within the Malay social system.[11]

Upwardly mobile commoners or lower aristocrats with Islamic learning could also attain elite status through appointment to religious office. These officials, the leading Islamic religious officials in Sarawak, supervised the Masjid Besar (paramount mosque) in Kuching. The term tuan (master) prefixed their elite status; only the imam, khatib, and bilal of the Masjid Besar in

Kuching could use this honorific. The tuan imam was the mosque director and leader of Friday prayers, the tuan khatib the chief lecturer at Friday services, and the tuan bilal the muezzin or caller to prayer. All received government salaries. The three religious officers often came from aristocratic backgrounds, or had ties with aristocratic families through marriage, and usually had spent some years in the Middle East. From the very beginning the Brookes accorded Islam special treatment and protection. The Datu's Court used Islamic law in conjunction with traditional Malay adat to solve legal disputes within the Malay community. Indeed Brooke prohibited the Christian missions from proselytization among Muslims; also the law required non-Muslims who married Muslims to adopt the Islamic religion.

Islam remained the main social and cultural influence on Kuching Malay society, and also served as a major vehicle for the integration of Malayo-Muslim immigrants. Nonetheless, Islamic practices changed over the years and the influence of the religion was not necessarily a conservative one. The importance of religious officials and of Islam increased significantly with the Muslim revitalization spurred by establishment of the Anglican mission in 1848. A growing number of Kuching Malays made the pilgrimage to Mecca in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, and more aristocrats sent their sons to study for a few years in the Holy Land. Returned hajis and students not only occupied respected positions in society but also brought with them reformist religious and social ideas current in the Middle East since the Wahabi reformation. Returned students of Islamic subjects began playing an important social role. Although aristocrats undoubtedly predominated among those able to travel to the Middle East for study or pilgrimage, some commoners may have taken advantage of this travel to increase their social position at home.

The Islamic revival does not seem to have had any negative effect on communal relations or Brooke rule. Despite increased attendance at Friday prayers and more attention to Islamic rules, most European observers stressed that the practice of Islam in Kuching remained fairly relaxed and that cordiality characterized relations between Muslims and other religious groups.[12]

The Minangkabau intelligentsia that settled in Kuching in the middle of the century seems to have held considerable informal influence and power. Brooke appointed the tua kampung of Gersik, a largely Minangkabau settlement, to the Supreme Council and Council Negri, thus signifying the political significance of the group. The Minangkabaus represented the premier example of the absorption of an immigrant group into the Malay community, in this case into the Malay elite. Their ability to attain what must be termed a neo-aristocratic position came despite the fact that few if any of them held aristocratic status upon arrival. Their status had to be earned, and the manner in which they accomplished this can be illustrated by a discussion of the two best known Minangkabaus of the middle Brooke period, Encik Sawal and Encik Abu Bakar.

Encik Sawal (full name: Ahmad Shawal Abdul Hamid) first settled in Kuching to work as a Malay writer under James Brooke; he was a cousin of Encik Boyong, the Rajah's court interpreter. Later he taught Malay to European government officers and became headmaster of the first Malay school in Kuching. Although a butcher and confectioner by training, he was considered the chief local authority on Malay learning because of his wide knowledge of Arabic and Malay literature. According to the Ranee Margaret, the datus admired Sawal because of his image as a "cultivated man" who taught jawi (Malay written in Arabic script) to their wives and daughters, as well as to the ranee. Sawal's educational background and reputation as a scholar, rather than any political or economic power, earned him influence. Encik Sawal also wrote and published the first known piece of classical Malay literature in Sarawak, indeed one of the earliest books in the Malay world. Hikayat Penglima Nikosa (The Legend of Penglima Nikosa), printed in Jawi in 1876, was a fictional story set apparently in pre-Brooke Sarawak. The book chronicled the story of a Sarawak Malay hero while stressing the value of education and the advantages of agriculture. The work predated other Sarawak Malay literature by over sixty years.[13]

Encik Abu Bakar, usually known as 'Che Bakar, was born about 1853; his immigrant father became court interpreter and head of the Customs Department. Bakar succeeded his father in his government positions and also served as headmaster of the second Malay school in Kuching, tua kampung of Kampung Gersik, and a member of the Supreme Council and Council Negri. He owned two schooners which traded with Sumatra and Java. After Sawal's death, 'Che Bakar became the leading Malay intellectual in Kuching. Bakar maintained very close relations with some Chinese towkays, who often joined him in entertaining and the presentation of Chinese opera. He also married into the aristocracy, as his wife was a close relative of the Datin Isa.[14] In contrast to Sawal, the younger and locally born 'Che Bakar had some political and economic success in addition to his stature as a learned intellectual, and this may have assisted him in reaching the top of the social ladder.

In addition to the personal achievements of Sawal and 'Che Bakar, several other phenomena may help explain the high social position of an immigrant group in a highly stratified and generally rigid social structure. The Minangkabaus achieved renown throughout the Malay world as a distinctly religious people, and most of the immigrants had usually gained a far better education in both Arabic and Malay than most Kuching Malays. The Malay value system always held learned and pious men in high esteem. Furthermore, the fact that many Kuching families believed that their ancestors came from Minangkabau must have given the new arrivals an advantage. Once a Minangkabau achieved a position as a scholar and public servant, marriage into aristocratic families and absorption into the aristocracy followed.

Establishment of Malay-medium schools illustrates well the Minangkabau influence on developments within the Malay community,

for they were instrumental in their founding and subsequen
development. The relative success of Malay schools in the lat
nineteenth century contrasts rather strongly with a notable lac
of interest in Chinese-medium education demonstrated by th
Kuching Chinese during the same period.

Although Islamic teachers and hajis continued to offe
religious instruction, and a few short-lived Malay schools wer
formed in the 1860s and 1870s, the first of the modern Malay-
medium schools appeared in 1883. The impetus for the Kampun
Jawa School, situated in one of the most aristocratic kampungs o
the south bank, did not actually come from any Minangkabaus bu
rather through the combined efforts of the Ranee Margaret an
Abang Mohammed Kassim, the eldest son of Bandar Bua Hassan and
future bandar himself. The early classes met in his house.
However responsibility for the curriculum and subsequent develop-
ment largely belongs to Encik Sawal, the first headmaster.
Seventy boys, mostly drawn from the immediate neighborhood,
comprised the first class. Religion constituted an importan
part of the curriculum with much of the morning devoted t
reading and study of the Koran.[15]

The enthusiastic Malay response to the Kampung Jawa Schoo
led to the formation about 1892 of the Kampung Gersik Schoo
across the river by 'Che Bakar. Bakar's school put more emphasi
on English, although by 1894 the majority of boys in both school
studied that language. Both schools received government sub-
sidies and seem to have been intended to train prospective clerk
and teachers. Undoubtedly many of their graduates entered these
professions, but the government constantly reminded them tha
most of their students would have to seek careers in agricultur
and other traditional occupations.[16] Significantly, neithe
school placed any emphasis on skills useful for commerce. Lik
the mission schools, the kampung schools offered only
rudimentary elementary-level education.

Neither school was particularly large although the
apparently constituted the only formal Malay schools in Kuchin
in the 1880s and 1890s; the Jawa school had 112 students and th
Gersik School 56 in 1894.[17] The four mission schools boaste
more students. In 1897, for example, the enrollments at St.
Thomas's, St. Joseph's, and St. Mary's totaled 193, versus 130 i
the Malay schools.[18] Although Abang Mohammed Kassim, then th
datu muda, suggested the founding of a girl's school in 1894,[1
no action resulted, and the Malay schools remained restricted t
boys until 1930.

The two schools must have played some role in the integra-
tion of the children of immigrants into the local Malay culture,
particularly the Gersik School, located in a predominantl
Sumatran kampung. Malay schools also served to insulate Malays
from the Westernizing influences and heterogeneous atmosphere o
the mission schools, although a few Malay students continued t
enroll in the mission schools. Providing a Malay cultural milie
and reinforcing the Malay value system, the kampung schools
became important social institutions serving to reinforce Mala

identity and contributing to the segmentation of the developing urban society.

Evolution of Chinese Society

The late nineteenth century constituted a formative period in developing an urban society in Kuching. Social, cultural, and economic institutions began to appear, a Christian subgroup emerged, and a political leadership based on commercial success became predominant. Perhaps the most important development, however, was the success of three speech groups in gaining control of Chinese commerce in Kuching, a position which allowed them also to dominate the Chinese community as a whole. Indeed, speech group particularism was the overriding structural feature of Chinese society in Kuching. It was previously noted that the Cantonese seem to have been the strongest speech group before 1857 but that the conflict of that year may have destroyed their position. In the years following the Kuching-Bau War, commercial leadership became concentrated in the hands of Hokkiens, Chaoanns, and Teochius, while Cantonese, Hakkas, Hainanese, and other groups were relegated primarily to small trading and laboring activities. This was despite the fact that the Hakkas as a group probably equaled the Teochius in size and may have even outnumbered them; the Chaoanns, furthermore, were a very small community.

Hokkiens were probably the largest Chinese group in Kuching in the late nineteenth century, followed by Teochius and Hakkas. These three groups undoubtedly accounted for well over eighty percent of the Chinese population. Among other speech groups only the Cantonese and Hainanese achieved any numerical importance, while the Chaoanns certainly accounted for less than two percent. A few members of other speech groups also settled in Kuching. These included Foochows (Hokchius), from the city and surrounding districts in northern Fukien; Henghuas, from the coastal area of Fukien midway between Hokkien and Foochow-speaking areas; Hokchias, closely related to Henghuas and emanating from a small district between Henghua and Foochow; and Luichews, whose home area was the Luichew Peninsula of Kwangtung.

Hokkien, Chaoann, and Teochiu domination of Chinese commerce in Kuching appears to have developed early, certainly by the 1870s. An analysis of leading Chinese business concerns in both 1873 and 1894 reveals not only the early power of these three speech groups but also the commanding position of the Hokkien. Even though a Teochiu firm, Ghee Soon, was the wealthiest, the Hokkien group as a whole attained the most influential position, controlling most of the ten or fifteen strongest companies; Teochius and Chaoanns operated the remainder. Each of these powerful businesses was usually active in multiple sectors of the economy. At least eight of the firms operated sago factories and dominated sago exporting; most engaged in the pepper and gambier trade; a majority operated

their own shipping services throughout the state; and most als
had other profitable sidelines, including importing, retai
trade, construction, mining, charcoal making, and ashing. Fiv
of them held the highly lucrative opium, gambling, and arrac
(liquor) farms (that is monopolies) at one time or another.[20]

The three subgroups gained control of the Chinese econom for several reasons. Hokkien and Teochiu numerical strength i relation to most other groups constituted an important asset. Furthermore, both Hokkiens and Teochius had long mercantile traditions in China and proved successful businessmen in other parts of Southeast Asia. This resulted in another important advantage: speech group ties to commercial suppliers in other ports. For example, Teochiu dominance of rice imports accorded with Teochiu economic control of the major supply area, Bangkok. Likewise, Hokkiens dominated the sago trade in both Singapore and Kuching. Although Hakkas did become successful merchants in some other countries, the Kuching-Bau conflict of 1857 may have severely hampered Hakkas in and around Kuching by depriving them of the confidence of other groups and removing many of their most capable leaders. The pioneering efforts of Hokkiens, Chaoanns, and Teochius in the development of cash crops may also have given them an early advantage over other groups and insured their eventual predominance. Chaoann strength seems the most puzzling for they constituted a very small group. Yet dialect and culture similarity with the Hokkiens allowed them to function virtually as a Hokkien subgroup for many decades, although they remained aware of their own identity. Chaoann success seems therefore to have resulted in part from their close social and economic ties to the prosperous Hokkien community, and in part from the entre-prenurial skills of individual Chaoanns.

Hokkien, Chaoann, and Teochiu success must also have owed something to the greater organizational sophistication and stronger group cohesion of these communities in comparison to Hakkas, which was reflected in the earlier establishment of dialect associations (hui kwan). Kuching's pioneer organization, the Cantonese Kwong Wai Siew Association, had appeared in 1853, followed by the Teochiu Association (then known as the Soon Hong Kongsi) in 1864; Hokkiens founded their association in 1871, with Chaoanns eligible to join. Only two other hui kwans were formed in the nineteenth century. In 1887 one of the subgroups of the Hakka community, the Kayings (Chai-ying), established the Jin Foh Kuan (Kaying Hakka Community Association). Unlike the other speech groups the Hakkas were divided according to district of origin, and Kayings comprised one of the two largest of the sub-groups in Kuching; they originated in the hsien (county) of Mei-hsien in the mountains of Kwangtung. The other major Kuching Hakka group, the Tap'us, also came from Kwangtung. This absence of dialect cohesion hindered Hakkas in their competition with other groups, for the group remained fragmented. Significantly, a general Hakka Association embracing all Hakka subgroups did not appear until 1934. The Hainanese also organized a hui kwan known as the Hin Ho Bio (later changed to Kheng Chew Association) in

1898. Significantly dialect rather than a common Chinese identity provided the basis for the first formal organizations, both a symptom and a cause of speech group particularism. The associations themselves served many functions. Supervision of Teochiu temples and burial grounds provided the initial function of the Teochiu Association; later, integration of immigrants and mutual aid became major foci of community affairs.[21] Most of the associations sprang up under the auspices of wealthy families and later broadened their activities to include the welfare of the entire speech group. These organizations helped provide a certain amount of stability and support to an immigrant community with a high rate of turnover. Establishment of strong locally based organizations also promoted the process by which the Chinese became a more settled community, by providing a focus for local allegiance and creating a sense of belonging. Furthermore, those with a long-term commitment to the local activities of their speech group gained vehicles for influence and leadership roles. Contrary to folklore, not all Chinese desired to retire in comfort to their home village in China after obtaining riches in Sarawak or elsewhere. Of course, many, perhaps most, Chinese did see their time overseas as largely a sojourn with financial promise; many returned home and many more would have liked to. Yet, a considerable number of the wealthier and more powerful men in Kuching showed little inclination to leave their thriving businesses for retirement in China. The Hokkiens in particular developed a reputation among the Kuching Chinese for permanent settlement, which no doubt assisted them in achieving economic dominance.

Hokkien and Teochiu influence was apparent in the power structure of two organizations which appeared in the late nineteenth century, both of which were devoted primarily to the welfare of Chinese merchants. The Kongkek (Gambier and Pepper Society) was formed in 1876 as part of revised land regulations designed to encourage the planting of gambier and pepper. Initially its major purpose was settlement of all disputes between towkays and planters as to weight or quality of these two crops; later the functions broadened to include an intermediary role between planters and administration. A board of directors composed of towkays representing various Kuching firms controlled the Kongkek. There was no mention of the organization after 1896; perhaps the formation of a Chinese Chamber of Commerce reduced or ended the need for such an organization.[22]

Documentary evidence for the existence of a Kuching Chinese Chamber of Commerce first appears in 1897, nine years earlier than the founding of the similar body in Singapore.[23] Conceivably the chamber establishment came as early as 1887 although a date in the early or mid-1890s is more likely. The Kuching Chinese Chamber of Commerce was evidently one of the earliest to be established in Southeast Asia, perhaps the earliest.[24] The absence of secret societies in Kuching may have contributed to the unusually early formation of the Kuching chamber.[25] In

Malaya, the Straits Settlements, and many other parts of South-east Asia throughout the nineteenth century, the triads serve many of the leadership functions later assigned to the Chines chambers. With their later suppression in places like Singapor and Penang, government-appointed Chinese advisory boards gener ally replaced them; later their duties were transferred to th chambers. Since Kuching had no secret societies and no advisor boards, Chinese leaders may have needed a chamber which coul assume wide-ranging leadership functions earlier than in othe cities.

Organized to promote Chinese commerce, the Chinese Chambe of Commerce included leading towkays from all the speech group within the Chinese community. It was thus the only pan-Chines organizations other than the Kongkek to be formed in the nine teenth century. Unlike the Kongkek, comprised mostly of th Hokkien and Teochiu traders who controlled the export trade, th chamber boasted a membership somewhat more representative of th entire Chinese community, including both exporters and retai merchants. The most powerful towkays dominated the leadership however. Its major functions included acting as an intermediar between Chinese traders and the government, negotiating expor duties, taxes, and postal rates, protecting the interest o Chinese merchants in outstations, advising the courts in Chines property cases, and encouraging towkays to pay their debts.[2] Apparently the dialect associations, Kongkek, and Chinese Chambe of Commerce comprised the only formal Chinese organization established before the turn of the century.

The Chinese were clearly not a cohesive community and man manifestations of hostilities and competition between speec groups appeared. Periodic street fighting between members o gangs of different groups provides one of the most obviou examples. One writer in 1863 noted that "the battles of th (Chinese) factions in Kuching" had occurred almost nightly.[2] The Gazette reported another outbreak of street fighting betwee Hokkiens and Teochius in 1893.[28] Most of those involved i fights were laborers, often employees of rival firms. The mos notorious rivalry was that between Hokkiens and Teochius fo domination of the commercial sphere. Apparently the Teochiu an Hokkien kapitans, Law Kian Huat and Ong Ewe Hai, became bitte rivals; their respective companies--Ghee Soon and Ewe Hai--were the two most successful in Sarawak. Ong reportedly left Kuching for retirement in Singapore in the mid-1880s because of a bitterly contested court case which he lost to Law.[29] The two groups competed for control of key economic institutions such as the Sarawak and Singapore Steamship Company; a few Hokkien traders, in partnership with the B.C.L., controlled this company which dominated the sailing trade to Singapore. A short-lived rival steamship line, dominated by Teochiu interests, had little success.[30]

Brooke's system of indirect rule fostered speech group particularism. This system promoted segmentation of the Chinese community by relying on the elites of the various speech groups.

particularly the wealthy towkays, to intercede with their own groups, inhibiting growth of pan-community leaders. Government appointment of kapitans or consultation with community leaders was undoubtedly based primarily on economic strength, for businessmen constituted the most powerful element in the Chinese community. In addition to wealth and economic power, speech group affiliation provided an important determinant for elite membership.

The generation of towkay leaders which developed in the middle and late nineteenth century was composed primarily of Chinese who had immigrated to Kuching in the years just before or after the Kuching-Bau War; they had established families and commercial operations which, in many cases, would continue on into the second and third generation. This first generation dominated Kuching from perhaps the 1850s into the 1890s; by the turn of the century, most of them were dead. Traders probably comprised the most numerous urban occupational group in the Chinese community, although perhaps not a large majority, and this contributed to their acquisition of influence and power. In any case, no other group could challenge them effectively for community leadership in an immigrant community which placed high value on economic success, and they became powerful very early. By the late 1860s, leadership of the Chinese community had gravitated to three Chinese towkays who settled in Kuching in the 1840s and 1850s--Law Kian Huat (Low Ken Wat), Ong Ewe Hai, and Chan Ah Koh.[31] The most important was evidently Law, a Teochiu and close friend of Charles Brooke.

Born into a poverty-stricken village near Swatow, Law sailed south by junk in the classic Hua Chiao (Overseas Chinese) fashion to make his fortune;[32] he arrived in Kuching about 1852 and took up planting. Law's agricultural pursuits included both gambier and pepper; his company was the first to experiment with these two crops in the late 1850s and early 1870s. Besides sponsoring the pioneer gambier and pepper plantations, he and his company, Ghee Soon, also financed mercury, gold, and diamond mining, and exported gutta percha and sago. Law brought in a number of his fellow Teochius to open up gambier gardens and provided them with loans and sponsorship. They were able to repay the loans, no doubt at handsome interest, and as a result of this and his various agricultural and commercial undertakings, he made a great fortune. Both the size and influence of the later Teochiu community are due to some extent to the pioneering leadership of Law in the recruitment and financing of immigrants, formation of community institutions, and establishment of commercial and agricultural enterprises. His family evidently multiplied with the same rapidity as did his fortune, and his descendants in Sarawak today number well over 100. He died in Kuching in 1885.

Law's chief rival among the first generation of Chinese business leaders, the Hokkien Ong Ewe Hai, was born in Singapore in 1830;[33] he went to Sarawak as a petty trader at the age of sixteen. Obtaining goods in Singapore on credit, he took up

bartering with the Malays in and around Kuching. Ong's financ status gradually grew more secure and, in 1872, he establis his own company in both Singapore and Kuching--Ong Ewe Hai Company. Ong promoted the immigration of his fellow Hokkie the presence of the large and prosperous Hokkien merch community today is due in part to his efforts. Like his Teoc counterpart, Ong raised a large family, and his descenda remain prominent in both Sarawak and Singapore. Ong left Kuch for Singapore a few years prior to his death in 1889.

Chan Ah Koh, a Chaoann, the third and in some ways m interesting of the early Chinese leaders, was born into a p Fukien family and arrived in Sarawak as a youth in 1850 1851.[34] Settling in Bau he worked at first as a laborer planted sugarcane on the side, but his discovery of a small tr of gold in his garden gave him enough money to open a sm tobacco and sundry goods shop. The story of his discovery bec such a morale booster among Hakkas in Upper Sarawak that, as legend relates, any Hakkas planning to open a gold mine wou promise the gods that if they found gold they would give portion of it to Ah Koh. In this way, the Chaoann immigr became a rich man and his firm, Chin Ann and Company, became of the largest in Sarawak. The prominence and success of C may help account for the important position of the small Chao group in Kuching, for the wealthy benefactor who promoted the immigration and established a Chaoann place in the commerci elite no doubt aided their rise. Chan Ah Koh died in China 1895.

The triumvirate of Law, Ong, and Chan dominated the Kuchi Chinese until they passed from the scene by the late 1880s. Th represented the top of the power structure for the commercial powerful Teochiu, Hokkien, and Chaoann communities. A number lesser-known contemporaries of these three men also ma important contributions to the Kuching Chinese community dur this period. Seven "second-rank" leaders can be identified bas on the frequency of mention in the pages of the Saraw Gazette.[35] They shared certain characteristics with Ong, Cha and Law. Of the ten all were born outside of Sarawak, most them in China; all but two were Hokkien, Chaoann, or Teochi Most of the successful Chinese seem to have been pioneers in t planting of gambier and pepper, while several were active in sa exporting and processing. Five of the ten also operated t opium, gambling, and arrack monopolies at various times. The traders exemplified the tendency for successful Chinese to rema in Kuching rather than return to China, since only two of the t died in China.

By the early 1890s a "second generation" of Chinese leade was emerging in Kuching. The new leaders appearing near the e of the century were, like their predecessors, exclusively towka but often Kuching-born and had received some formal educatio The most important of these men, Ong Tiang Swee, the son of O Ewe Hai, became the first Kapitan China General in the late 188 or early 1890s.[36] Born in Kuching in 1864, Ong received h

education at St. Thomas's School, the first local Chinese leader to have gained a mission education. Ong then went to Singapore for further studies and returned to join his father's company as one of the best educated Chinese in Sarawak. Ong must have shown extraordinary ability as a young merchant, for he could not have been over thirty when he became the paramount kapitan, and may have been in his mid- to late-twenties. In a community which venerated age and experience this constituted a remarkable achievement and must have reflected to some extent the extraordinary prestige of Ong Ewe Hai and his company as the paramount influence within the powerful Hokkien community. Furthermore, Ong was probably the first wealthy Chinese in Kuching to become fluent in English, the language of the Brookes. The evidence strongly suggests that the young Hokkien held the dominant position among the Kuching Chinese during the 1890s, a pre-eminence that continued for the next five decades.

Social stratification in the Chinese community in the late nineteenth century reflected the elevated position of wealthy towkays. They undoubtedly constituted the top of the social pyramid--the upper class. Middle-level merchants, those not yet wealthy but operating large or moderately successful enterprises, probably occupied the next rung on the ladder. Together with civil servants and intelligentsia they constituted a middle class. Only a few Chinese held high-ranking civil service posts, mostly as court writers and interpreters. But many Chinese worked as government clerks, most of them English-educated mission school graduates. Half a dozen or fewer immigrants who worked for the missions or in the government comprised the "intelligentsia."[37]

The "working" or "lower" class included in rough order of status the small traders, artisans, shop assistants, suburban cultivators, hawkers, and laborers. Few of the laborers in sago factories and other enterprises lived a comfortable life. In the 1860s, they apparently earned between eighteen and twenty-three cents a day; by the late 1870s, this had risen to twenty-five to thirty cents.[38] Brooke periodically sought to alleviate some of the worst hardships; a law in 1895 prohibited high interest rates for loans by factory owners to employees, and another in 1899 specified working hours and guaranteed two days paid holiday a month for sago factory workers. Nonetheless, labor reform did not constitute a major priority in late nineteenth-century Sarawak; much of the labor legislation was designed as much to prevent absconding and to guarantee contracts as to protect workers from exploitation.[39] Laborers and shopkeepers alike usually worked long hours with few holidays and skimpy remuneration, with the hope that they might one day become wealthy towkays in their own right.

Chinese social stratification correlated closely with speech group, for a general relationship existed between an individual's dialect and his social position, a consequence of the identification of certain speech groups with particular occupations. Hokkiens, Chaoanns, and Teochius worked at all

levels of commercial activity, from exporter to hawker, but the most successful merchants nearly all belonged to these groups. Some Hokkien, Chaoann, and Teochiu artisans and laborers existed, but Hakkas strongly outnumbered them in these fields. The only Hakkas not concentrated at the lowest rungs were a few moderately successful traders and the civil servants and mission employees. Hakkas also predominated among hawkers and market gardeners--occupations with very low prestige. Hainanese mostly worked as small shopkeepers and laborers, while Cantonese were predominantly middle and lower-echelon traders and artisans. The social system therefore closely paralleled the commercial one, with Hokkiens, Chaoanns, and Teochius frequently at the top, the Cantonese and Hainanese normally in the middle, and Hakkas generally at the bottom.

Education did not significantly alter the prevailing pattern of social stratification, for it reached only a small fraction of the population. Hakkas did improve their socio-economic position slightly in relation to other groups by taking advantage of mission education in greater numbers, since many of them adopted Christianity. But the number of mission-school students remained very small relative to the town's population and other schools developed only slowly. Social mobility through education did not therefore constitute a major source of change in nineteenth-century Kuching.

Only a small number of Chinese-medium schools appeared in Southeast Asia before 1900, most of them operated by and for particular speech groups. A few seem to have taught in Mandarin, the scholarly lingua franca and court language of China, while the rest emphasized dialect. Mandarin schools served to build a common Chinese cultural orientation, while schools which used a dialect as the medium of instruction helped to perpetuate speech group particularism. But since neither Mandarin nor dialect schools played much of a role in Kuching during this period, Chinese-medium education did not significantly affect the social structure. Apparently the local Chinese leadership showed little interest in forming Chinese schools. Except for several small and short-lived schools in the bazaar in the 1870s--for children whose parents did not want them to attend the Anglican mission schools--none seem to have existed.[40] Most families who wanted their children educated sent them to a mission school or, if they preferred a Chinese-medium education, to China or Singapore; a few also imported tutors from China who offered a classical training.

Relative disinterest in Chinese-language schools and reliance on the English-language Christian mission schools gave mission education a growing influence in the Chinese community. As Chapter III pointed out, mission schools constituted important agents for Westernization and recruitment of Christian converts, placing special emphasis on the learning of English. The emphasis on English and the inculcation of British values troubled many European officials, who felt that the Chinese language merited more attention. As the Gazette editor wrote in

1871, reflecting official views:

> In our dealings with Chinese we require intelligent and trustworthy interpreters, with a competent knowledge of our language and of their own, who should be produced from our schools. A Chinese boy, taken early from his parents and put through a thoroughly English system of education, where he is not allowed or supposed to speak his own tongue is pretty sure to forget the use of it; at least, ready use of it which we want and under such a system his chances of being able to read and write Chinese are almost nil.... Without this knowledge their value as Government or public employees is very much lessened.[41]

Since most students could speak one or more of the local Chinese dialects even if they could seldom read Chinese, this European assessment was perhaps overly pessimistic about the obliteration of a knowledge of Chinese among mission students. Nonetheless, mission school graduates became a distinctive group with values often different from those of other Chinese. Many of them sought careers as civil servants rather than as traders. Analysis of a government rollbook of civil servants whose careers ended between 1880 and 1927 indicates that Hakkas and Hokkiens predominated among mission school graduates in the civil service and outnumbered by far members of other Chinese groups in government employment.[42] These two groups provided a large majority of the students in the Kuching mission schools.

Although the Christian churches welcomed members from all speech groups, the emergence of a Christian Chinese community may have helped perpetuate speech group particularism since the Christians came predominantly from the Hakka group. Apparently Hakkas remained most receptive to new ideas and more inclined to take advantage of mission education than other groups. An impetus to Hakka recruitment derived from employment of a Hakka, Voon Yen Khoon, as chief Chinese catechist of the Anglican mission.[43] The influx of Hakka Christians in 1898, and recruitment of their leader Kong Kwui En as a catechist, increased the Hakka emphasis in the Anglican mission.

New social groupings based on physical or cultural intermixture often form in an urban milieu. Kuching provides examples of this process: Chinese Christians constituted the core of an emerging group that might be called the "Sarawak Chinese." This group, still small in 1900, consisted primarily of mission school graduates who were English-educated, often Christian, generally Westernized in their values, and disproportionately employed in the civil service. They were also usually local-born, and most owed their political loyalty to Sarawak rather than China. These Chinese did not constitute a group like the Malay-speaking Baba Chinese of Malacca and Singapore whose culture mixed Chinese and Malay influences; rather "Sarawak Chinese" culture derived from

Chinese and British influences. But neither did they comprise coherent, Anglicized subgroup like the English-speaking Strait Chinese of Singapore who spoke little Chinese and functioned lik a separate speech group; on the contrary almost all Saraw Chinese remained fluent in their own dialects and maintaine relations with their own speech groups. Few could read Chinese however. Not yet well-defined as a group, the Sarawak Chines still lacked social or political significance, although thi changed later. Hakkas predominated among them but some Hokkien and members of other groups fell into the category. The Sarawa Chinese therefore represented one of the few cases in whic speech group did not constitute a major determinant of socia categorization during this period.

Speech group particularism and its importance raises question as to whether in fact a "Chinese community" existed i the late nineteenth century. Associations, temples, festivals leadership, and occupational patterns all depended largely o speech group membership. Even Chinese religion did not prov particularly conducive to unity within the community, for eac speech group had certain religious practices peculiar to itsel and resulting from the varying local cultures in the differen regions of South China.[44] The Tua Pek Kong Temple at the sout end of the bazaar, built in 1857 as a project of all the speec groups, constituted the major exception to a pattern of dialect sponsored temples and cemeteries; it has remained one of the mos important temples into the present day.[45]

Yet in some ways the Chinese had become a more cohesiv group in this period than before 1857: evidently Hokkien, or a least a kind of eclectic "bazaar Hokkien," became the lingu franca for the Chinese during this period, spoken or understoo by most Chinese who lived in the town for more than a shor period. Since Hokkien was closely related to Teochiu an Chaoann, and mutually intelligible to speakers of those dialects its adoption as lingua franca seems a natural development. Thes three groups together undoubtedly constituted a majority of th population. The spread of Hokkien meant that Chinese of non-related dialects no longer had to converse with each other i bazaar Malay, although some perhaps continued to do so. I addition to the language factor, organizations like the Kongke and Chinese Chamber of Commerce represented the beginnings of a social and economic structure that might transcend dialect divisions because of their pan-community scope. Furthermore, th Kapitan China General, although drawn from the Hokkien community assumed responsibility for and to the entire Chinese population The Kuching Chinese were still a heterogeneous and fragmented community, but they were nevertheless beginning to acquire some elements of a common Chinese identity.

Developments in Other Ethnic Communities

There is little information on the structure and activities

of the smaller ethnic communities (except for Europeans) which contributed to the mosaic of Kuching's pluralistic population. Nonetheless, the Indians, Europeans, Eurasians, Dayaks, Japanese, and others did play interesting, if minor, roles in the town's social life. European influence assumed particular strength because of their dominant position in the ruling elite, while Indians comprised an important component of the commercial sector. Unlike the Chinese, none of the groups except the Europeans established any voluntary associations, nor founded any schools to cater exclusively to the particular needs of any of the smaller communities.

Indians, the most populous of the minor ethnic groups, apparently established themselves in Kuching even before the arrival of James Brooke. But, fragmented into smaller, often hostile, subgroups based on religion, language, and area of origin in South Asia, they constituted the least cohesive group. Indeed, the term Indian or the pejorative employed in that era, Kling, served as little more than a convenient way of referring to peoples who often had little more in common than ancestral origins in the Indian subcontinent.

Before the turn of the century Moplah Muslims probably comprised the largest and most important of the subgroups, dominating the Indian bazaar centered around the Indian mosque. The next most numerous group consisted of Tamils, who mostly immigrated to Kuching after the Kuching-Bau War but particularly in the 1890s. Most Tamils followed Hinduism and erected their own temple on the outskirts of town. A few Tamil students in mission schools converted to Christianity, augmenting the small number of Tamil Christian immigrants. Only the Sepoys and Sikhs constituted other groups of any size. Although Sepoys comprised an occupational rather than an ethnic group, they evidently functioned in many ways as a cohesive subgroup since most were Muslim and spoke languages different from those of the other Indians in Kuching. The Sikhs, most of whom came in the 1890s, practiced a religion which combined elements of Hindiusm and Islam. A few Pathans, Punjabis, and Sindhis from northwest India, most of them Muslims, as well as Sinhalese from Ceylon and Bengalis, settled in Kuching.

Besides cultural and religious orientation, the Indian subgroups differed in their occupational patterns and areas of residence. Nearly all Moplahs followed commercial pursuits, either as self-employed merchants or as assistants and employees in Moplah-owned businesses. They specialized in textiles and brassware but a few worked in other fields such as clock-making and repair. Some Moplahs also owned and financed small estates and pepper gardens and owned bazaar property.[46] In contrast to the bazaar-dwelling Moplahs, the Tamils seem largely to have congregated on the outskirts of the bazaar and in the urban fringe; apparently a Tamil village of some sort developed between one and two miles south of the bazaar. Tamils mostly found employment as laborers and estate workers but a few worked in the bazaar as barbers, laundrymen, and contractors. Almost all

Sepoys joined the police department, where the unmarried men had their own barracks separate from the Malay bachelor police.[4] Sikhs found work in the police, the Sarawak Rangers (Brooke's military force), or as watchmen for factories and bazaar businesses. Pathans and Punjabis concentrated in the rangers and police, while Sinhalese tended to work as clerks in government service or European businesses. Indians therefore resembled the Chinese to a certain extent in employment patterns, with some groups specializing in commerce and others in laboring or government occupations.

Apparently the Indians erected no cohesive political structure and, as noted in Chapter III, the nature of their administration remains unclear. In matters of Islamic law, the Datu's Court governed all Muslims, but Malay adat did not apply to Indians. An example of how the Malay datus handled Indian affairs, and of the conflicts between the various Indian groups, occurred in 1875. The datu bandar faced difficulties in solving a quarrel between Tambi Sultan, a Muslim but non-Moplah trader, and some leading Moplahs:

> The Datu Bandar...wished to bring a case against Tambi Sultan before the Sarawak Court, for giving him shame by refusing to abide by a decision given in his court. Three months or more ago, Tambi Sultan, trader in Kuching, prepared a feast in his house and issued invitations to all Klings [Moplahs], and to head Malays. On the day of the feast, the cook was detained by the other Klings, who refused to accept his invitation on the plea that he was not one of themselves [a Moplah], and subscribed nothing to the mosque [controlled by Moplahs]. Sultan was put to a loss of $50 or more. The case being brought before the Datu, he made peace between the parties, who shook hands and agreed to forget the matter.... Tambi Sultan volunteered...to help put up a brick mosque.... The defendant agreed to having made the promise to the Datu and others, but showed a disposition to throw over his agreement on trivial grounds.... The [Supreme] Court required him to proceed with the building at once.[48]

In this instance the case went before both the Datu's Court and the Brooke Supreme Court. In criminal and most other non-religious problems all of the Indians, as well as the Chinese, came under the jurisdiction of the Brooke courts.

Moplah leaders, most of them wealthy traders, seem to have acted to some extent as spokesmen for the entire Indian community. Tambi Abdullah, undoubtedly the most important Indian during the 1860s and 1870s, constitutes one of the few examples in nineteenth-century Kuching of a true compradore.[49] From about 1852 to 1872, Abdullah served as chief clerk and factotum to Ludvig Helms, who began as a private trader before becoming the

first manager of the B.C.L. Abdullah was in effect the assistant manager of the B.C.L., and he evidently used his base in the B.C.L. to establish a highly successful private retail business, purchase considerable bazaar property and operate several lucrative estates. The wealth and achievements of men like Abdullah made them well known to Europeans and Chinese, and may have contributed to the importance of the Moplah elite.

No information exists on the relationship between Moplah leaders and other Indian subgroups but the Tamils evidently developed their own unofficial leadership structure. Most Tamil immigrants to Kuching were either sudras (agriculturalists, the lowest of the castes) or pariahs (untouchables). A few contractors and artisans supplied the group's leadership, although laborers constituted the great bulk of the Tamil population. Adjudication by respected leaders apparently solved most intra-community problems.[50]

Of all the immigrants to Kuching, Dayaks had the least experience for the demands of urban living, since they came from widely scattered longhouses practicing shifting cultivation. Many Dayaks had experienced only the most infrequent contacts with other ethnic groups. Yet, they apparently adjusted to Kuching rather well. Most of the Dayaks in Kuching were Ibans, primarily associated with the settlement at Kampung Tabuan, three miles south of the bazaar. Kampung Tabuan began as a small longhouse and remained a semi-rural village, which aided the adjustment to Kuching life. Considerable intermarriage occurred between the Tabuan Ibans, whose roots lay in the Second Division, and Sebuyaus from the rural villages of the First Division. Indeed by the turn of the century a true kampung with individual houses in the Sebuyau (and Malay) pattern replaced the original longhouse. Receptive to Western cultural influences, many Kuching Iban (or Iban-Sebuyaus) became Christians, usually Anglicans; some of theirchildren attended the Anglican mission schools. Occasionally Ibans left Tabuan and moved closer to the bazaar, where a few gained employment in the civil service as clerks or laborers or with the missions. Most could probably speak Malay and a few gained fluency in Chinese. As [illegible]all minority group somewhat out of touch with their own [illegible]al roots in the Batang Lupar, the Kuching Ibans readily [illegible]bed cultural influences from the missions, the Malays [illegible] the Chinese.

The only other sizeable group of Ibans e[illegible]d in Kuching--those in the Sarawak Rangers--demonstrate[illegible]imilar tendency to absorb urban influences. Ibans had alwa[illegible]inated the rangers, for they boasted a war-like tradition [illegible] strong sense of adventure. Ranger recruitment centered [illegible]e Second Division during the nineteenth century, with th[illegible]ority of members stationed in Kuching. By the later years [illegible] century, a small Iban kampung had begun to develop at Sio[illegible]is, behind the Astana, for Iban soldiers and their wives [illegible]e remained permanently. During the 1870s, Brooke sponsore[illegible]ool for the rangers, with Dayak members enthusiastic stud[illegible] The rangers

studied Malay and English.[51]

A small European community numbered around a dozen in the 1860s and 1870s and perhaps thirty by 1900, most of them English or Scots. The European population was largely male, since Charles Brooke regarded European wives "with stern disapproval on the dual ground that they diminished their husband's efficiency and, where two or more were found together, set the whole community by the ears with their discords."[52] Whatever the accuracy of the charge, the rajah's policies openly discouraged his officers from bringing in European wives until well along in their careers. Since Brooke allowed, perhaps even encouraged, the keeping of local mistresses, European officials and traders not uncommonly took Dayak or Chinese mistresses and this led to the eventual growth of a local-born Eurasian community.

A willingness to cohabitate and even occasionally to contract legal marriages with Asian women did not necessarily imply an incipient process of assimilation into Bornean society, for the Kuching Europeans, whether official or non-official, made every attempt to maintain a European life-style. As one highly ethnocentric English visitor reported in 1875:

> However long they may have resided in the East--thanks to active and healthy occupation and to speedy receipt and circulation of English literature--they have in no way lost their English identity nor true sentiments towards their mother country. So long as this status is maintained, respect from the natives will hold good, but once they commence to decline toward the mental level of natives, civilization ceases to be a stronghold and moral force is gone.[53]

To retain what they believed to be their English superiority Europeans tended to concentrate in enclaves outside the bazaar living in spacious bungalows to which they commonly awarded name. For example, houses in 1871 included the "Ane Berg, Thornham," "Montacute," "San Roque," "Snipe Cottage," and "Mon Rose," all occupied by government officials or private traders. Frequent dinner parties given by the B.C.L. manager, Europea officials or the rajah, Christmas gatherings sponsored by th B.C.L. or the resident, and occasional fancy-dress balls at t Astana highlighted social life. Except for the McDougall missionaries tended to remain aloof from the social activities.

In the 1860s and early 1870s, European social activiti occurred largely on an informal basis, but in 1876 the Saraw Club opened, providing a new social focus.[55] "The Club," as came to be known, restricted membership to Europeans but welcom both government officials and private traders. A hostel f outstation members visiting Kuching as well as recreation facilities and a much-used bar graced the clubhouse. "The Cl developed over the years into the archtypical "colonial" ref ... mundane problems of administrative life--the

institution indelibly stamped with the "British only" label.

For the few European women, options were much more limited. Mostly they socialized with each other and, as often happened in small, isolated, European "colonial" settlements, they evidently gravitated into factions. In 1986 a Ladies' Club appeared, with a clubhouse and facilities for tennis, croquet, and other activities.[56] The club apparently met with limited success but closed around 1905 for reasons unknown. The Ranee Margaret, who loved Sarawak and kept on extremely good terms with the Malay community, believed that most European women in Kuching and many of the men led limited lives because they took little interest in the peoples or developments in Sarawak.

> Every Tuesday afternoon the English ladies, their husbands and the bachelor officials...came to tea at the Astana.... One thing surprised me greatly; they appeared to take little or no interest in the affairs relating to the country, but would wax enthusiastic when someone would announce how, with great fortune, he had induced a small half-ripe strawberry to appear on a plant he had brought from England! With flowers it was just the same.... This in the midst of the exquisite prodigality of the tropics. They wanted to be oh, so English! whilst I hankered after being oh, so Malay![57]

Most Europeans returned to England when their careers in Sarawak had ended; only a few retired in Kuching. Most also made a conscious attempt to retain their identity, and thus their supposed "moral superiority." And yet exceptions to this existed. The rajah and ranee, some of the offic[illegible]s, and a few of the wives respected and liked Asians, devel[illegible] a fascination for the town and the country. Although "Th[illegible]" allowed no Asian members, some frequented the premises as [illegible]. And, as we shall see, many European-inspired social [illegible]ties were multi-ethnic. Furthermore, a true color bar ne[illegible]isted in Kuching, since Europeans and Asians generally mixe[illegible]. Some Asians owned homes in predominantly European neighb[illegible] But Europeans in nineteenth-century Kuching reflected a [illegible]inant feeling in Europe and among Europeans in the "colo[illegible]hat subject peoples were inferior, and European culture [illegible] be maintained to insure continued political domination.

Social Life and Communal Relations

By the end of the century, Kuching already in many respect[illegible] constituted a plural society, for different communities in the growing and increasingly diverse population developed parallel social and political structures. Ethnicity increasingly determined residence, occupation, school attendance, administrative and legal orientations, and associational or club membership.

Many of these institutions served to perpetuate segmentation a
discourage the formation of a "melting pot." Yet the emergi
social and cultural pluralism was of a highly flexible natur
for some activities and institutions served to integrate t
various communities and to preserve communal harmony. Furthe
more, little evidence exists that inter-ethnic relations remain
anything other than cordial.

Neither documentary nor oral sources suggest any overt co
munal hostility, even in the years immediately after the bitt
Kuching-Bau conflict. In most respects the two largest group
Chinese and Malays, remained aloof from each other, but even t
competition for commercial hegemony did not apparently genera
any Malay-Chinese gang fights in the bazaar or threats to pu
the Chinese out of Sarawak. A major reason for Malay acceptan
of Chinese activities and of a general willingness to "live a
let live" may lie with the influence and attitudes of the datu
The Kuching-Bau War greatly embittered the Malays, no dou
coloring their views on the Chinese in the late 1850s and ear
1860s. But the datus maintained, publicly at least, the
staunch support of Brooke policies, among them encouragement
Chinese immigration. Since the datus were the unchalleng
leaders of the Malays, with power to inflict punishment on Mal
law-breakers in kampungs and courts, hostile Malays, if the
existed, probably declined to incur the wrath of the datus an
through them, Brooke. Even more so than the kapitans the datus'
strong position allowed them to impose their will; but th
kapitans likewise undoubtedly promoted amity since it serve
their purposes in retaining Brooke support and encouraging Mal
patronage of Chinese shops. Chinese intra-group squabble
probably disturbed but did not overly alarm the rajah and hi
officers, but conflicts with Malays could threaten the politic
basis of Brooke rule. Apparently the political elites of th
major communities agreed informally on the maintenance o
communal harmony. Furthermore, all groups accepted the generall
benevolent and largely non-exploitative paternalism of Brook
rule. Little hostility existed in Kuching towards the governmen
which could have otherwise been transformed into communa
antagonism.

At the same time the government attempted to keep th
groups apart, as we have already seen in the operation of th
indirect rule system and in the legal encouragement of residen
tial segregation. Brooke policies and the cultural prejudices o
the various communities also combined to discourage inter
marriage. Marriage between persons of different religions wa
legal and under the jurisdiction of the civil courts, but th
dissolution of these unions was difficult.[58] Laws required
non-Muslim who married a Muslim to embrace Islam; for a Chines
or Dayak bridegroom this involved the public renunciation o
pork, alcohol, and other pleasures. Since Chinese tended t
frown upon intermarriage, particularly to a Muslim, a Chinese wh
married a Malay gained little and lost any chance for influenc
in the Chinese community. Adat prohibited Malays from marryin

outside their religion unless the spouse converted. Pringle has demonstrated how Brooke policy in the town of Simanggang and other outstations openly discouraged members of one ethnic group from joining another, with children of mixed unions having no legal status unless assigned to one of the existing ethnic categories.[59] The situation was similar in Kuching, where the social organization of each group was far more developed. Problems posed by differing systems of customary law combined with general opposition within families and communities to discourage inter-ethnic marriage.

Marital records or other sources which might suggest the extent of intermarriage at any period were unavailable, but most informants and pertinent documentary sources suggest that intermarriage at all periods was rare, particularly between Chinese and Malays. Where it occurred, the wife and any ensuing children generally became absorbed into the husband's ethnic group. This inhibited development of culturally mixed intermediary groups like the Baba Chinese of Malacca who could serve as an acculturated link between the major immigrant and indigenous communities. Some Chinese, particularly if they had spent some time in the outstations, married or cohabited with Dayak women, and a few also took Eurasian wives. But before Chinese women began immigrating in large numbers, after about 1910, the long-established Hakka settlements of the nearby rural areas provided the largest pool of eligible women for more prosperous town-dwelling towkays. Many sojourning Chinese did not marry locally but maintained wives in China while legalized brothels serviced their more immediate needs. Evidently Muslim Indian men more commonly married Malay women, in which case the husbands often joined the Malay community. Most Indians, however, married within their own subgroups, often bringing wives from India or the Straits if they planned to remain in Kuching for more than a few years. Some Dayaks seem to have married Malays and joined that group although the surrounding interior as well as the local Iban-Sebuyau community provided the majority of eligible women for Dayak men. Dayak members of the Sarawak Rangers also frequented the brothels on Kuching's backstreets, which offered Dayak and Japanese prostitutes.[60]

Despite the rarity of inter-ethnic marriage, a number of activities provided scope for social interaction and promoted communal harmony, such as the annual regattas, generally held on New Year's Day and particularly popular with non-Chinese. The organization of the regatta became very much a pan-community affair, with datus, towkay, and Brooke officers alike getting involved in the proceedings as boat owners and race officials, sometimes in partnership. The regatta was always preceded by a community breakfast at the Astana or other spacious facility, attended by leaders from all the ethnic groups, with the rajah or his deputy presiding. The Europeans believed that these activities did much to further harmonious relations in Kuching.[61] Annual horse-race meetings, held at the racecourse near Padungan Road, commenced in 1890; all ethnic groups in the town enjoyed

them.

Annual regattas and race meetings, as well as weekly ba concerts, constituted regularly scheduled social and recreationa activities appealing to most of the groups in Kuching, b irregular and informal social events also existed which tra scended ethnic group membership. For example, the Ranee Margare took a great interest in the Malay women and always included th in her activities, among them work bazaars, excursions to t coast, exhibits of various kinds, and annual dinners.[62] Amo other European-sponsored social events, the divisional reside occasionally held a dinner-dance for both Europeans and Asians and the denizens of the Sarawak Club and their wives sometim presented dramatic performances to which leading Chinese a Malays usually received invitations.[63]

But the instigation for multi-ethnic social gatherings d not come entirely from the Europeans. For example, 'Che Bakar the Minangkabau schoolmaster, was a friend of both the Chines and Europeans; he often sponsored events to which they were a invited, including performances of Chinese opera.[64] The Mala leaders also promoted good relations with the Muslim Indians; th datu bandar served as treasurer and director for the rebuildi of the Indian mosque in 1875. Chinese leaders, for their part made a point of including non-Chinese in some of their activi ties, including dinner parties; in 1898 Yeo Ban Hock, a leadi Hokkien merchant, gave a dinner and <u>wayang</u> with Malays a Europeans among the invited guests. During Chinese festivals such as Chinese New Year or <u>Sembayang Hantu</u> (Feast of the Hungr Ghosts), leading merchants usually invited Europeans to tour t activities in the bazaar and to take part in the proceedings.[6] A few businesses owned by members of different ethnic groups partnership occasionally developed.[66]

Several social clubs with multi-ethnic memberships devel oped in the nineteenth century. One of these, the Sarawa Cricket Club, existed by 1891 and organized intramural competi tions as well as playing against visiting ship's crews. Most o the officers were Europeans, but a majority of the members see to have been Malays, Chinese, and perhaps even Dayaks, judging b the names. The rangers and St. Thomas's school both promote cricket, and it may be that most of the Asian members came fro these two institutions.[67] The date of the club's closing i unknown but no mention appears after 1892.

Another, more successful, multi-ethnic club, the Sarawa Union Club, founded in 1899 by "old boys" and staff of St Thomas's School, still existed in the 1970s; the club had a initial membership of about twenty, mostly Chinese with a fe Eurasians and Malays (including two future datus). In man respects the club represented the first organizational effort o the "Sarawak Chinese" and a few English-educated friends, and th Chinese members included more civil servants and clerks tha towkays. Some of the members spent their evenings at the club- house, which offered facilities for indoor games and socializing The club sponsored dinners on special occasions like Christmas

to which guests from the Malay and other communities often came as invited guests.[68] Events such as these undoubtedly strengthened the ties between the English-educated Chinese and mission-educated or elite members of other ethnic groups. Club activities and success suggest that the "Sarawak Chinese" and others with a mission education began to serve as social brokers between the Chinese and other communities.

Opportunities for inter-ethnic social activities did therefore exist in Kuching, with communal relations evidently relaxed. While it would be a mistake to contend that the occasional towkay parties or Malay-sponsored Chinese operas constituted a major element in Kuching social life or affected Asians at all levels of society, it does indicate the flexibility of social boundaries. Friendships and cultural interests could transcend ethnicity, particularly at the elite level for, except for the regatta or horse races, most of the activities cited comprised elite activities. The members of the Sarawak Union Club or the Malays at an Astana party mostly came from the middle or upper class, and many were united by common interests. No evidence exists on how frequently fishermen, carpenters, or day laborers engaged in inter-ethnic activity, but it was probably much less common. Ethnic interaction outside the market place would appear to have been largely an elite phenomenon.

This raises the question as to whether any kind of common urban culture characterized Kuching during this period. No "Creolization" occurred in the sense of physical intermixture, but cross-cultural influences appeared. For example, Bazaar Malay remained something of a lingua franca for the town, although a smaller percentage of Chinese probably knew the language than before 1857. Yet Malays were still the largest ethnic group and an important trade clientele, making a knowledge of Malay useful. Most Indians and Dayaks probably used Malay extensively. For the growing number with mission education, English became an important second language. Perhaps also at this time many Kuching-born (and sometimes immigrant) Chinese women began to wear the characteristically Malay <u>sarong</u> and <u>kebaya</u> (blouse); these women were known locally as <u>nyonya</u>, a Malay term. The Malay language took on Chinese accretions, and Hokkien added Malay and English words and expressions. The urban milieu did prove conducive to a certain amount of cultural change. But no parallel to the mixed Euro-Asian (<u>Indisch</u>) culture of Jakarta (Batavia) emerged[69]--the Chinese by and large remained Chinese socially and culturally and likewise Malays and Europeans retained their separate identities. A certain amount of flexibility existed but Kuching remained largely a plural society.

[illegible]

Chapter V

PATTERNS OF CHANGE IN THE LATE BROOKE PERIOD

1900-1941

Political historians have generally periodized the history of Sarawak in terms of the reigns and styles of the three rajahs, contrasting (usually favorably) the long, dedicated, and intensely personal rule of Charles Brooke with what they viewed as the more leisurely, aloof, hedonistic (perhaps even decadent) rule of his son and successor, Charles Vyner Brooke, who acceded to power in 1917. Of course, the two rajahs' personalities and interests often shaped policies and attitudes affecting Kuching society. But from the perspective of Kuching history the alterations in the ruler's style played a less important role than major social and economic changes occurring during the entire four decades between 1900 and 1941.

Compared with earlier years this period was characterized by rapid change. Rubber, previously a little known crop, became the mainstay of the economy and the lure which brought tens of thousands of immigrants into the state. These immigrants, most of them Chinese, transformed Kuching from a largely Malay town into a predominantly Chinese one, and increased the demographic and physical contours of the settlement dramatically. Economic activities and avenues to social and economic influence became increasingly diversified with expansion of the bureaucracy and growth of the professions. Christian missionary influence became more pronounced and wider in scope, vastly increasing the role of the English-educated in Kuching life. Patterns of administration also changed as Kuching became a municipality with more formalized Asian participation in government. This chapter examines some of these developments as they affected the town as a whole, while Chapter VI discusses the impact of these changes on the social structure of each major ethnic group and on patterns of interaction among them.

Population Growth and Ethnic Balance

During the period between 1900 and 1941 Kuching grew dramatically, with the population multiplying to a figure several times that of the 1880s. A significant shift in the relative

sizes of the various ethnic groups also occurred. These change
can only be understood within the framework of economic histor
for economic developments, particularly the growth of the rubb
industry and the Depression, had a far-reaching influence
Kuching.

Much of the population increase resulted from developmen
of the rubber industry, which had a tremendous impact on th
economy of the state and town. During periods of boom, such a
that between 1910 and 1920, and again in the later 1920s and lat
1930s, Kuching prospered, for the bulk of rubber exports passe
through the town and many Kuching traders held financial inter
ests in rubber gardens. Rubber first appeared as a seriou
commercial prospect in Sarawak in 1908, when several experimenta
estates operated by the B.C.L. near Kuching began distributin
seeds to various groups. By 1910 rubber had spread througho
the state and planting began on a more extensive scale. Th
first world war spurred the demand for rubber and by the end
World War I it was Sarawak's leading product, a status which
retained into the 1970s.

During boom periods Chinese, Dayaks, and Malays avid
planted rubber, primarily as smallholders working their o
crops. A few large estates developed near Kuching, owned
Chinese towkays or the B.C.L. Thousands of Chinese flocked in
Sarawak to take up planting, helping to raise the Chine
population of Sarawak from about 45,000 in 1909 to 123,626
1939.[1] Much of this growth took place between 1910 and 1929, a
many of these Chinese passed through or settled in Kuching
financial center, chief entrepot, and major port of entry.
the 1920s, many Malays migrated from other parts of Sarawak, a
from Brunei and other areas outside the state, to the Kuchi
area in search of land suitable for rubber growing. Since t
land around the town was among the best in Sarawak for rubb
planting, a number of kampungs appeared, including several
Kuching's north bank.[2] In addition to the influx of Chinese a
Malays, importation of Tamil laborers for assignment to exper
mental estates and the Public Works Department continued. Begi
ning in 1905 the government and the B.C.L. recruited Javane
contract laborers from Java for work on several of the la
estates near Kuching. A few Japanese immigrants also came
take up rubber planting. Expectation of prosperity from rubb
therefore contributed to the arrival of new groups and populat
growth in and around Kuching. Rubber development complete
eclipsed three of the earlier mainstays of Sarawak's econom
pepper, gambier, and mining. An unstable commodity on the wo
market, rubber, like pepper, experienced wide fluctutations
price, which were reflected in migration to or from Kuching.

Expansion of the rubber industry and demographic gro
halted with the world-wide depression with began in 1929. Pri
for rubber and for most other crops plummeted to an all time l
hitting the large rubber planters, mostly Chinese, Europeans,
Japanese stationed in Kuching, especially hard. Considera
population movement occurred during the Depression. Many Mal

and Chinese moved from other parts of Sarawak to the First Division, seeking work particularly in the mines of Upper Sarawak. Unemployed estate workers and smallholders gravitated to the capital, settling temporarily or permanently in the town or its outskirts. But the rate of Chinese immigration dropped drastically; indeed, in the early 1930s emigrants exceeded immigrants by almost two to one.[3] On balance, Kuching probably lost population during the worst years of the Depression, but lack of population statistics renders documentation of this hypothesis impossible.

The economic recovery beginning with the rise of rubber prices in 1933 saw an increasing migration of Chinese from other parts of Sarawak to the First Division and resumption of heavy Chinese immigration. Steady growth, heavy immigration, rising prosperity, and the full recovery of the rubber industry marked the last few years of Brooke rule.

Diverse available estimates make impossible the accurate tracing of Kuching's population growth between 1900 and 1941, as in earlier periods. It would seem that there was probably a rather gradual population rise between the 1870s and the late 1920s, but one which gained momentum by 1920. Only population estimates compiled by the Sarawak government in 1928 and 1939 merit acceptance with any degree of assurance; both years the figures included all of the commercial district, most of the Malay kampungs on both banks, and much of the suburban area as well. The 1928 enumeration, based on an unofficial survey undertaken by the Health Department, recorded 24,500 in the municipality,[4] but gave no analysis of the population by ethnicity. Considerable growth evidently took place between 1928 and 1939, when an enumeration carried out for the purpose of implementing emergency war-time food rationing found a population of 34,464. This included 13,714 indigenous (mostly Malays), 19,109 Chinese, and 1,641 others.[5] The "others" category consisted of 1,258 Indians, 140 Eurasians, 124 Europeans, and 133 Japanese living in or near the town.[6] Another 7,600 Chinese lived within a ten mile radius of Kuching, most of them Hakka rubber smallholders and market gardeners. The 1939 figures demonstrate a net gain of almost 10,000 in eleven years, which might reflect a heavy immigration in the late 1930s as well as substantial inmigration from other districts by Malays and Chinese with the waning of the Depression.

Kuching's population growth between 1857 and 1941 must remain tentative. However, using the probably accurate census figures as well as some other estimates by visitors or residents that are consistent with them,[7] we can compile a rough table illustrating the general trend of population growth in Kuching during this period.

Table 1

Estimated Population Growth in Kuching, 1876-1939

Year	Estimated Population	Numerical Increase	Percentage Increase
1876	7,684	-	-
1884	10,000	2,326	30
1917	20,000	10,000	100
1928	24,500	4,500	22.5
1939	34,464	9,964	40

Sources: Sarawak Gazette, October 10, 1876; E. Cotteau, Quelques Notes sur Sarawak (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1886), p. 3; An Official Guide to Eastern Asia, V (East Indies, (Tokyo: Imperial Government Railways of Japan, 1917), p. 330; Sarawak Government Gazette, November 16, 1928; Jones, Census of Population...1960, p. 32.

Between 1867 and 1939 the population of the town evidently grew by almost 350 percent, from under 8,000 to almost 35,000. Kuching's ethnic composition also changed. Data from both the 1876 and 1939 censuses revealed the population according to ethnic groups, documenting the decline in the Malay proportion and a rise in the Chinese proportion (see Tables 2 and 3).

Indians apparently had the highest percentage increase, while Chinese increased more than twice as much as the increase for Kuching as a whole. Malays increased much more slowly, their percentage increase being about half the total experienced by the Kuching population (see Table 2). At the same time, the Chinese percentage of the population grew dramatically. During this period the Malay percentage of the urban population fell from a commanding 69 percent to a minority 40 percent, while the Chinese proportion increased from 29 percent to 55 percent (see Table 3). These Chinese included an increasing number of women, since women began accounting for a growing minority of immigrants after about 1910. The Indian proportion of the population more than doubled, although still constituting a minor element in the total. Dayaks, Europeans, Japanese, Filipinos, and others comprised under 2 percent. Kuching was therefore transformed from a predominantly Malay town to a predominantly Chinese one.

Table 2

Population Increase Among Major Ethnic Groups in Kuching, 1876-1939

Group	1876	1939	Numerical Increase	Percentage Increase
Malays	5,311	13,714	8,403	158
Chinese	2,251	19,109	16,858	748
Indians	122	1,258	1,136	931
Totals	7,684	34,081	26,397	341

Sources: Sarawak Gazette, October 10, 1876; Jones, Census of Population...1960, p. 32; Allied Geographical Survey of Kuching (Prepared for Allied Forces, Southwest Pacific Area, no publication information available), pp. 77-78.

Table 3

Ethnic Composition of Population of Kuching, 1876-1939

Group	1876 Population	Percentage	1939 Population	Percentage
Chinese	2,251	29.3	19,109	55.4
Malays	5,311	69.1	13,714	39.7
Indians	122	1.6	1,258	3.7
Others			397	1.2
Totals	7,684	100.0	34,478	100.0

Sources: Sarawak Gazette, October 10, 1876; Jones, Census of Population...1960, p. 32; Allied Geographical Survey of Kuching (Prepared for Allied Forces, Southwest Pacific Area, no publication information available), pp. 77-78.

Physical Expansion

Kuching's physical expansion reflected demographic growth, with extension of the bazaar district into Padungan, development

of many new kampungs, and gradual transformation of the "urb fringe" into largely residential suburbs (see Map 4). Some the most important development took place in the bazaar, whi continued to play the major role in the lives and activities Chinese and Muslim Indians. In the old bazaar, shops continu to spring up on the outskirts, with new streets constructed accommodate new enterprises. But the bazaar remained overcrowde and limited in space, as the municipal department annual repo noted in 1926:

> The present housing accommodation for the majority of inhabitants [of the bazaar] can be termed nothing short of disgraceful. The conditions prevailing in the smaller shophouses need to be seen to be realized. The Medical Department returns show the effect such conditions have on the health of the community, and the rapid increase of tuberculosis in this area is attributed to the evil effects of over-crowding, while the limited space at their disposal is an undoubted handicap on the business of the smaller traders.[8]

A good deal of poverty existed; in 1924, over sevent Chinese "waifs and strays" resided in the bazaar, living b begging and sleeping in public places.[9] Overcrowding of the o bazaar, and continuous influx of Chinese seeking to open shops caused the gradual transformation of the Padungan district fr an area of sago factories, fishermen's shacks, kampung houses a market gardens into a new bazaar. Around the turn of th century, the first few shops appeared at Padungan but maj commercial development began in the late 1920s and early 1930s Between about 1930 and 1939 over 200 new shophouses were buil along Padungan Road, and Padungan became a secondary commercia and manufacturing district of major significance.[10] However since it contained most of the government offices and the hea offices of most of the important Chinese and Indian businesses the old bazaar remained more important. The old bazaar's rive front streets, Main Bazaar and Gambier Road, still comprised th busiest commercial area.

As before 1900, a tendency existed for different streets be characterized by particular economic activities, and to b dominated by the shops of one or two specific ethnic or spee groups. For example, India Street remained the center for Mopla businesses and famous for its textile shops, a Moplah specialty Chinese sundry goods shops and general stores concentrated India and Khoo Hung Yeang streets; most of them carried the sam line of goods and engaged in fierce competition. Khoo Hung Yean Street also housed the Japanese brothels, which brought in wome from Singapore or Japan. Gambier Road began in the late nine teenth century as the location for gambier-exporting firms, bu the demise of that industry gradually transformed it into th center for the Teochiu-dominated grocery trade. Carpenter Stre

MAP 4 KUCHING C. 1940

lost its original purpose and became a Cantonese and Teochi
dominated street specializing in produce and watch-and-cloc
repair shops; Cantonese controlled the latter occupatio
Carpenters and tinsmiths, most of them Hakkas, concentrated
Upper China Street. Main Bazaar, dominated by Hokkiens a
Chaoanns, housed the headquarters for major import and expo
companies. Padungan Road, which developed later, apparently h
many shops operated by speech groups who entered commercial li
later, such as the Hakkas, Henghuas, and Foochows, but many fir
controlled by Hokkiens and Teochius also located there. T
occupational and social importance of the speech group w
therefore transferred to the residential and commercial patter
of the bazaar itself.

The bazaar remained the center of social life for Chine
and provided leisure time activities for members of other grou
as well; Malays, Dayaks, and rural or suburban Chinese gravitat
there for entertainment, and this had an impact on the plur
society. Many of the activities provided recreation for member
of different ethnic groups, thereby bringing together peop
otherwise separated by informal residential segregation. In th
nineteenth century, the regular bazaar entertainments include
billiard rooms, restaurants, gambling stalls, and opium dens
occasional Chinese operatic performances (<u>wayangs</u>) and travelin
shows offering such attractions as a Tamil theatrical company,
magic lantern entertainment from Bombay, or a camel from Mecc
added to the attraction. Malays as well as Chinese patronize
the billiard rooms or watched the wayangs. By the early years o
the twentieth century, the pleasures gained more variety.

> There was very occasionally a silent film at a... theatre hall off Carpenter Street....[where] there was the rigid rule that no Asiatic women could sit among her menfolk. They were packed cheek by jowl into a balcony where I gather what with their head coverings and veils few of the [Malay] women could see much more than a corner of the screen.... The streets at night were gay with oil lamps and people. There was gambling, or a spot of opium, and quite often a Chinese Wayang. The people liked a <u>bangsawan</u> [Malay theatre company], and we had a circus once.... There was even a Christy Minstrel troupe.[11]

By the 1930s several Chinese and European-owned cinema
showed Western and Chinese motion pictures with sound
Films, circuses, billiard saloons, and some other entertainment
had a popularity which transcended ethnicity. But some bazaa
activities appealed to particular ethnic groups. For example
opium-smoking and gambling continued to be major leisure pastime
among Chinese until the government restricted them in the 1930s
in 1921 fifty-six opium shops and seven gambling booths operate
in the town, with the main gambling hall on Carpenter Street an
outdoor gambling stalls interspersed among the evening foo

stalls along India Street.[12]

In addition to these entertainments, the Chinese coffee shops presented opportunities for socializing and inter-ethnic mixing. By the early part of the century many small coffee shops stood at convenient intervals around the bazaar. Since the shops were open to the street on one or two, sometimes even three, sides, they constituted an integral part of street life; with a sudden rainstorm pedestrians usually rushed into the nearest coffee shop to wait out the downpour. After the closing down of the gambling shops and the sharp restrictions on opium smoking following international pressures in the 1930s, coffee shops became the locale for informal conversations and gossip, compensating to some extent for the paucity of local newspapers or other purveyors of information. They serviced a primarily male clientele, since few Malay and Chinese females were to be seen in public, particularly at ethnically mixed locations. The ethnic composition of a shop's customers depended on location--near government offices, the public markets, or the bus station. Malays, Indians, and Dayaks patronized the shops along with the Chinese. In commercial or industrial districts shops usually serviced a wholly Chinese clientele. But towkays often took their clients, whatever their ethnic group, to the shops to transact business. The coffee shops had a popularity which transcended ethnicity and they played an integrative social role.

Kuching's increasing population subjected the Malay kampung districts to change. A major development came at Padungan, where construction of the Padungan bazaar forced removal of the old Malay kampung largely settled by Malayo-Muslim immigrants to nearby Sekama Road. Besides uprooting a well-established neighborhood the move had further importance--Kampung Padungan had been perhaps the only kampung where Malays and Chinese mixed together in the same residential area; removal of Malays to a new location therefore further solidified the relationship between ethnicity and residence. Other kampung districts also faced alteration, in most cases through expansion and establishment of new kampungs. For example, Malay settlement in the Datu's Peninsula gradually stretched across the peninsula until it reached the river to the west; the tip of the peninsula gradually filled up. In the process some Javanese and Boyanese settlers south of the mosque were either relocated or absorbed into Kampung Jawa. Even more development occurred across the river, as the rubber boom brought in Malay migrants from elsewhere to plant on the relatively good land bordering the north bank kampungs. These Malays often established their own kampungs.

Kampung expansion did not drastically alter the nature of kampung life, for the different neighborhoods generally preserved their identity and socioeconomic orientation. Kampungs in the Datu's Peninsula remained the most aristocratic, with the majority of perabangan and datus still concentrated there. The proportion of their inhabitants employed by government remained high. For south bank kampungs the bazaar became a major focus of leisure-time activity and of work, with most government offices

situated there. A quasi-suburban atmosphere permeated these kampungs. On the north bank the emphasis differed, for the only viable cross-river transportation remained the small Malay-operated sampans known locally as tambangs. Kampungs Gersik and Boyan supplied a large number of civil servants but otherwise the north bank milieu remained far more rural or semi-rural. A study in the late 1940s found that non-urban activities such as rubber-tapping, wood-cutting, fishing, nipah-collecting, and atap-making, comprised the major occupations in kampungs like Tupong, Bintawa, and Pulau,[13] and this was undoubtedly even more true in the pre-war period. Kampung loyalties ran high throughout the Malay districts. For example, some of the kampungs had their own banks, bangsawan (dramatic) troupes, and even recreation clubs open only to inhabitants of that kampung. Urbanization and the passage of time did not erode identities.

The last four decades of Brooke rule saw the transformation of the "urban fringe" into a full-fledged suburban district. In the nineteenth century this area had been devoted largely to market gardens, pig farms, fruit groves, and experimental farms. By the turn of the century a few wealthy towkays began building homes in the district, to escape the pressures, overcrowding and noise of the bazaar. Other prosperous towkays, middle-class Chinese businessmen, and civil servants followed. Europeans had long lived outside the bazaar in spacious bungalows surrounded by gardens and trees, and the new Chinese suburbanites followed the same pattern. They built large homes, many in what they considered Chinese style, on large plots of land and planted flowers, fruit trees, or vegetable gardens. Although a few rubber and market gardens continued to exist, by the 1930s the area immediately inland from the bazaar had become largely residential, with a few scattered Chinese shops to cater to the suburbanites. Most of these areas were incorporated into the municipality and administered as a functional part of Kuching.

Kuching's physical structure therefore consisted of bazaar, kampungs, and suburbs. As in the nineteenth century, a correlation still existed between residence and ethnicity. The residential segregation reflected in bazaar-kampung dualism was maintained since the bazaar remained overwhelmingly Chinese and Indian while the kampungs were almost entirely Malay. It remained illegal for non-Muslim Chinese to settle in the kampungs, while Malays continued to find the bazaar an unattractive residence. Development of the suburban area did not substantially alter the situation, for Chinese were preponderent among suburban dwellers. But some other non-Malays did live in the suburbs. A concentration of Europeans, most of them Brooke officials, lived in an area known as "The Hill," situated in a hilly and forested region around the reservoir just south of the bazaar. Another group of Europeans settled near the Astana on the north bank. A Tamil village stood south of the bazaar near the junction of Rock and Green roads;[14] it boasted a Hindu temple. Moplah traders mostly lived on or around India Street. Several kampungs were located in the suburbs but few Malays lived

outside of the kampungs. Certain Chinese speech groups showed a slight tendency to settle in particular neighborhoods; for example, Sekama Road developed into a heavily Chaoann area.

Despite the general relationship between ethnicity and residence, the boundaries were not tightly observed nor did they have legal sanction except for the prohibition against Chinese in kampungs. On some suburban streets Europeans and wealthy Chinese lived side by side. Tamils, Sikhs, and Moplahs dwelled in scattered houses around the bazaar and suburbs. Muslim Indians could live in Malay kampungs, and a few did. Some of the Kuching Ibans from Kampung Tabuan moved closer to the bazaar and settled among the Malays at kampung Simpang Tiga; a few others lived in Chinese suburban districts. Town expansion generated by population growth therefore did not alter the basic settlement patterns and create an urban "melting pot," but neither did it totally isolate the various ethnic groups from contact with one another, since some neighborhoods were at least partly mixed and many leisure and work activities focused on the bazaar.

The Growth and Role of the Bureaucracy and the Professions

During the nineteenth century, commerce provided the most important avenue for social and economic advancement for Chinese and Indians, as well as for Malays before the demise of the nakodas. The only other alternative, the civil service, was still very small and Malays received preference in hiring. But during the later Brooke period new avenues to social mobility emerged; commerce remained important, especially for Chinese, but other careers now offered influence and wealth. The government bureaucracy, which grew much larger and more significant after 1900, and the professions constituted the major new avenues.

Between 1900 and 1941 the government established many new departments and expanded old ones, providing new employment opportunities and transforming the civil service into a major urban institution. To older departments such as the police (constabulary), treasury, public works, medical, and lands and survey were added a variety of new departments which reflected Kuching's increasing population and needs, among the largest of them those related to municipal affairs, education, labor, monopolies, Chinese affairs, trade and customs. While the government brought in some trained personnel from overseas, particularly the Straits Settlements, most recruits came from among students and other town residents.

For most departments, Malays received preference; they constituted the largest ethnic group at all levels in the civil service. Malays accounted for 45 percent, and Chinese for 35 percent, of middle- and upper-level positions in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.[15] Malays tended to concentrate in certain departments; in 1919, for example, Malays accounted for 66 percent of the total staff of the Kuching office of the Lands and Surveys Department.[16] Malays also dominated one

of the largest branches of the government, the Kuching Police Department; in 1918 Malays, together with a few Javanese and Bugis, comprised 65 percent of the force.[17] Sikhs and Sepoys, both Indian subgroups specializing in police or military work, provided most of the remainder. A similar preponderance of Malays worked in lower echelon government jobs. Although under-represented in some government departments, many Chinese worked in the middle and upper echelons of the civil service.

Government service provided a major employment opportunity, particularly for Malays and certain Chinese and Indian subgroups, and therefore constituted an important economic institution in Kuching; it played an increasingly significant social role as well. Since many rural Hakkas sent their children to Kuching mission schools and many of them remained in Kuching as civil servants rather than returning to rural districts, the growth of the bureaucracy may have contributed to Hakka community growth. Civil service careers provided possibilities for upward mobility to members of various groups who might not otherwise have had that chance. Highly placed bureaucrats sometimes arranged for their children to marry wealthy towkays or influential Malay aristocrats.[18] The civil service also provided the major employment for mission-educated "Sarawak Chinese" and Malays, most of whom spent all or part of their careers in the bureaucracy. Some of the most successful businessmen of the later Brooke period worked in the government before entering business. Furthermore, some sons of wealthy towkays became government clerks, suggesting that a bureaucratic career carried considerable prestige.

A small group of professionals appeared in Kuching for the first time and some of them achieved a position of high influence, particularly among Chinese and Indians. Some came to have prestige and wealth equal to that of successful towkays, and a few combined a profession such as medicine with industrial or commercial investments and activities. Perhaps physicians constituted the most important new group for they included among their numbers the leader of the Tamil community and two of the most influential Cantonese in Kuching. Only Europeans, Chinese, Indians, and Japanese entered the medical profession but no one group dominated it. Europeans, most of them employed by the government, had a slight numerical edge with Chinese and Indians almost as important.[19] All of the doctors appear to have been recruited or to have immigrated from overseas; such a situation is hardly surprising, given the limited educational opportunities available to Sarawakians. But most Asians and some Europeans evidently became permanent or long-term settlers in Kuching since very little turnover occurred. Few if any local Malays gained a college education and no Malays became doctors. Chinese and Indians could at least go to China or India for further study. A similar absence of Malays was characteristic of several other professions; for example, in 1940, the twenty-three dentists included twenty-one Chinese, one European, and one Japanese but no Malays.[20] As we shall see in Chapter VI, professionals played

an increasingly important role in the affairs of the Chinese, Indian, and Japanese communities.

Westernization and the Christian Missions

Christian missions became an increasing influence in the development of Kuching after 1900. In the nineteenth century the Anglican and Roman Catholic missions, founded in 1848 and 1881 respectively, began to have an impact, largely through their sponsorship of education. During the later years of Brooke rule the mission schools maintained their importance as agents of cultural change and also became more significant vehicles for upward mobility. The missions themselves achieved more success in establishing a strong and important Christian community in Kuching.

It is easy to exaggerate the significance of the Christian missions, for their influences were highly visible while crucial developments of other types or in other religions may have gone unrecorded by the European observers who produced the available documentary record. The danger also exists that an American or European account may overemphasize tendencies that seem to point to "Westernization" or the acceptance of Western values. Yet, the Christian missions in Kuching had an influence far exceeding their purely religious successes. Only a minority of Kuching's population became Christian, but large numbers of Chinese, Malays, Indians, Dayaks, and others attended mission schools, where they faced exposure to Western modes of thought. Furthermore, the influence of the missions and their schools was strongest in the late Brooke period.

A lack of statistical information precludes assessing accurately mission success in gaining converts, and the size of Kuching's Christian community before 1941 remains unknown. In the 1947 census Christians comprised about one-sixth of Sarawak's total Chinese population.[21] Presumably Kuching contained a similar proportion. Christians may well have comprised about fifteen or twenty percent of Kuching's non-Muslim population by the late 1930s. Catholic missionaries received better funding and evidently gained converts at a more rapid pace; although Anglicans had a head start of more than thirty years, the two groups probably boasted a similar number of adherents by 1941.

As in the nineteenth century, the Hakka role in Kuching churches remained considerable. They accounted for three of the first four Chinese Anglican priests in Kuching, the earliest of them ordained in 1904. The first non-Hakka, a Hokkien, received ordination in 1937. A Hakka from Sibu, ordained in 1933, became the first Chinese priest in the Catholic church. St. Thomas's Church boasted a disciplined and well-organized Hakka congregation, under the leadership of a committee, elected by the communicants, that had the power to single out for special attention those in the congregation suspected of forbidden behavior. The Hakka congregation also organized a burial committee and a

club to minister to communicants who were ill. The leadership committee had special responsibility for protection of unmarried women and girls.[22]

Neither mission intended to concentrate solely on Hakkas. Kong Kwui En, the Hakka Anglican catechist and priest, worked not only among Hakkas in Kuching and Upper Sarawak but also among Foochows and Japanese. The Anglicans also imported a Foochow from Sibu around 1910 to work among the small but growing Foochow trading community in Kuching, and recruited their first Hokkien catechist to proselytize among Hokkiens and Foochows in 1916. Another Anglican endeavor, a small girls' school called St. Anne's, opened in 1931 to teach Hokkien-speaking children, but it closed a few years later. But the Hokkien work did meet with limited success and this community came to constitute the second-largest Chinese group in the church. A Tamil catechist arrived from Ceylon in 1919 to work among the Tamil community and had some success.[23]

Both churches implicitly encouraged dialect particularism by offering services in different dialects and languages. Anglican priests generally used Malay and English in their services but in 1898 they added a separate Hakka service. Hokkien, Foochow, and Tamil services appeared later, but the latter two lasted only a few years. Anglican officials themselves saw the weaknesses in the system and in an attempt to escape "the divisions of race and language which the church exists to transcend"[24] experimented with a new system in 1933. They reduced the four separate services to only two, one in English and one that mixed Malay, Hakka, and Hokkien. Later they reinstated the Malay service (probably to cater to Dayak communicants) but Hokkien and Hakka services remained merged.[25] Apparently, the Catholic mission used English and Hakka as the major languages in non-Latin parts of the Mass.

Creation of small but influential Christian subgroups continued throughout the late Brooke period. At the same time, religion did not generate a completely separate and cohesive Christian community embracing all believers, for differences of language, dialect, and theology still proved a barrier. Continued Anglican-Catholic antagonism evolved into a chronic rivalry. Nor did Christians completely cut themselves off from non-Christian Chinese. Although the missions, particularly the Roman Catholic, attempted to prohibit their converts from visiting non-Christian temples or participating in certain traditional festivals whose emphasis was ancestor worship, some Christians did so. Families often included both Christians and non-Christians, with Christians expected to take part in some of their kinsmen's traditional activities. Even among Christians, Chinese New Year remained a more important festival than Christmas. Adoption of Christianity did not therefore cause a schism within the Chinese community, and no local version of the Christian and Westernized Straits Chinese of Singapore developed.

Education remained the most important mission activity, and the schools operated by the Anglican and Catholic churches kept

their leadership as the most important educational institutions in Kuching. They also educated a rapidly growing number of students between 1900 and 1941, and the percentage of Kuching residents studying at the schools rose. In the 1890s, the four original mission schools together claimed enrollments of about 250, or at most about two percent of the town population of 12,000 to 15,000. By 1928, well over a thousand children attended the schools, equal to at least four percent of the 25,000 inhabitants. By 1939 enrollments rose to between 1,500 and 2,000, or roughly five to six percent of the town population of 34,000. The mission schools also educated much larger numbers of students than did Malay and Chinese-medium schools. St. Thomas's continued as the largest school; by 1941 it boasted 600 students.[26] Mission school success in attracting students reflected the fact that, during the entire Brooke period, they provided the only English-medium education available in Kuching, and this made them very attractive to upwardly mobile Chinese and other students.

With the brief exception of the Government Lay School (see Chapter VI), mission schools contained the only significant multi-ethnic enrollment and focus among educational institutions. Few figures exist on ethnic composition, but, as in the nineteenth century, Chinese comprised the great majority of students. St. Thomas's also enrolled a large number of Dayaks in addition to Chinese; in 1941 Chinese accounted for almost 400 of the school's 600 students, Dayaks another 100, Malays, Indians, and others the remaining 100.[27] Probably the Chinese proportion of St. Thomas's students had dropped from earlier times, since the school made special efforts to recruit Dayaks in the 1930s. Ethnic heterogeneity marked the teaching staffs of the schools as well. Mission school students came from a variety of socioeconomic backgrounds. Apparently most Malays belonged to aristocratic families, while some wealthy and long-established Chinese families enrolled their children as well. But due to relatively low fees, government grants to schools and a number of scholarships, a large number of Chinese and Dayak students came from poor families.

As noted in Chapter III, many mission school graduates entered government service in Sarawak or elsewhere. Mission school education was admirably suited for production of clerks and bureaucrats, and became even more so after the turn of the century. Although the curriculum remained largely academic, the schools offered courses in such useful skills as typing, shorthand and bookkeeping. The dramatic expansion of mission school enrollment in the late Brooke period probably reflected in part the growth of the bureaucracy and the new employment opportunities this presented to those with an English education. Other former students either became towkays, clerks in large business firms like the B.C.L., or officers and engineers in the steamship companies. After 1900, some of the brightest or more affluent went to the Straits Settlements, particularly Singapore, for secondary education, since Kuching's schools offered only a

primary education until late in the Brooke period. Some of these returned as teachers or government officials, while others entered business.

In addition to producing clerks and businessmen, the major mission schools, and particularly St. Thomas's, played a crucial role in educating students who later formed the post-war political elite. During the late colonial and early Malaysian periods almost half of the top-level government leaders from throughout the state occupying major local and state wide offices had been educated at St. Thomas's, while St. Joseph's accounted for over one-fourth; most received their education during the Brooke years. All of the governors, deputy chief ministers, and Kuching Municipal Council chairmen graduated from one of the two mission schools, and two of the three chief ministers. With the exception of one three-year period, half or more state cabinet ministers before 1970 were former students at one of the two schools.[28]

Both day and boarding students attended the mission schools, some of the latter coming from outstations; undoubtedly many outstation students remained in Kuching to pursue their careers. Although schools sometimes segregated boarders by ethnic groups, this policy evidently did not continue past the turn of the century. A majority of Anglican school students boarded in the nineteenth century, but after 1900 boarders constituted a minority, dropping from 79 percent at St. Thomas's in 1897 to 26 percent in 1941. However, the total number of boarders gradually increased so that the 1941 number was nearly double that of 1897. Boarders continued to predominate in Catholic schools.[29]

By maintaining a large number of boarding students the Anglican and Roman Catholic schools increased their effectiveness in promoting Western values. Perhaps the most significant ongoing result of mission education was not the training of clerks and civil servants or even the opportunity for social mobility accorded to Hakkas but rather creation of English-speaking, often Christian, subgroups. St. Thomas's for example, became even more of an English public school, rather than a training ground for the ministry. St. Thomas's students, particularly boarders, spoke excellent English; indeed, regulations required boarders to speak only English.[30] Perhaps the possibilities for more intensive exposure to English ideas and language made the boarding of their children more attractive to upwardly mobile Kuching Chinese, especially Hakkas. Despite the teaching of certain skills useful to clerks, the curriculum remained largely academic, not commercial. In the words of the Bishop:

> St. Thomas' School has brought the tradition of English education to Sarawak, and in addition to the necessities of everyday knowledge the pupils here learn the idea and virtues which are typically English.[31]

A pronounced English atmosphere permeated the mission schools, especially St. Thomas's. For example, at St. Thomas's intramural sports between houses were designed to teach "fair-play, honor, and justice,"[32] the "spirit which has made the British school boy such a remarkable individual."[33] Although both the Anglican and Catholic schools sometimes offered Chinese language as an elective, few Chinese students studied it; in 1910, only five of the forty-two Chinese government clerks in Kuching, most of them mission educated, could read or write Chinese.[34] Malay was rarely offered so that mission school students had no opportunities to master the lingua franca of rural Sarawak. Students at both schools played cricket and football, and an intense rivalry existed between St. Thomas's and St. Joseph's. At times the inter-school rivalry became bitter, particularly when the schools played each other in football:

> There was a keen rivalry between the boys of these two schools mainly in the matter of inter-school sports, usually held on His Highness the Rajah's birthday. It was, of course, an occasion seized by many to score even with fist fights after the sports meeting.... It is understood that the inter-school regatta was abolished at the turn of the century due to the crew of the contesting boats of St. Thomas' and St. Joseph's fighting it out after the race with their handy oars. The Thomians lost no opportunity in calling the Josephians R.C. Cats (pronounced cuts) an allusion to the latter's pronunciation of all a's as ah's. The other side retaliated by calling their opponents S.P.G. Dogs, which was quite a fair appropriate exchange.[35]

The rivalry between St. Thomas's and St. Joseph's seems to have involved more than the conflicting school loyalties which might be expected in an English (or American) school pattern. Of course, since Anglicans and Catholics maintained a keen rivalry in the battle for converts, a religious aspect existed. Roman Catholic students may also have resented the apparently close relationship between the Anglican mission and the Anglican rajahs and their mostly Protestant, or at least nominally Protestant, officers. Yet, many non-Christians attended the schools and they could hardly be expected to enthusiastically defend the pride of a religion not their own.

Perhaps more subtle hostilities also lubricated the rivalry. St. Joseph's students may have resented their counterparts at St. Thomas's, a larger school that seemed to have more success in placing its graduates into the bureaucracy and local political elite. They may have perceived St. Thomas's as the school of the political and economic establishment, particularly since prosperous Chinese, Malays, and Indians usually enrolled their sons there in preference to St. Joseph's. Catholic school students perhaps felt a sense of inferiority, a

feeling heightened by the more heavily Anglicized atmosphere a
St. Thomas's. The quotation above notes that the two school
taught slightly different pronunciations of English, which ma
well reflect that fact that the European teachers at St. Thomas'
were British whereas the Mill Hill Fathers who operated St
Joseph's were mostly Dutch and Austrian. Although the Catholi
missionaries carefully taught a British-based curriculum an
instilled respect for the English rajah and his government, St
Joseph's lacked as heavy an English public school atmosphere
Perhaps subtly, a slightly more continental atmosphere character
ized St. Joseph's, with a Roman Catholic sense of disciplin
absent in the Anglican schools. The tradition of discipline an
obedience to constituted authority may help explain why, in th
post-war period, Catholics seemed less likely than Anglicans t
support radical and sometimes anti-government politica
movements.

Mission school graduates sometimes became Westernized an
alienated from their communities by their command of English an
consequent deficiency in their own languages. Among Malays, mis
sion education helped produce a class known as orang keran
(clerks), who filled the middle echelons of the bureaucracy a
clerks and native officers and demonstrated characteristics a
variance with other Malays. As Abang Yusuf Puteh notes:

> The prestige value of English sometimes lead this group to talk it among themselves in public, and to be exclusive in their recreational facilities.... They were given special hospitality: spoons to eat their food, etc., as befitted their "semi European" status.[36]

"Sarawak Chinese" comprised the mission-educated Chines
equivalent to the white collar orang kerani. To what extent th
Sarawak Chinese constituted a coherent subgroup among the Chines
remains unclear and the term itself was seldom used. But in th
late Brooke period Sarawak Chinese shared certain characteristic
somewhat at variance with most other Chinese. For example, the
exhibited a strong tendency to work as government officials o
clerks rather than as self-employed towkays. A general dis
interest in dialect associations and other traditional-typ
organizations seems another main feature. Sarawak Chines
centered their social activities around the St. Michael'
Catholic Club, affiliated with St. Joseph's Church, or th
Anglican-sponsored Sarawak Union Club. These clubs also ha
Christian members from other ethnic groups. Some Sarawak Chines
spent most of their evenings at one of the two clubs, readin
newspapers and conversing with friends. Many also took Englis
or Christian personal names such as William, John, or Augustine
and used them in place of their given Chinese names. Saraw
Chinese did not usually speak English exclusively, and ver
seldom did it become the language of the home, but they ofte
used it as a medium of communication with friends. The

socialized primarily with other "Sarawak Chinese" or mission school graduates. Most Sarawak Chinese were also Kuching-born, and a majority were Christian.

It should be noted that many local-born, mission-educated Chinese, including leaders like Ong Tiang Swee, maintained close relations with the Sarawak Chinese and conformed to some of their characteristics but also played a prominent role in the affairs of the entire Chinese community, not just the mission-educated. The Sarawak Chinese were more thoroughly Westernized, and less inclined to extend their social activities beyond the mission-educated groups. Many, perhaps even a majority, of mission-educated Chinese remained less thoroughly Westernized or European-oriented in their ideas and social life than the Sarawak Chinese.

The original goal of the mission schools had been the recruitment of Christian converts, although many of the students did not become Christians. However, during the late Brooke period the schools did play an important role in the spread of Christianity. In 1930 Christians accounted for about thirty percent of St. Thomas's students. While some students came from Christian families, it seems likely that a large number became Christian while attending St. Thomas's. This was especially true for the boarders, who comprised the bulk of the Christian students. In the 1920s and 1930s generally over half of the boarders professed themselves Christians whereas that category held a much smaller percentage of day boys.[37] Available figures for St. Mary's confirm a similar tendency at that school, and it would seem likely that the Catholic schools also had a high percentage of Christian boarders. A high rate of conversion among boarders hardly constitutes a surprising development, for the mission schools still considered the spread of Christianity as one of their main goals. As the headmaster of St. Thomas's noted in 1923:

> Our aim is to convert our scholars to Christianity, which we believe to be the greatest blessing any nation can have. We do not use compulsion as is erroneously thought in some quarters, but employ the more effective means of example, teaching and atmosphere.[38]

Nonetheless, the majority of students did not become Christian. But even for those graduates who accepted neither Western culture nor religion, loyalty to their alma mater remained strong. It was therefore not uncommon for one of the three datus who were St. Thomas's graduates to head a fundraising drive for the Anglican mission schools or for the "old boys" in Swatow, Singapore, or Selangor to donate money to the school.[39] The significance of the mission schools in the creation of a Westernized and often Christianized civil service, clerical, business, and political elite for Kuching seems apparent.

Indirect Rule and the Establishment of Municipal Government

Some of the major changes of the late Brooke period occurred in the area of administration and political structure, for the indirect manner in which Kuching had been governed in the nineteenth century was substantially modified. The changes partly reflected the transition at the highest level between the style of Charles Brooke and that of his successor, Vyner Brooke; in the later decades of the period the personal influence of the rajah and his officers on local affairs weakened considerably. The decision-making process was increasingly formalized and institutionalized and the use of indirect rule declined as municipal government developed. The changes influenced the nature of leadership and brought certain alterations in social structure.

During the last seventeen years of his rule Charles Brooke remained a major influence on the affairs of his capital city, setting the pace of government, holding daily audiences with his subjects, maintaining close relations with leaders of the various communities, visiting government offices every morning, and inaugurating government policies. Although the rajah took a keen interest in local affairs, the resident of the First Division directed the actual administration of Kuching; below him served the resident of Kuching and the directors of various government departments. The resident of the First Division, the most important officer after the rajah and his sons, governed Sarawak in Brooke's absence through a Committee of Administration composed of senior European officials; the resident served as chairman. But the resident also had important local duties, as chief judge of the Supreme Court and the premier local official.[40]

Before 1917, the rajah, resident, and some of the other European officers did play an important local political role since they dealt with Asians on a day-to-day basis, drafted and enforced local ordinances, supervised building projects, and dealt with pan-community problems of various types. With Charles Vyner Brooke as rajah the situation changed. The new rajah's personality differed substantially from that of his hard-working, austere, and autocratic father; he was more easy going and hedonistic. Furthermore, Vyner Brooke's style of government differed. In 1923 he abolished the office of resident and replaced him with a chief secretary more interested in the affairs of the state than of Kuching. The new rajah spent less time in Kuching and took less interest in Kuching's Asian communities. The European bureaucracy expanded rapidly and grew more independent, a reflection perhaps of the increasing economic complexity of the state and the limited capacities of personal rule. Another result was that Kuching's Asian leadership gained an increasing voice in local and state-wide political affairs and the prestige of the rajah and the raj may have declined.

Both rajahs maintained the policy of basic noninterference in the customs of the various communities. Whatever role Europeans played in town administration, the internal affairs of

Malay, Chinese, Indian, and other ethnic groups remained largely beyond the purview of the Brookes and their officers unless a matter arose which affected Kuching as a whole. The datus continued to govern the Malay community, with the datu bandar the most important officer. The office of bandar was upgraded to that of shahbandar in 1928 and patinggi in 1937. Brooke gave as his reason for reviving the title of patinggi, in disuse since the 1850s, the explanation that the title of Shahbandar was honorable but "hardly commensurate with the status and dignity of the hereditary head of all Sarawak Malays."[41] The other three datus--the imam, temonggong, and hakim--retained their importance as well. Continuing to sit on the Datu's Court, which handled all cases of Malay custom and met twice a week, the four datus also retained their roles in the Supreme Council, Council Negri, and a newly created Committee of Administration. All of these state wide positions allowed them to exercise influence on local Kuching affairs, accumulate considerable wealth, and enjoy patronage advantages in locating government jobs for their supporters. For example, in 1926, the datu bandar persuaded the Supreme Council to reverse a government decision to reduce the number of Malays on Kuching's police force.[42]

In the declining years of Brooke rule, Vyner Brooke broadened the elite base by creating four new offices--the datus amar (commander), bentara (court marshal), mentri (minister), and pahlawan (hero). The first three appointments came in 1928 and the last in 1941; all went to Kuching Malays. His reasons for the action remain unclear; he may have wanted to reward veteran Malay civil servants with higher positions, create more magistrates for the Datu's Court, or upgrade the prestige and status of certain government posts. He may also have wanted to dilute the power of the datu bandar, who opposed a Brooke succession plan favored by the rajah.[43] At least two of the new datus represented positions or departments in which no previous datus had ever worked--that of the tua kampung of the largely Sumatran kampung Gersik, Encik Muhammed Zin, who became mentri, and the Assistant Commissioner of the Constabulary, Abang Haji Mustapha, who became pahlawan. The tua kampung of Gersik served as unofficial leader of the increasingly populous north-bank kampungs and had held a seat on the Supreme Council and Council Negri since the late nineteenth century. He became the first north-bank Malay to receive a datuship. The assistant commissioner of the constabulary was the highest ranking Malay in one of the largest and most heavily Malay departments of the government. The new datus took their places in the Datu's Court and on the Council Negri.

The Chinese equivalents of the datus, the kapitans China, retained their position through the end of Brooke rule, but the system was modified somewhat through the years. By the early years of the century, the kapitans appear to have received official recognition. Appointment continued to result mainly from economic strength. One of the most important duties of kapitans in the last years of Charles Brooke's rule was to sit on the

Chinese Court, an institution evidently patterned after the Mal
Datu's Court.

The Chinese Court appeared in 1911, an apparent result
an attempt to give the Chinese more formal authority in matte
of their own community as well as more standing in the stat
During its short life of nine years, the court became the mo
powerful body in the Chinese community, and the most structur
attempt in Brooke times to govern the Chinese through indire
rule. Brooke provided the impetus for the court, since
believed the Chinese themselves better able to regulate matte
of custom than the Brooke courts. After the rajah public
expressed a desire that the Chinese should have "a more extend
influence in the political affairs of this country,"[44] a lar
meeting at the Chinese Chamber of Commerce worked out a propos
organization for a court. Brooke agreed to the plan and t
Chinese Court was established.[45]

Ong Tiang Swee, the acknowledged leader of the Kuching Ch
nese community and Kapitan China General of Sarawak, headed t
court, which had six deputy magistrates, three of them represe
ting the Hokkien community (these members also served t
Chaoann, Henghua, and Foochow groups),[46] and three others repr
senting other major speech groups. In practice, this meant o
each for the Teochius, Cantonese, and Hakkas. While this did n
reflect the numerical predominance of Hakkas throughout Sarawa
it certainly represented the structure of power in Kuching
trading community.[47] All of the magistrates were promine
Kuching towkays, although the court had jurisdiction througho
the state. Nomination of the six deputy magistrates ca
annually from their respective communities, usually through t
dialect association. With the exception of Hokkien magistrate
they usually served concurrently as kapitans of their groups.

In its twice-weekly meetings the court did not hand
criminal cases but rather concerned itself with matters
Chinese custom, dealing in particular with marital difference
division of property, partnership disputes, investigation
bankruptcies, appeals from the Debtor's Court, registration
Kuching and outstation marriages and betrothals, and investig
tion of any cases in which the Superior Court needed assistance
magistrates always took into account differences of custo
between various speech groups. A position as a magistra
naturally gave a man considerable power and influence in t
community, even though they served without pay at their o
request, possibly because they did not want to be conside
government servants. The court seems to have served its purpo
to the satisfaction of the government, but was dissolved in 19
when a replacement could not be found for Ong Tiang Swee, w
resigned as president because of the pressure of business. Wi
the termination of this institution the kapitans drew up a co
of Chinese custom for the guidance of the courts, and leader
such as Ong Tiang Swee continued to be called in
consultants.[48]

The end of the Chinese Court also marked the beginning of

decline for the kapitans. With the plethora of governmental bodies in the 1920s and 1930s, the kapitan system became less important and less powerful, for other channels for communication developed between government and the Chinese. Nonetheless, the kapitans remained symbolic heads of their communities, continuing to act as advisors to the government on Chinese customs. They also usually served as registrars of Chinese marriages and betrothals for their own speech groups.[49] Although the kapitans of the Hokkien, Teochiu, Cantonese, Hakka, Hainanese, and perhaps other speech groups may have been reduced in importance, the Kapitan China General, Ong Tiang Swee, remained a powerful figure, serving as spokesman for the Chinese in Kuching and throughout the state, gaining appointment to several important state-wide administrative bodies, and remaining the major advisor on cases of Chinese custom in the courts.

Formalization of the channels through which the government dealt with kapitans came in 1929 with establishment of a secretariat for Chinese affairs, headed by a Chinese-speaking English civil servant. The secretariat gained control over the licensing of Chinese schools and monitoring of Chinese political activities, including censorship of textbooks; it also acted as the protector of labor and of women and children. In the latter capacity the secretariat was largely responsible for improving living conditions, and restricting the further importation of mui tsai (female domestic servants).[50] It did not exercise direct control over the Chinese but worked through the established leadership of the various speech groups. The secretariat also assumed jurisdiction over some of the legal cases formerly handled by the Chinese Court, particularly in the fields of domestic and matrimonial disputes and Chinese custom.[51] A form of indirect rule therefore remained for both Malay and Chinese communities, with the elites of the two groups and the larger Chinese subgroups responsible for the administration of customary laws and many community institutions, such as Chinese schools. The Kapitan China General and the datu bandar (patinggi) served, in effect, as "mayors" of the Chinese and Malay groups respectively.

During the later years of Brooke rule, several Kuching Chinese leaders began to join the local Malay elite in playing an important role in state political affairs for the first time. Ong Tiang Swee became a member of the Supreme Council and the Committee of Administration, the first time anyone outside the Malay or European groups gained membership; he and three other Kuching Chinese were also appointed to the Council Negri, the first time Chinese served on that body. A number of Kuching leaders from various ethnic groups also sat on several newly developed advisory boards of various types; in many cases the Kuching members represented the entire state. The best example was a multi-ethnic Board of Trade established in 1923 to encourage and regulate the import-export trade and to investigate labor conditions. The Chinese members were all prominent Kuching businessmen; Malay, Japanese, and European members also sat on the

board. Some board activities related specifically to th problems of Kuching.[52]

Although not designed as specifically Kuching-orient bodies, the Board of Trade and similar institutions provided important role in local decision making to various Kuchi leaders. But the most significant administrative development w the gradual emergence of a municipal government, culminating the establishment of an appointive municipal board. The boa grew out of a long series of steps towards the formation of municipal government beginning with the Sarawak Chamber Commerce in the nineteenth century. In 1906 a municipal offi had been set up as a branch of the Public Works Department, a headed by a European civil servant who held the post of municip officer and had a variety of duties: registration of land gran in the town and its vicinity, issue of planting permits, colle tion of land quit rents and certain other assessments, registr tion of kampung shops, occasional inspection of schools, upke of roads, and the sale of rubber grown at nearby governme rubber estates. More narrowly, municipal duties included supe vision of town markets, assessment and collection of water rat and other miscellaneous items, and provision and upkeep of stre lighting.[53] By 1918, the government reassigned many of t non-urban duties to other departments and such functions registration and supervision of rickshaws, bicycles, and hawke were transferred from the police to the municipal department.

In 1922, a Kuching Sanitary and Municipal Advisory Boa (KSMAB) began operation.[54] Kuching became a municipality but t board remained a branch of the central government. In 1934, t powers of the board were increased and it was renamed the Kuchi Municipal Board (KMB), with responsibility for functioning as municipal authority rather than merely an advisory body. T Gazette expressed the reasons for setting up the KSMAB in 1921:

> Much work lies before the Board to improve the Sanitary conditions within the Municipal area, while the supervision of building over-crowding and public health generally are all urgently needed. It is hoped that the efforts of the Board will meet with the success they deserve.[55]

The new municipality included the bazaar, Padungan, Datu's Pen sula, north bank kampungs, and some of the suburbs.

The KSMAB and its successor generally met once or twice month, with provisions for membership designed to insu representation from all major interest groups in Kuching. By the eleven members included five Europeans, four Chinese, Malay and one Indian; of the five Europeans, four represented government and usually included the resident of the Fi Division, the chief health officer, the director of the Pub Works Department, and the municipal commissioner, who had cha of the daily operation of the town and usually served as chair of the Municipal Board. One European represented the priv

sector, usually a missionary or businessman. The Chinese commissioners by law represented the Hokkien, Teochiu, Cantonese, and Hakka communities respectively, insuring a balanced representation; dialect associations nominated the Chinese commissioners. All commissioners served a three-year term of office, with the possibility of reappointment.

Board membership reflected the class structure. Malay commissioners were usually aristocrats of the abang class or wealthy commoner businessmen. But no datus sat on the board. Moplah Muslims accounted for four of the seven Indian representatives, two others were Tamil Hindus, and a Tamil Christian occupied the other seat. Whereas the Moplahs were all merchants, two of the three Tamils were physicians. Self-employed businessmen occupied all Chinese seats except for one Hakka civil servant, one Hakka clerk in a European firm, and two Cantonese physicians who also had business interests. Several of the Chinese also served as kapitans for their communities. The majority of Chinese commissioners had received an English education, and several were active Christians. A high rate of turnover characterized members during the twenty-one years. The Hokkien Tan Boon Siew, a wealthy businessman and St. Joseph's-educated Catholic, had the longest tenure, sixteen years (1924-1939), and was probably the most effective councilor.

The KSMAB and KMB did have power in local affairs, although the most important decisions could be vetoed by the rajah or the Committee of Administration. The municipal commissioner had some control over the agenda. The Asian members themselves served a dual function, representing the views of their communities on municipal affairs and helping to implement board policies. Early accomplishments of the board included installation of a bazaar drainage system, introduction of birth and death registration, improvement of health facilities, establishment of a Rent Restriction Committee to insure that rents in the bazaar did not rise too rapidly, and a multi-ethnic Board of Visitors to investigate periodically the conditions in the jail, asylum, hospital, leper and pauper camps. The board also considered building permits, licensed hawkers and others, decided rates and assessments, and determined zoning policies.[56] As an example of how a commissioner could represent his community, in 1925 the Hokkien representative complained on behalf of several speech group associations that the Chinese cemeteries along Rock Road were having their land infringed upon by government departments. The chairman agreed to issue orders restraining this in the future.[57] The KSMAB and KMB therefore gave the citizens some voice in town affairs. Although membership was drawn from among the elite, all major communities had representation and thus an opportunity for public service. For his part, the rajah believed that the board "had done much to improve the conditions of life both in the bazaar and the kampungs.[58]

Emergence of a municipal board reflected the decentralization of power under the third rajah, and suggests that Kuching was developing a more coherent municipal consciousness. With

formation of institutions such as the Board of Trade and the municipal board the solution of problems facing Kuching as a whole, such as public health and zoning, received increased emphasis through the cooperation as a unit of representatives of various ethnic groups. There was perhaps a growing sense of "community." At the same time, the important roles played in administration by kapitans and datus confirms retention of a form of indirect rule. Kuching had no elected major, only the symbolic representation of the supreme datu and the Kapitan China General. Popular suffrage did not determine municipal board membership; councilors gained office on a communal basis so that they were primarily responsible to their own communities, not to the general population. The system of administration in the late Brooke period became a mixed one, not yet wholly multi-ethnic in scope but no longer based on a strict separation of ethnic group interests.

Chapter VI

MATURATION OF AN URBAN SOCIAL STRUCTURE

1900-1941

Brooke rule was conservative in most respects and this influence promoted strong elements of continuity in Kuching's social structure. Patterns of leadership and of Chinese speech group hostilities did not alter dramatically after the turn of the century. But an increasingly complex and formalized network of sub-structures developed for most of the ethnic groups, suggesting that Kuching's plural society was becoming more firmly institutionalized. Commercial organizations, Chinese dialect associations, religious clubs, cultural promotion societies, and vernacular schools proliferated between 1900 and 1941, most of them based on ethnic or subgroup membership. A rise in ethnic consciousness occurred among some groups, based on foreign-oriented nationalism or a growing concern for intra-group solidarity and preservation. These tendencies toward group consciousness and formal organization were most pronounced among Chinese, but Malays, Indians, and others also evolved some similar forms and ideas. Some pan-community integrative mechanisms continued to exist, however, and the increasing social and cultural pluralism did not produce overt communal conflict.

The Structure of the Chinese Community

The first four decades of the twentieth century constituted a period of wide-ranging and significant change for the growing Chinese community. The influx of immigrants brought considerable numbers of Henghuas, Foochows, and members of other speech groups which had not been important in the town before 1900. The Chinese community became structurally more complex, with an increasing number and variety of associations, schools, and cultural institutions. Speech group particularism remained important and some of these institutions reflected speech group priorities, but others were geared to the needs of the entire Chinese community. Yet Hokkiens, Teochius, and Chaoanns retained their powerful position within the Chinese social structure. Near the end of Brooke rule, a rising ethnic consciousness, a kind of nationalism focused on China, became increasingly

pronounced among Chinese of diverse backgrounds and served more and more to solidify the segregation tendencies between Chinese and non-Chinese.

The dramatic population increase among Chinese discussed in Chapter V encompassed increases in size among all the speech groups as well as the entry of new groups. Most of the immigrants were Hokkiens, Teochius, and Hakkas, and Hokkiens evidently remained the largest group. Hokkiens and Chaoanns together comprised 29 percent of the Kuching Chinese in 1947, with Teochius and Hakkas each totaling about 21 percent. Hakkas predominated in the rural areas outside of Kuching and in Sarawak as a whole.[1] Cantonese and Hainanese probably numbered between 5 and 10 percent each, while Chaoanns remained small, certainly under 5 percent of the total. The remainder of the Chinese population was composed of Foochows, Henghuas, southern Mandarins, Kwongsais, and northern Chinese, most of whom immigrated after 1900.

Only a few Foochow trading families lived in Kuching in the 1890s, and they seem to have been considered almost a subgroup of the Hokkiens. Foochow immigration to Sarawak increased considerably between 1901 and 1941, as many thousands immigrated to the Third Division; under their auspices Sibu became a major commercial rival to Kuching.[2] A few Foochows also began coming to Kuching; by the late 1930s they probably constituted only one or two percent of the total Chinese population but, like the Chaoanns, were beginning to play a more important economic and political role than their numbers would suggest. Foochows developed a reputation among other Kuching Chinese for cut-throat competition, and their aggressive trading methods brought some of them considerable wealth. Although a few of the pioneer Foochow families retained close relations with Hokkiens, Foochows as a group came to constitute a distinct community in their own right.

Henghua immigration began around the turn of the Century; by 1912 several hundred families lived in Kuching. Although a Henghua trading group also developed, a large number of Henghuas took up deep sea fishing. The fishing families established their homes and base in Kuching, at a riverside village near Padungan where they could go about their business with minimal interference or contact with other peoples and groups.[3] The Henghua community as a whole seems to have grown rapidly, becoming the fourth largest speech group; by 1947 they accounted for almost ten percent of the Kuching Chinese, and must have constituted a similar proportion by the late 1930s.

Other Chinese groups remained small. The southern Mandarin group, sometimes called the <u>Sankiang</u> (three provinces) group, was composed of families from Kiangsi, Anhwei, and Hupei in central China who spoke dialects related to Mandarin; the Kiangsi people mostly came from a single small town and worked exclusively in furniture making. Kwongsais from Kwangsi province in China began immigrating to Kuching and other parts of Southeast Asia in the 1930s. A few families from Shanghai, Honan, and Shantung comprised a small north China community.

The influx of new speech groups did not alter substantially the relative strength of those groups established earlier, for Hokkiens, Teochius, and Chaoanns maintained their domination of the Kuching economy. Hokkiens and Chaoanns evidently constituted the most prosperous of the speech groups. Although little evidence exists with which to gauge comparative economic well-being among various groups, statistics do show that the inmates in the Kuching Pauper Hospital were far more likely to be Hakka, Teochiu, or Luichew than they were to be Hokkien.[4] This seems to suggest a major difference in stratification within the Hokkien and Teochiu communities. While Teochius occupied positions at both the bottom and top of the economic scale, few Hokkiens were at the lowest economic level. Perhaps the more pronounced tendency for Hokkiens to settle in Kuching permanently provides one explanation. If Hokkiens constituted a more settled community, wealthy Hokkiens may have made greater efforts to provide avenues of mobility in the form of jobs and financial assistance to newly arrived Hokkiens than did Teochius.

The relative economic success or failure of the various speech groups was intimately related to the pattern of occupational specialization which developed in Kuching. Particular speech groups became identified with certain occupations--a trend clearly apparent by the early years of the century, if not earlier.[5] Until the 1950s most businesses employed people belonging to the same family as the owner. Hainanese were closely identified with the coffee shop trade; most servants and cooks in Europeans households were also Hainanese. Henghuas completely dominated the Chinese fishing industry, operated most bicycle shops, and comprised a large percentage of bus drivers and rickshaw pullers. Hupei people engaged in the fashionable occupation of tooth artistry, and Kiangsi people completely controlled the furniture-making business. Luichews were best known as charcoal makers; many Chaoanns worked as wharf laborers. Cantonese dominated the watch and clock trade and also operated a number of restaurants. Foochows attained importance as barbers, contractors, and coffee shopkeepers.

A somewhat more diverse occupational profile characterized the three largest speech groups. Hokkiens clearly dominated the lucrative rubber and sago export trades and maintained a very strong position in the export of other products as well. But Hokkiens also worked in virtually every urban occupation. They were second to the Teochius in the grocery trade, operated many sundry goods shops and general stores, and occupied an important position in goldsmithing. Some Hokkiens found employment as laborers. Teochius had preeminence in the grocery trade and also controlled the lucrative rice import market. Many others worked as druggists, wharf laborers, and exporters; they were second to the Hokkiens in rubber export. But shopkeeping constituted perhaps the best known Teochiu enterprise. Speech group ties to suppliers and distributors outside of Sarawak facilitated continued control of the key import and export industries by Hokkiens and Teochius. For example, Hokkiens and, secondarily,

Teochius operated most of the rubber commission agencies in Singapore, where Kuching exporters shipped their rubber. Hakkas formed the majority of tinsmiths, tailors, druggists, and vegetable stall-holders and had preeminence among barbers. A considerable number of Hakkas operated shops, although few of them prospered. Many Hakkas worked as laborers and civil servants, and they predominated among the market, rubber, and pepper planters around town.

Occupational specialization provided only one aspect of the continuing importance of speech group membership, for rivalries between various groups remained strong. Sometimes intra-Chinese hostilities over commercial disputes or other matters led to violence, as they had done in the nineteenth century. Hokkiens and Teochius battled occasionally in the streets, as the divisional resident reported in 1906:

> There was serious clan fighting in the [Kuching] bazaar... I was informed yesterday...that it was the intention of the Hokkiens to cause further serious trouble. The Towkay who spoke to me about it (himself a Hokkien) begged that the rioters' employers should be heavily fined, as they abetted their coolies and paid all fines for them, but it is difficult to get good evidence for this.[6]

Sometimes the street fighting involved conflicts between factions of a speech group, particularly Henghuas, whom other Chinese considered turbulent and hot tempered.

Control of the most powerful economic institutions, such as the Chinese banks and the steamship company, reflected the overwhelming importance of Hokkiens, Teochius, and Chaoanns at the pinnacle of commercial influence. Between 1905 and 1924, four banks began operation, three of them Chinese-owned and operated. The first was the Cantonese-sponsored Kwong Lee Bank; although under Cantonese management, some prominent Hokkien and Chaoann traders became large shareholders.[7] It was followed by the Hokkien and Chaoann-dominated Sarawak Chinese Banking Corporation and the Hokkien-owned Bian Chiang Bank, as well as the British-owned Chartered Bank. The importance of Chinese banks lay in their role in supplying capital to businessmen and their investments in certain industries; control of the banks therefore represented control over extensive amounts of capital. Hokkiens and Chaoanns wholly owned and financed two of the three banks, while the third had some shareholders from those groups. Once again the commercial power of members of the small Chaoann group was apparent. Despite their large numbers, Teochius and Hakkas did not open banks in Kuching, although banks operated by these speech groups existed in Singapore. Hokkien control of the Sarawak and Singapore Steamship Company was strengthened in 1919 when a group of towkays headed by Ong Tiang Swee bought out the B.C.L. interests and renamed the company the Sarawak Steamship Company.[8] As the major carrier between Singapore and Kuching,

with an ability to establish priorities on cargo allocation, freight rates, and investment of the considerable profits, Hokkien control of the company therefore must have aided Hokkien traders.

Dialect particularism remained strong in the cultural sphere as well as in the economic sector; each group continued to celebrate many of its own festivals and to sponsor its own temples. Henghuas, for example, built a temple for themselves on Padungan Road in 1927.[9] But by the turn of the century occasional celebrations with a provincial rather than a dialect focus began to modify the strictly dialect orientation of cultural and religious life. Thus in 1911 the speech groups from Kwangtung province began holding an annual procession to commemorate the end of each Chinese calendar year and give thanks for the prosperity it had brought. Cantonese, Teochius, Hakkas, Hainanese and Luichews all seem to have taken part with equal enthusiasm.[10] It is unclear how long they maintained the tradition, nor is it known why the procession was a provincially based one. Little other evidence exists of close provincial affinities between the various Kwangtung speech groups, few of whom spoke kindred dialects.

The Fukien community held the largest and most famous of the provincial celebrations, the Wangkang or Chingay Procession, every ten years between 1898 and 1928. First organized in Kuching during a cholera epidemic in 1898, it was hoped that the ancient festival from the maritime districts of Fukien would help alleviate the epidemic by appeasing evil spirits. By 1908 the purpose had shifted to the lifting of a trade depression. The Wangkang festival was an expensive five-day affair; Hokkiens, Henghuas, Chaoanns, Foochows, and Hokchias all took part, with outstation as well as Kuching residents contributing money and participating.[11] The Wangkang represented a rare instance of unity among often feuding Fukien groups--a unity that did not translate into any organizational attempts to bind Hokkiens, Henghuas, Foochows, and others more closely together in the late Brooke period.

The increasingly complex organizational structure that developed between 1900 and 1941 represented to a considerable extent the triumph of particularistic values as opposed to pan-Chinese or trans-ethnic concerns. This was especially significant in the development of voluntary associations since these organizations played a highly important role in the social, economic, and even political life of the Kuching Chinese. Chinese founded between half and two-thirds of all the formal voluntary associations in Kuching during the Brooke years.[12] The period between 1920 and 1940 appears to have been particularly favorable to the establishment of such organizations: the total number increased from about 24 (16 of them Chinese) to 76 (38 Chinese). Occupational guilds, secret societies, dialect associations, and other socioeconomic organizations had flourished in the cities of China for centuries, and many of the organizations in Kuching and other areas of Southeast Asia were patterned on

these China-based models. Furthermore, the Chinese in Sarawak comprised an immigrant group needing the security of new attachments to replace the family, clan, and village left behind. A highly imbalanced sex ratio may also have contributed to an initial need for formal social attachments, since the excess of males made a normal family life impossible for many Chinese. Most of the associations had a wholly male membership.

Although most of the Chinese associations had a dialect focus, a pan-dialect orientation characterized the most important organization--the Kuching Chinese Chamber of Commerce (KCCC), established late in the nineteenth century. The chamber discontinued its operations at one point for some twelve years, and it is necessary to differentiate between the first chamber and the second. As Chapter IV noted, the first KCCC served a variety of functions, including advising the courts, promoting commercial activity, and serving as an intermediary between Chinese traders and government on matters of interest to the commercial sector; it also organized the Chinese Court. However, its exact political functions in non-commercial matters remain unknown.

Leadership in the first Chinese chamber reflected community power structure but did allow representation of all major groups. Ong Tiang Swee served as president from 1900 to 1911, when he resigned to become president of the new Chinese court; the Teochiu leader, Lau Ngee Siang, replaced him as president. Lau served from 1911 to 1912 and 1915 to 1918. A Hokkien or Chaoann president often had a Teochiu vice-president, and vice-versa. Hokkiens and Chaoanns also had a majority on the seven-man executive committee.

For unknown reasons the first KCCC seems to have been discontinued sometime after 1918 and receives no mention between 1918 and 1930, when a new and much stronger chamber appeared. Situated in the old riverfront Chinese Court Building, this body had an initial membership of 161 firms and became the most powerful economic organization in Kuching as well as the strongest institution in the Chinese community. Dominated by the wealthiest and most influential towkays, the second KCCC became an even more effective spokesman for the Chinese trading community than its predecessor had been. Perhaps the beginning of the Depression may have convinced more traders of the need for a strong community-wide organization to protect their interests. The KCCC may have received strength from its registration with the Chinese government. Perhaps also the rise of Chinese nationalism, which is discussed below, encouraged the development of a strong pan-dialect organization capable of speaking for the whole Chinese community.

Like its predecessor, the new chamber served as an intermediary between Chinese traders and government, but it also became the most influential spokesman for the entire Chinese community. It helped to establish trade and mercantile policies, dealt with intra-speech group disputes, intervened in labor-management difficulties, nominated members for various government boards, represented the Kuching Chinese to the central government in

China, and generally aided certain businesses or industries.[13] The KCCC constituted a powerful vehicle for achieving influence within the Chinese community, and an important ally of the men and speech groups controlling its operations.

Between 1930 and 1941 three successive presidents who were perhaps the three most influential Chinese in the state--the Hokkiens Ong Tiang Swee and Wee Kheng Chiang, and the Chaoann Tan Sum Guan--led the chamber. All three were Kuching-born, St. Thomas's-educated businessmen with wide-ranging economic interests and all supplied the strong leadership that the new organization needed in a difficult period when cooperation between government and merchants became essential. In 1930, KCCC officers reflected the pan-dialect nature of the chamber but also the dominance of the Hokkien, Chaoann, and Teochiu groups. Among the top 7 officers, 3 were Hokkiens, 3 Teochius, and 1 was Cantonese. The same groups dominated the 21 member General Committee; Hokkiens and their allies, the Chaoanns, accounted for nearly half of all the officers, and Teochius for a fourth of the General Committee and almost half of the executive officers. Hakkas, Cantonese, Hainanese, and Henghuas had only nominal representation, although together they probably numbered almost forty percent of the Chinese population.[14]

Although overshadowed to a certain extent by the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, dialect associations (hui kwans) continued to play an important role in Chinese affairs. Indeed, the twentieth century found many of the associations expanding their activities; although retaining an interest in mutual aid, religious endeavors, and the integration of immigrants, they also began playing a significant educational function. For example, one of the most important developments in the Teochiu Association was the establishment of Ming Teck School in 1918 for Teochiu children.[15] Ming Teck, a dialect school, faced difficult financial problems. The association itself assumed financial control of the school in 1920 and maintained it until the Japanese Occupation.

Education comprised only one of the new areas in which hui kwans became involved; some of the activities reflected social, political, and economic concerns focused on China as well as Kuching. The Teochiu Association was active in such activities as raising money for flood relief in China, assisting the KCCC in setting up an organization to help the unemployed in 1931, funding of a Mandarin night-school at Ming Teck, fundraising for the China Relief Fund in the 1930s, and representation on local hospital and welfare committees. The association also served as spokesman for the Teochiu community and appointed the Teochiu representatives to the Kuching Municipal Board and other government bodies. The fact that the presidency was usually held by the Teochiu kapitan strengthened the influence of the association.

Hokkien, Cantonese, and Hainanese hui kwans developed along lines similar to that of the Teochius, with strong associations sponsoring dialect schools and heavily involved in a variety of

activities. But, significantly, the Hakkas differed from t
pattern by continuing to organize along factional lines rath
than combining all subgroups into one powerful association. F
example, the Puo Ik Kongso (now called the Taipoo Associati
became the major organization of the Ta'pu Hakka community; alo
with the Kayings, the Ta'pus comprised one of the two large
Hakka groups in Kuching. The association appeared in 1915, t
second Hakka subgroup to be organized. Funding for the associ
tion came not only from the wealthier Kuching Ta'pus but al
from the many Ta'pus in other parts of the state as well as fr
Singapore. The Ta'pu organization did follow the major diale
associations in sponsoring a dialect school for the children
the members. This school, Thai Thoong, was established in 19
and met in the association's headquarters on Carpenter Street.[1]

In contrast to other major speech groups, Hakkas remain
divided for most of the Brooke period and lacked a strong, coh
sive, leadership structure. This lack of intra-group cooperati
undoubtedly hindered them in their economic competition wi
other groups, and may also have accounted for their seeming la
of political influence within the Chinese community. Perhaps t
absence of a strong Hakka organization meant that other instit
tions served a similar function. Since the majority of Chri
tians were Hakkas, church and mission school activities may ha
provided a social focus for elite Hakkas who might otherwise ha
been more interested in forming a dialect association. Chapt
IV noted that the highly organized Hakka congregation at S
Thomas's sponsored a sickness club and burial committee, fun
tions normally assumed by dialect associations. Perhaps t
large number of Hakkas in the civil service also found soci
lives in government-related activities.

In 1934, a Hakka Community Association finally appeare
over eighty years after Cantonese founded the first diale
association in Kuching, and well over half a century afte
Hokkiens and Teochius had organized themselves. Hakkas wer
unique among Chinese groups in the First Division in that man
lived outside Kuching in the rural areas. and thus many of th
association's members came from outside Kuching; this wa
probably true for the Kaying and Ta'pu associations as well. Bu
the major Hakka subgroups in Kuching, the Ta'pus and Kayings
dominated the highest leadership positions in the new Hakk
association, even though they also continued to concentrate thei
resources on their own associations. The Hakka Communit
Association therefore did not serve to end divisions within th
Hakka community, but it represented a first step in the organiza
tion of the entire Hakka-speaking group.

Most of the other speech groups also organized dialec
associations late in the Brooke period. The Foochow organizatio
--the Min Pe Hua Chiao General Association--opened in 1929
reflecting the growth of the Foochow community and thei
estrangement from the Hokkiens. More significantly, however, th
Chaoanns formed an association. They had always been very clos
to the Hokkien community, playing an active role in Hokkie

affairs, serving as officers in the Hokkien association and as Hokkien representatives on the Chinese Court. Yet by 1937, a large and cohesive enough Chaoann community existed to form the Sarawak Chaoann Association. Although this indicated a growing spirit of distinctiveness, Chaoanns still seemed to remain something of a Hokkien subgroup rather than a separate community. Prominent Chaoanns often held offices in both Hokkien and Chaoann associations at the same time, even in the post-war period, and relations between the two groups remained close.

Luichews founded the last hui kwan, the Lui Yang, in 1941; Luichews were few in number and very poor. Neither Henghuas nor the southern Mandarin group formed formal dialect associations in the Brooke period. The southern Mandarin group remained small and diverse, and individuals sometimes affiliated with other dialect associations. For example, Kiangsi people often joined the Hakka association and some Hupei people joined the Kwong Wai Siew Association.[17] The absence of a Henghua organization appears more puzzling, for they constituted a numerically significant group. Perhaps Henghua fishermen and their families did not see a need for such an association because they belonged to the Fishing Industry Association of Kuching, a largely Henghua group that may have fulfilled such functions as general welfare and mutual cooperation. Henghua merchants were seldom on close terms with the fishermen and may have focused their activities on such Henghua-dominated trade organizations as the Sarawak Bicycle Dealer's Association. Some may have joined the Hokkien association.

The continued importance of the dialect associations until the end of Brooke rule reflected the persistence of speech group particularism among the Kuching Chinese. Dialect associations did not constitute the only manifestation of this tendency; the great majority of Chinese voluntary associations appear to have had memberships drawn largely from particular speech groups. For example, most of the thirteen Chinese trade and commercial associations that appeared between 1915 and 1941 were dominated by members of one group, a consequence of the correlation between speech group membership and occupation. Thus, the Chinese Grocer's Association was predominantly Teochiu, since Teochius dominated the grocery trade. The Sarawak Bicycle Dealer's and Fishing Industry associations had almost wholly Henghua memberships, while few non-Hakkas joined the Kuching Tailor's Association. The United Merchant's Association, which represented importers, was heavily Hokkien and Teochiu.

Many of the varied social and cultural organizations conformed to the same pattern. The Hock Siew Kok Association, for example, founded in 1915, was a Hokkien organization which worked for the reformation of funeral rites. The Teo Khiaw Club, founded in 1921, was a social club for Teochiu merchants; the furthering of social relations with Teochius outside of Kuching became one of its main functions. The Nyap Jee Club, established in 1935, provided a meeting place for cooks working in European neighborhoods, most of them Hainanese. The Boi Sun Kongsi,

founded in 1932, comprised the only surname or clan association of the Brooke period and restricted its membership to Chaoanns with the surname Sim. Even the Chinese boy scout troops, organized in 1918, reflected speech group particularism, with separate Hokkien, Teochiu, Hakka, and Cantonese companies.[18]

Formal voluntary associations constituted the most important and visible examples of increasing Chinese organizational complexity. But a number of informal, sometimes temporary, groupings of individuals for a collective purpose also developed, and most of them reflected speech group priorities. For example, the rajahs prohibited labor unions, and no formal labor or trade unions appeared before 1941. But laborers often organized themselves into labor "gangs," with their own leaders and overseers. Thus, as early as 1920, wharf laborers formed themselves into small work groups known as kuli kengs to handle goods under contracts with particular firms or on a piece-rate basis. Most wharf laborers were Chaoanns and Teochius, and the work gangs reflected this division. Many occupations developed unofficial guilds (known locally as kongsis); for example, such kongsis united most Hainanese servants and cooks with well-defined systems for passing along information about work conditions in various European households.[19] The proliferation of informal and formal Chinese groups points to the organizational proclivities as well as the fragmentation of the Chinese community; no comparable structural differentiation existed among Malays.

Chinese education became an increasingly important part of community life after 1900. Charles Brooke, an opponent of the Western literary education of mission schools, which he felt "stuffed...[Asian students] with a lot of subjects that they do not require to know,"[20] became a major catalyst for development of Chinese-medium schools. The rajah advocated vernacular education stressing Asian cultural values rather than Westernization:

> His [the Rajah's] aim was to have each class and race taught their own language, to read and write it correctly, before taking up any other language, such as English.[21]

Brooke's interest in a practical vernacular education resulted in establishment of the Government Lay School (GLS), set up in 1903 in Kampung Jawa as a secular institution providing three streams of education--Chinese, Malay, and Tamil. The GLS emphasized vernacular education and the learning of trades such as engineering, surveying, carpentry, and shoemaking. Authorities also hoped that some graduates would become clerks. Although offering optional instruction in English, the GLS hoped to avoid the creation of the Westernized, English-speaking subgroups already engendered by mission education. Some of the GLS impetus came from leading towkays, who had complained to Brooke that neither Sarawak or Singapore offered facilities for

Mandarin education, and that Mandarin was a language that "all educated Chinese gentlemen should know."[22] Brooke officials also thought that Malays could make good clerks and technicians if given proper GLS training.[23]

The school charged no fees and enrolled only day students, having no facilities for boarding. The first class of 1903 included 30 Chinese, 60 Malays, and 8 Tamils; nearly 20 of the Chinese had transferred from mission schools. Chinese constituted an overwhelming majority of students between 1910 and 1915, when the school recorded an enrollment peak of 237, but began dropping off rapidly as new Chinese schools started to proliferate. A considerable number of changes in curriculum as well as ethnic composition characterized the GLS. For example, a decline in the Malay enrollment in the school prompted a decision in 1906 to allow Malay students to attend religious classes at the Kampung Jawa Malay School for several hours each day, but Malay enrollments continued to decline until 1911. Because of the growing demand from students and parents, the use of English in teaching received increasing emphasis, therefore compromising the vernacular nature of the school. The interest in English later declined somewhat; all of the Malays but only half the Chinese studied the language in 1916. Authorities disbanded the Tamil section for lack of enrollment in 1911 and Indian students transferred to the Malay section. The school also sponsored the first non-mission girls' education in Kuching as part of the Chinese stream. The girls's section, founded in 1909, enrolled Chinese exclusively and had a largely Hokkien student body and teaching staff.[24]

One of the most important curriculum changes for the Chinese derived from gradual replacement of Mandarin education by instruction in dialect. Between 1903 and 1911 most of the instruction appears to have been in Mandarin, but in 1911 the Mandarin master resigned. Since Hakkas and Teochius comprised the great majority of students, the government hired two instructors to teach in these two dialects. Mandarin seems to have remained an optional subject, but many students evidently studied only in Teochiu or Hakka.[25] In 1918, both the Mandarin and Teochiu masters were dismissed and the school began teaching solely in Hakka. Transformation of the Chinese section into a wholly Hakka school reflected a change in the Chinese clientele at the school and the gradual decline in Chinese attendance. Although the school partly resulted from towkay initiative, the wealthier Kuching Chinese had continued to send their children to mission schools rather than the GLS, and evidently took little interest in its affairs. In 1912 Hokkiens established their own school, and this soon began draining students away from the GLS. After 1915 other speech groups began founding their own schools. In 1916 the Chinese girls's section closed and by 1920 the entire Chinese stream disbanded; the school became an entirely Malay-medium institution. Some Indians and Javanese remained in the Malay stream which continued until 1930, when a new Malay college absorbed the GLS.[26]

The GLS constituted the only multi-ethnic school other than the mission schools throughout the entire Brooke period. As such it became potentially an important socializing mechanism in Kuching's plural society, but its relatively short life span meant that it never effectively realized this potential. It is not clear how much social mixing occurred at the GLS. Apparently students in the Chinese and Malay sections did not have classes together with the possible exception of English lessons. No attempt was made to teach the Malay language to Chinese, or Chinese to Malays. Nonetheless, students did at least attend the same school and may have participated in integrated social activities.

Although the GLS's Chinese section did not prove a long-term success, its activities helped to spark a new interest in Chinese-medium education. Another major cause of the growing interest in Chinese schools may have been an increasing ethnic awareness generated by the Chinese Revolution of 1912 (see below). Between 1912 and 1923 six new Chinese-medium schools appeared in Kuching; all had affiliations with a particular speech group. These schools brought Chinese education to growing numbers of students and also intensified speech group particularism within the Chinese community.

The first of the new dialect schools, the Hokkien Free School (HFS) opened with 100 students in 1912 under sponsorship from the Hokkien Association and a substantial capitation grant from the rajah. The school also served Chaoanns, and a Chaoann, Chan Kee Ong, became the first president. Although emphasizing Chinese rather than English, the HFS also taught English, and some of the students and staff were recruited from St. Thomas's School. School officials did not initially restrict enrollment to Hokkiens and Chaoanns; a Hokkien section met on the ground floor of the two-story schoolhouse and used Hokkien as the language of instruction while a non-Hokkien section met on the second floor. No information exists as to the language of instruction in the non-Hokkien section, which closed in 1922 after other speech groups founded their own schools.[27]

Following the Hokkien example the Teochiu Ming Teck School, Cantonese Yik Kuan School, Kaying Hakka Kong Ming School, Ta'pu Hakka Thai Thoong School, and Hainanese Kheng Kiew School were all established between 1915 and 1923. All of the schools evidently received an initial grant and some continued financial support from the government. Except for a very few small schools that occasionally appeared, and one Chung Hua Mandarin School, these dialect schools comprised the entire Chinese educational structure in Kuching during the late Brooke period. Most of them faced continued financial difficulties, met on the premises of their sponsoring association, and received support from their sponsoring speech group through pupil fees, contributions from towkays and rubber planters, self-imposed taxes on rubber, and fundraising concerts. At least by the 1930s, the Chinese schools seem to have followed the curriculum used in the Republic of China, with certain local modifications. Ming Teck placed the

most emphasis on English and established an English division in 1932 which produced the first Chinese school students to pass the Cambridge examinations.[28]

The various schools were open to all Chinese but, in practice, catered largely to their own group. They remained much smaller than the mission schools; in 1929 nearly five hundred Chinese youngsters studied in five of the six major Chinese-medium schools; Thai Thoong had the largest enrollment--147.[29] This total was, however, far less than the Chinese enrollments in the four major mission schools. In 1928, St. Thomas's alone enrolled 550 students, the great majority of them Chinese, and by 1929 the mission schools probably had a combined total of 1,200 to 1,500 students, eighty or ninety percent of them Chinese. Some overlap existed between the two, since Chinese students not uncommonly received a primary education in Chinese and then transferred to a mission school for advanced studies.[30]

Although the Chinese schools were coeducational, male students far outnumbered female students; few Chinese families allowed women to work outside the home until the late 1920s or early 1930s, when social barriers against females began to lessen. The appearance of Chinese women in public made an impression on the town, including a local European observer:

> I remember the excitement at seeing the first Asiatic [Chinese] lady bicyclist. Chinese and Malays stopped and regarded the scene with goggling eyes; she, too, was the first lady shop assistant and attracted tremendous custom at the shop in which she served scents and toilet soap.[31]

As one result of the growing changes, the first Chinese girls school opened in 1928.[32]

The Kuching emphasis on dialect education contrasted with overseas Chinese communities elsewhere in Southeast Asia where, spurred by the growth of Chinese nationalism, Chinese schools generally used Mandarin as the language of instruction. Chinese leaders in Kuching knew of these tendencies; a Mandarin school promoter toured Sarawak in 1916 attempting to encourage Mandarin schools but, except for several small outstation towns, his movement seems to have had little success. Enough supporters of Mandarin education existed to insure that all Chinese schools taught Mandarin as a subject, and several organizations established Mandarin night-schools in the 1920s and 1930s to teach the language to older Chinese. A Chung Hua School opened in the late 1930s at Padungan which taught in Mandarin. Yet the government preferred dialect education, probably because it seemed a barrier to Chinese nationalism; indeed the teaching of Mandarin was banned as "subversive" in 1924 but the ban was rescinded a year later. It seems that many Chinese leaders also preferred dialect education.[33]

Despite the proliferation of associations, schools, and other institutions, a strong continuity in leadership patterns

remained. As in the nineteenth century, leadership continued to be vested in the wealthy towkays, although a few professionals also exercised great influence; Hokkiens, Chaoanns, and Teochius dominated the top leadership positions. But unlike the pioneer Chinese leaders, many of the twentieth-century elite were Sarawak-born and some boasted an English education; a significant number were sons or grandsons of earlier leaders. The continued importance of members of certain families in leadership positions contrasts strikingly with cities such as Bangkok, where most of the Chinese leaders were China-born immigrants.[34] The institutional growth of the Chinese community after 1900 was also reflected in the new leadership, for most of the powerful towkays held positions of leadership or influence in some of the new cultural, social, economic, or political organizations.

By any yardstick the most powerful Chinese during the late Brooke period was a Hokkien, Ong Tiang Swee, the Kapitan China General of Kuching and Sarawak.[35] During his life span of eighty-six years, Ong played a role in virtually every major activity and institution of the Chinese community: he served as president of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, Chinese Court, and numerous economic institutions, and was active in a wide variety of other organizations, ranging from the Board of Trade to the Turf and Rotary clubs. Ong's control of planting, commercial, shipping, and banking enterprises, with a concomitant ability to extend credit and influence organization, gave him a powerful position as a patron, although he commanded great personal respect as well among both Chinese and Europeans. Besides wealth, respect, and longevity, Ong also enjoyed fecundity. He had three wives at various times and begot a score of children. Wedding alliances with the Ongs, as the leading Chinese family of Kuching, were quite naturally sought by other Hokkiens, and thus many prominent personalities could claim kinship relations with them.

Ong Tiang Swee's unchallenged position reflects the strong continuity in Chinese leadership, since he was the son of the early Hokkien Kapitan Ong Ewe Hai. The most powerful Hokkien after Ong Tiang Swee was his son-in-law Wee Kheng Chiang, a Kuching-born, St. Thomas's-educated financial wizard who built a tremendous economic empire ranging from ownership of the highly successful Bian Chiang Bank to control of Third Division sago milling. A similar continuity of leadership characterized other speech groups; after the turn of the century, the most powerful Teochiu leader was Lau Ngee Siang, a China-born immigrant who became a business partner of Law Kian Huat. Law's son, Law Cheng Hiang, succeeded Lau Ngee Siang as Teochiu leader in the 1920s and early 1930s. Chaoann leaders included Chan Kee Ong, a son of Chan Ah Koh, and Tan Sum Guan, a St. Thomas's-educated Christian and adopted son of Ong Tiang Swee.

While Hokkiens, Chaoanns, and Teochius were generally represented by, and administered through, businessmen with strong ties to earlier Kuching leaders, the Cantonese developed a somewhat different pattern. Thus, Lim Tee Chiew and his brother,

Lim Song Kee, who immigrated from China shortly before the turn of the century, founded Sarawak's first bank, the Kwong Lee, amassed a huge fortune, and took an active part in community affairs. Their successor as Cantonese leader in the 1930s, Dr. Wong Cheong Way, was a Singapore-born, university trained physician who immigrated to Kuching in 1924 and went into private practice; he also made a fortune in mining and was known as the "Gold King." In contrast to the other groups, the major Cantonese leaders were immigrants; one, Wong, was a highly educated professional rather than a merchant. Why Cantonese leadership patterns differed from those of the other groups is unclear; perhaps most successful nineteenth-century Cantonese retired to China and left few local descendants.[36]

A small group of individuals mainly drawn from the Hokkien, Chaoann, Teochiu, and Cantonese groups provided leadership for the Chinese community; between 1900 and 1941 ten or fifteen men, including those discussed above, controlled the major Chinese institutions and held influential positions on government boards. A few Hakkas, Hainanese, or Henghuas played a largely ceremonial or token leadership role but they seldom held real power. The leaders of the late Brooke period had a more comprehensive and formal power base than their predecessors since they held positions of influence in a much wider range and greater number of organizations than had existed earlier.[37] They had also received a better education, many of them graduating from Kuching mission schools; few became Christians however. A majority were Sarawak-born but the fact that immigrants could still achieve power and success suggests that the social structure remained flexible; professionals in particular were able to move into the middle and upper levels of the social ladder.

The persistence of speech group particularism as exemplified in dialect schools, voluntary associations, occupational specialization, leadership patterns, and other features of Chinese life seems to have remained stronger in Kuching than in many other overseas Chinese settlements during this period. There would appear to be a number of possible reasons for the continued divisions among Kuching's Chinese. In relative terms, a numerical balance existed among the speech groups; Hokkiens claimed the largest population but were not numerous enough to achieve complete economic, social, cultural and political hegemony. Power and influence had to be shared, and therefore competed for. Kuching was also geographically isolated, with the impact of developments in China or among other overseas Chinese consequently modified. Cut off from the mainstream, Kuching Chinese received less influence from the growing strength of China-focused nationalism than did many other Chinese in Southeast Asia.

Although China-oriented nationalism in Kuching developed late, and had less impact than elsewhere, it did play an increasingly important role. In many respects, it was part of a broader change that resulted in a more clearly defined ethnic

consciousness among the Chinese. Speech group particularism remained a key element in Chinese social structure and community life, but the Chinese were beginning to develop into a more coherent community. Much of this resulted from an increasing awareness of China and their common heritage in that country. Traditionally the Kuching Chinese seemed genuinely uninterested in events in their homeland, with financial aid to China largely confined to remittances to families. Social and political attention, where any existed, focused on the home village or prefecture, not on the nation of China.

Shortly after the turn of the century, the development of the republican movement in China, led by Sun Yat Sen, began to have some success in recruiting support from Southeast Asian Chinese. In Kuching some of the new stirrings manifested themselves in an educational and cultural organization known as the Chinese Institute (Khee Meng Sia). The institute appeared in 1907 under the auspices of the Anglican mission to promote education among Chinese without regard to dialect or social class, by providing a reading room, library, and kindergarten for the use of the local Chinese community.[38] Although not ostensibly a religious institution, the institute was seen by the mission as a vehicle for preparing the leading Chinese for Christianity. Christians and non-Christians both shared in the leadership. But the institute became much more than an extension of the mission, for it was one of the few multi-dialect Chinese organizations in Kuching. Furthermore, it promoted activities that became increasingly political and reflected a resurgence of pride in China. These activities included the sponsorship of a visit to Kuching by Wang Ching Wei, one of Sun Yat Sen's chief lieutenants. The institute library also contained anti-Manchu materials.

The institute's role in the promotion of a nascent Chinese nationalism increased after the downfall of the Manchu dynasty in 1911 and the inauguration of the Chinese Republic, which met with an immediate response in Kuching after the arrival of the news by steamer:

> A deputation [of prominent towkays asked]...permission to close the shops in the bazaar and hold high festival the following day.... In consequence notices were sent round calling on all loyal adherents of "the cause" to close their shops in celebration of the rumored victory, with the result that...nearly all shops, except a few fruit and eating houses...., had their shutters up, and flags of various colors [with the Republican symbol]...were flying from upper windows, while there was a kind of suppressed excitement in the air, giving the impression that this was not an ordinary festival occasion. In the afternoon and evening processions of queue-less Chinese paraded the streets, with license to make as much noise as they pleased, and we hear that the

local Tamil barbers did quite a business trimming heads...after the more crude removal of the towchang [pigtail] had been performed.[39]

Within a few weeks, the great majority of Chinese had cut off their queues (pigtails), the symbol of Chinese subjugation to the Manchus. But many Chinese remained cautious, and some retained their pigtails for years afterward, particularly the rickshaw pullers.[40] Although the immediate excitement soon waned, enthusiasm for the new Chinese republican government in China marked the beginning of a subtle change. Kuching Chinese began celebrating popular political events in China as well as the anniversary of the Republic with processions and decorations. They also began contributing money to such causes as flood relief in Swatow and famine relief in north China.

The major organizational effort to maintain the new local interest in events in China came initially from the Chinese Institute. The first evidence of this was the announcement in 1913 that the institute would begin publication of a Chinese language newspaper--the first in Sarawak--and would affiliate with a Chinese nationalist organization in Penang, the Kuet Ming Tong, which Charles Brooke felt to be dangerous. These activities brought it into conflict with the rajah, who did not countenance political movements of any kind in Sarawak. Although Brooke had initially approved the institute's plan to publish a Chinese newspaper, the government became increasingly concerned that the institute could become a front for subversive and anti-colonial agitation. These fears came to a head in October 1913, and government officers ordered the premises of the institute raided and the records seized; forty Chinese who were institute members, including a number of prominent towkays, were told they were under suspicion and ordered to terminate their memberships. The affair soon cooled down, and the institute reopened, but it became more of a religious library and avoided controversy until it finally closed in 1935. Nonetheless, in its early existence, it had been the pioneer supporter of both Chinese nationalism and Chinese publishing.[41]

Nationalist and China-oriented activities increased in the late 1920s and 1930s, accompanied by indications that Kuching Chinese were taking their "Chineseness" more seriously. A renewed interest in Mandarin resulted in formation of night schools to teach the language, some aimed specifically at local-born Chinese. The interest in Mandarin may have reflected a desire for a common Chinese language in Kuching as well as the fact that it was China's national language. The first Chinese-language newspaper appeared in 1927; it had only a short-lived existence but three others began operations in the 1930s.[42]

Although dialect particularism was explicit in the structure of the Chinese medium schools, the schools paradoxically served as important agents for promoting Chinese nationalism. The two forces appear contradictory but, in fact, organization by speech group did not preclude a growing

appreciation of a Chinese political loyalty. The majority of teachers were recruited in China and brought ideas current in China to Kuching. Most textbooks and teaching materials used were produced in Shanghai and their content centered on China rather than Sarawak. Among Chinese schools, only Teochiu-sponsored Ming Teck School taught Malay and, even there, enrollment in Malay classes remained small.[43] Some Chinese-school students learned to sing Chinese nationalist songs and, armed with toy guns, "were put through firing exercises and drill like a Cadet Corps."[44] The government sought to check nationalist and sometimes communist sympathies in the schools by introducing registration of both teachers and schools and proscribing certain textbooks considered by the government to be too chauvinistic or politically subversive. But Chinese schools remained an influence promoting "Chineseness," although compared with mission schools they had small enrollments.

The growing feeling of Chinese solidarity also had an institutional focus, for a few organizations emerged with the avowed purpose of transcending speech group distinctions. Perhaps significantly the KCCC was revived at this time. Some of the other groups had athletic and recreational purposes. For example, an exclusively Chinese football league, called the Chinese Inter-Stature Football League, was formed in 1930 to promote sportsmanship and goodwill among the various speech groups by having representatives of each speech group on each team. This constituted a wholly new development, as previous football competitions had largely attracted teams sponsored by the various dialect groups.[45]

The Sino-Japanese difficulties of the late 1920s and 1930s brought about an increase in China-focused political activities in Kuching. Sporadic boycotts of Japanese goods and firms began about 1931, sometimes resulting in financial difficulty for Japanese companies and professionals. But anti-Japanese agitation was relatively muted, never approaching the fervor in other parts of Southeast Asia, including North Borneo. A China Relief Fund appeared in 1937, headed by some of the most prominent towkays in Kuching, including a few Sarawak-born, English-educated leaders like Ong Tiang Swee and Tan Sum Guan; however Chinese merchants, planters, and teachers from outside the traditional elite were also active in the group, and several held leadership roles. The fund held concerts, exhibitions, and charity bazaars to raise money for the defense of China against the Japanese. A voluntary tax was also leveled on Chinese businesses to raise money for the fund. Kuching celebrated the Chinese National Day, October 10, with increased fervor, including the singing of nationalist songs, sports meetings, drills and marching by Chinese school students, and speeches by various Chinese leaders.[46]

Yet the patriotic activities did not necessarily signify the complete triumph of Chinese nationalism for the loyalty of Kuching Chinese. Many, possibly most, Chinese remained largely uninterested in events in China and even those contributing to

the Relief Fund or marching on October 10 did not participate with the zeal found in Malaya and other areas. No evidence exists of extortion in obtaining donations, and a small Kuomintang chapter that evidently formed somewhat earlier was dormant by the early 1930s. Kuching Chinese leaders did not restrict their generosity to China-oriented appeals but also actively aided the various British war funds. Although some communist refugees from the purge in China may have ultimately settled in Sarawak, no known communist organization developed during the Brooke period. However, the government blamed a few unknown communists for the importation of some proscribed books, and some expatriate Chinese school teachers may have held pro-communist views.[47]

China-focused nationalism in the Brooke period constitutes an important but relatively limited phenomenon in comparison to other parts of Southeast Asia. To be sure, many Chinese, particularly at leadership levels, responded to the appeal of the homeland, especially in the late 1930s. In large part this reflected the fact that the Sino-Japanese War was simply on too large a scale, and too well reported in the Chinese press, for the Kuching Chinese to ignore. Nationalism furthermore helped popularize the idea that Chinese identity transcended speech group differences. The significance of this woruld be more fully felt in the post-war years. Yet pan-Chinese and China-oriented sentiments were not influential enough to abolish such important aspects of dialect group particularism as the dialect-sponsored Chinese schools.

There are several possible explanations for the uneven role of China-focused nationalism and local Chinese solidarity in Kuching. These include the infrequency of direct communication with China and the distance from Malaya and Singapore; the small proportion of the population literate in Chinese and therefore able to read the local and imported Chinese-language periodicals carrying news of events in China; selective immigration controls which refused entry to those with strong political interests; censorship of imported Chinese books by the Sarawak government; continued hostility and rivalry between the major speech groups; and Brooke encouragement of dialect particularism as exemplified in such institutions as the kapitan system, and the practice of making appointments to the municipal board or Board of Trade on the basis of speech group affiliation.

Throughout the late Brooke period a continuing tension existed between the demands of ethnic consciousness and the traditional divisions among the Chinese. An increasing emphasis on pan-Chinese cooperation was exemplified in the mixed leadership and important role of the KCCC, the cross-dialect participation in the China Relief Fund, and the growing interest in Mandarin as a unifying language. These developments would suggest that, whatever the case may have been in the nineteenth century, there was certainly a Chinese "community" by the 1930s. Chinese regardless of dialect recognized a common heritage and common problems.

Yet the structure of the Chinese community was not well integrated, since speech group continued to be the dominant theme in the social, occupational, and institutional sphere. The community was most unified at the top, where the kapitans and other leaders of the various speech groups coordinated their efforts in the KCCC and China Relief Fund. At the pinnacle stood the Kapitan China General, whose personal prestige and close ties to the rajah gave him added authority as the spokesman for the entire community. Cooperation at the top did not preclude serious commercial and personal rivalries among leaders, and was probably based in part on elite awareness of threats to, and problems among, the Chinese as a group. But the great majority of Chinese continued to live in a world significantly influenced by the institutions and relationships of speech groups--the dialect-oriented occupations and economic organizations, and patterns of location on the basis of specialization and dialect in the bazaar. Chinese remained a less cohesive group than Malays.

The Structure of the Malay Community

Fewer social changes occurred among Malays than among Chinese during the late Brooke period, although by the early 1930s the pace of change began to quicken. One reason for the strong element of continuity as opposed to the rapid growth of Chinese institutions was that, except for Javanese contract laborers, fewer Malayo-Muslim immigrants came from other parts of the archipelago than had been the case in the nineteenth century. Population growth therefore imposed less of a burden upon Malay community institutions and less impetus to modify or strengthen them. Fewer foreign arrivals also implied less contact with political developments in other parts of the Malayo-Muslim world. Economic changes and the rise and fall of prices affected Malays far less than Chinese since government employment provided steady work for many, and most of the remaining Malays depended on agriculture or fishing rather than trade. Nonetheless, Malay education, organizational structure, and leadership did undergo change and, by the 1930s, increasing evidence of a growing ethnic consciousness appeared among Kuching's Malays.

Malay-medium schools grew considerably between 1900 and 1941. As was noted above, the Government Lay School which opened in 1903 aimed to give a vernacular and practical education to Malays as well as Chinese. In the GLS and the two older schools at Kampungs Jawa and Gersik, Malays also studied English in preparation for clerkships and other posts in the government. Despite the training for clerkships provided by the three Malay schools, they had only fluctuating and occasionally declining enrollments before 1930; between 1894 and 1921 the schools seem to have suffered a net loss in enrollment, from 168 to 157 students.[48] The mission schools more than doubled their

enrollments over the same period.

The stagnation in Malay-medium education came to an end in the early 1930s, when four new schools were established giving increased access to Malay education. One of these, a girls' school called the Sekola Permaisuri, opened in 1930 and concentrated on domestic arts, reading, and writing; by 1933 it had fifty pupils. This school remained the only Malay girls's school in the state before the Japanese Occupation.[49] The most important of the new schools, however, the Madarassah Melayu (Malay College), was formed through a merger of the Kampung Jawa and Government Lay schools and opened in 1931. The government-sponsored Madarassah had a responsibility to provide advanced study in Malay subjects, handicrafts, agriculture, hygiene, elementary engineering and surveying in order to produce native officers, technicians, and especially teachers for Malay schools but not clerks; it did not offer commercial courses which might have placed Malays in direct economic competition with the Chinese. The school deemphasized English so as to avoid inculcating Western influences; indeed, the government hoped that the college would prepare Malay youngsters for an active role in the Malay community by emphasizing Malay language and religion as well as practical subjects. The initial class at the college had 280 boys but by 1933 enrollment had increased to 400, making the school the largest non-mission educational institution in Kuching.[50]

By 1933 the various Malay-medium schools enrolled some 500 to 600 Malay students, about the same number of pupils as studied at St. Thomas's. But the total was over triple the figure for 1921, and indicated the Malay-medium education reached a much higher number of students from a much wider geographical area within the municipality. As a result a significant number of children from non-aristocratic families could enroll in schools for the first time, since some of the schools were situated in non-aristocratic kampungs. But few were able to obtain good local positions in the administrative service, which remained the virtual monopoly of the perabangan until 1941. The success of the Madarassah and the other new Malay schools also insured that the majority of Malays would receive an education reinforcing traditional values and identity.

Whereas Chinese society in Kuching was characterized by an increasing proliferation of formal and informal organizations, no parallel institutional differentiation occurred with the Malay community. Few if any known Malay guilds, work gangs, or occupational organizations developed; indeed, only 22 Malay voluntary associations of any type appeared during the Brooke period, the majority of them after 1930, and most were social or athletic clubs or musical and dramatic societies. A typical example was the Gersik Re-Setia Jaya Club, which formed in 1927 and held athletic tournaments, sponsored a small band, and built a social center for the men and children of the sponsoring kampung.[51] Malays evidently viewed voluntary associations largely as leisure-time activities rather than as instruments for

community development and welfare. For much of the period, no real Malay counterparts to the Chinese dialect association or Chinese Chamber of Commerce emerged. The majority of the Malay organizations seem to have restricted membership to residents of a particular kampung in the Datu's Peninsula or on the north bank.

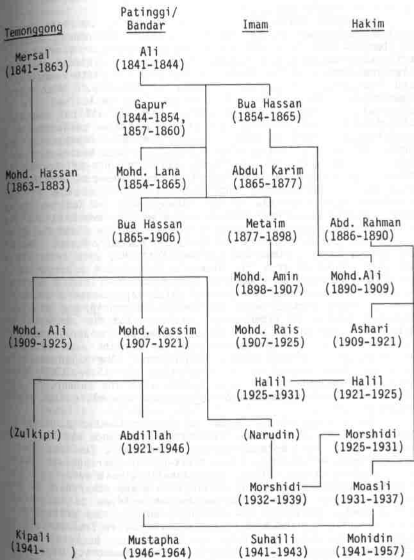
The much smaller number of formal and informal organizations among the Kuching Malays can be traced to the fact that the Malays were not primarily an immigrant group and had a long-established, locally rooted social system. They had a balanced sex ratio, and the essentially "village" aspects of kampung life served to integrate and socialize newcomers into the prevailing Malay urban culture. Furthermore, the leadership of the Malay community remained strong and unambiguous, vested in the datus. For the most part, the datus of the late Brooke period were selected from among the same small group of families that had held the offices in the nineteenth century (see Table 4). Thus, between 1900 and 1941 direct descendants of the first patinggi of the Brooke period, Datu Patinggi Ali, usually held at least two offices concurrently, and control of the highest office remained in their hands. Six of the thirteen men who served in the four oldest offices after 1900 were direct descendants of Datu Patinggi Ali through the male line. Likewise, two of the five men to serve as hakim between 1900 and 1941 were sons of the first hakim appointed by Charles Brooke. Only two families ever served in the post of temonggong.

The bandars remained the strongest and most powerful of the datus and exercised a great influence on the Malay community. During the late Brooke period only two men occupied the post. The first, Abang Mohammed Kassim (sometimes called Mat Kassim), the eldest son of the former bandar, Bua Hassan, was appointed in 1907.[52] The datu and his only wife, Dayang Sahadah, a daughter of the old Patinggi Gapur, earned reputations as progressives among Europeans, since they pioneered in Malay education and encouraged moderate steps toward the advancement of women. The bandar also stood as a strong force for stability, however, since he was a recognized authority on, and supporter of, Malay adat law. He died in 1921 at the age of 80 on his first pilgrimage to Mecca, leaving thirteen children.

Mat Kassim was succeeded as supreme chief by his son, St. Thomas's-educated Abang Haji Abdillah, who became the first bandar, indeed the first datu, with a mission education.[53] Abdillah was already 62 years of age when he assumed the office, not unusually old for a new bandar; his father had been 66 on his installation, and his grandfather was about 55 when he began his 41 year occupation of the office. The descendants of Patinggi Ali appear to have had a remarkable longevity. During the earlier period of Brook rule the age factor perhaps assumed less importance, for the pace of change during Charles Brooke's reign was relatively slow. But by the late 1920s and early 1930s new developments began to affect the Malay community. Abdillah's role in these changes remains unclear; since he had a mission

Table 4

Major Kuching Datus and their Kinship Relationships, 1841-1964



education he might have been expected to be more Westernized and progressive. On the other hand, his experience was rooted in the Sarawak of the second rajah, and he had a reputation as a powerful, rather conservative, and self-interested leader. He does seem to have provided leadership or at least cooperated in sponsoring cultural and self-help organizations of various kinds as well as female education.

The other three traditional datus during the late Brooke period continued to be chosen largely from among Kuching aristocrats with long service in the government or as religious officials. However, the appointment of three additional datus in 1928 and another in 1941 broadened the base for elite recruitment and indicated a dispersal of power at the top. With these appointments the office of datu became less exclusive. To be sure, all the new datus were Kuching born and all but one were also former civil servants. But if the new datus conformed to a traditional pattern in some respects, they also represented new trends at the top of the Malay hierarchy. Datu Mentri Mohammed Zin, for example, was a highly respected non-aristocrat of Minangkabau ancestry and the long-time tua kampung of Gersik; his appointment represented institutional confirmation of the continued important role of the Minangkabaus in Kuching Malay life. The Bentara, Haji Hashim, was a wealthy merchant and the son of a non-aristocratic nakoda; he was also the first Malay to sit on the Kuching Sanitary and Municipal Advisory Board. Two of the datus, Amar Suleiman and Pahlawan Mustapha, were aristocrats who had graduated from St. Thomas's School and represented a growing tendency for important Malays to have had a mission education. These mission-educated datus represented a potentially stronger link between the Malay leadership and mission-educated members of other ethnic groups. But the conservative Malay elite can hardly have been delighted at the appointment of Haji Hashim, an illiterate commoner, or perhaps even of Abang Suleiman, an antagonist of the datu bandar. The rajah may have departed from tradition in appointing the three 1928 datus because he wanted allies in a dispute with the bandar.[54] The appointments also generated division among the elite that would endure for years.

The increase in the number of datus reflected a change in the criteria for high office. Perabangan dominance had long been perpetuated in part because the top aristocratic families tended to intermarry extensively, since first-cousin marriage was common among Kuching Malays. Thus, traditionally almost every datu was probably related by blood or marriage to every other datu in one way or another. Since few mechanisms existed to facilitate upward social mobility, few commoners entered the aristocracy. However, influence and higher status could derive from success in government service, and young men of commoner backgrounds did occasionally enter the lower levels of the bureaucracy because of an education in the new Malay schools.

Indeed, considerable mobility marked the middle levels of the Malay stratification system with the formation of a new group

based largely on white collar government employment. As Chapter V noted, the mission and government Malay schools produced a class of Westernized Malay civil servants known as orang kerani. The group was probably drawn from both the lower levels of the aristocracy and the upper levels of the commoner group but received their status because of the high prestige value of government service. In a sense they constituted the modern counterpart to the old nakoda trading class, since they occupied a position intermediate between the aristocracy and the mass of the commoner (orang pereman) class and had both influence and status. They also provided linkage to Western-educated members of other ethnic groups because of old school ties or common employment in a government department.

The increasing importance of ethnic consciousness among Chinese in the 1930s had a parallel among Malays, who were also influenced by events occurring abroad. The reformist and nationalist movements current in Malaya and the Dutch East Indies had their counterparts in Kuching, but they remained much less significant in the Brooke capital. Religion provided one of the main areas for these influences; a wave of Islamic revival influenced by reform sentiments sweeping the Islamic world appeared in Kuching in the 1930s. The serious religious schism between reformers and conservatives dominating religious life in Malaya and elsewhere did not erupt in Kuching possibly because traditional Islamic leadership and Koranic education was considerably less developed than in Malaya; but debates did occur over the role of Islam in Malay life. Some of the datus led a movement to reduce funeral and wedding expenses which were traditionally high and to promote the education of women.[55] The pages of the Sarawak Gazette contained numerous letters and articles, in Malay or English, advocating female emancipation or attacking various types of social dancing which displeased the religious authorities. One Malay letter writer, styling himself "Jawi Peranakan," argued forcefully that the education of girls was not contrary to Islam:

> Malay women in Sarawak are famous for their skill in weaving sarongs, knitting, etc. But regarding housekeeping, nursing babies and cooking, they are a little backward compared to women of other lands, probably owing to no proper training. Extravagance is still practiced, and superstition.... The movement of the Malay race is very slow.... We need to advise Malays to educate little girls. I wonder why some people would say that educating Malay girls is a disturbance to Islam. The truth is that all Muslims should furnish themselves with education.[56]

One writer recommended that if the datus wanted to modernize themselves and spread an adat baru (new custom), they should set an example for other Malays by restricting their own expenditures on entertainment.[57] The movement seems to have had some impact,

for a girls' school opened in 1930 and Malay women, traditionally in semi-purdah, began to be seen at mixed parties.[58] Islamic reform does not appear to have encouraged a sharp division in Malay society nor to have contained as puritanical an emphasis as elsewhere.

The interest of the Kuching datus and some other local Malay leaders in reforming certain cultural and religious practices in the 1930s was accompanied by a growing concern for the future of the Malay community. For the first time, Malays began discussing their situation and fear was voiced that the Malays had allowed themselves to fall behind the Chinese and other groups to their own detriment. Some stressed that the Malays were bumiputera (sons of the soil) and should unite to improve their condition.[59] Others bemoaned an apparently increasing Westernization among younger Malays, reflected in such matters as a growing tendency for Malay brides to be wed in European style dresses. Even more alarming to the Malay leaders and sympathetic European officials was the decline in popularity of traditional Malay male attire, including the songkok (Malay cap), sabok (belt) and other features. As the Gazette complained in 1935:

> During the last few years...traditional dress of the Malays appears largely to have given way to gaudy neckties, blazers, and bell-bottom trousers. This... seems a pity. Visitors from Malaya where national dress is far more generally worn than it is here cannot fail to be unfavorably impressed and it seems Government might take the lead by insisting on all Malay employees wearing Malay costume in the office.... We think it would be welcomed...by most Malays.[60]

Clearly Malays were expected to dress and act like Malays, regardless of their own personal desires.

The new ethnic consciousness also developed an institutional focus. The earliest evidence of this came in 1930, when the first Malay language newspaper in British Borneo appeared in Kuching. This periodical, the Fajar Sarawak (Sarawak Dawn), appeared fortnightly but evidently published only a few issues. The Fajar editors (including several later anti-cession leaders) were mostly young, non-aristocratic intellectuals who had a strongly reformist religious orientation; the paper reportedly angered the patinggi by criticizing Ramadan (fasting month) habits in Kuching as much too loose. Fajar sought to "uplift" the Malay socioeconomic position, promote "Malayness" among Malayo-Muslims, battle Malay "fatalism," and prompt the perabangan to take more responsibility for poor Malays. Although they were careful not to offend the Brooke government, the Fajar writers made some muted criticism of the extravagance of the datus and their lack of leadership in helping Malays adjust to changing economic conditions. The paper discontinued publication

due to the economic decline generated by the Depression, a limited readership mostly confined to educated Kuching Malays, and perhaps the hostility of the leading datus.[61]

No other Malay periodical appeared in the Brooke period. But the interest in Malay culture and literature which Fajar Sarawak reflected was later promoted by a social and cultural organization with Malayan affiliations, the Persaudara'an Sehabat Pena Melayu (Malay Brotherhood of Pen Friends). The movement out of which this organization developed began as a religious reform movement in Penang in 1934; by 1935 some Kuching residents had joined. In 1936 a Kuching branch officially opened, with the datu amar as president. The second president was Abang Haji Mustapha, later to be datu pahlawan. Aristocrats held most of the offices, but some of the Fajar editors were active in the group. The movement in Malaya grew out of the kaum muda (Islamic reform) intellectual environment with primary appeal to urban Malays. A split occurred in the Malaya branches in 1937, after which the movement declined in importance and membership, although it continued to publish a journal. The Kuching branch does not appear to have declined, however, and the journal as well as correspondence with members in Malaya brought kaum muda ideas to the Kuching Malays.[62] The Persaudara'an probably fed a nascent Malay nationalism and increased the interest in Malay culture. It also kept the small Kuching-Malay intelligentsia in fairly close contact with their counterparts in Malaya.

Increasing concern about a threat to Malay identity and a possible future crisis resulted in the formation in 1939 of the Persatuan Melayu Sarawak (Malay National Union of Sarawak), the first Malay voluntary association whose interest focused on theentire Malay community. The MNUS also constituted the first Malay counterpart to the powerful Chinese organizations. The Kuching group appeared as a branch of the Persatuan Melayu movement in Malaya, which originated in Singapore in 1921 and had been the first explicitly political Malay association in the Straits Settlements. The Kuching chapter was the only one in Sarawak during the Brooke period. Like the Malaya branches, the main aims of the MNUS were self-improvement and self-advancement for the Malays. The Malayan group maintained a strongly elitist orientation, had official support, and avoided a radical image. Datus founded the Kuching branch, which remained definitely elitist in its leadership, although younger activist commoners associated with Fajar held several key executive positions. Some of the younger educated Malay members resented datu leadership and desired social change but muted their criticisms in order to maintain the elite approval necessary for registration with the government. The aged patinggi was patron and the amar served as president. In 1941 the temonggong became vice-president.[63]

The Kuching branch interested itself in the affairs of the Malayan movement, sending delegates to the second congress of Malay associations in Singapore, but it also met with enthusiasm in Kuching; over a hundred donors, including two Ibans, contributed to a clubhouse. A 1940 general meeting in Kuching

attracted 500 Malays from throughout Sarawak and pledged to improve rural Malay education; 700 members attended the 1941 meetings, ninety percent of them wearing Malay national costume.[64] Many Malay leaders seemed to view the association as providing a new alternative to Malays by which they could unite to protect their position and achieve certain goals; if they refrained from organizing as an interest group they would have to take their chances on future weakness in competition with Chinese and others. In this sense the MNUS was a profoundly political organization, since it provided a potential vehicle both for Malay self-improvement and the representation of Malay interests in a manner similar to that of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce for Chinese.

The MNUS constituted the most significant reflection of the rising Malay ethnic consciousness or what might be called cultural sub-nationalism in the late Brooke period; its growing role foreshadowed the highly political anti-cession activities which it would lead in the early post-war period. Nonetheless, the pre-war group remained moderate in its leadership and policies; it did not engage in any overt anti-Chinese agitation and it certainly made no attempt to challenge European rule. The datus and others who led the organization owed their influence and position in great measure to Brooke largesse, and Malay sub-nationalism remained a relatively conservative force in Kuching. Yet the Kuching Malays were undergoing a change that would become more apparent after the Japanese Occupation. Some members of the MNUS were commoners increasingly frustrated by perabangan dominance and the power of the datus. In the 1930s, Malay organizational life became more complex and, to a certain extent, politicized; education and voluntary associations became more important. The Malays themselves became more preoccupied with their own situation.

Developments in the Minor Communities

Kuching was a Chinese and Malay town in the late Brooke period; with the occasional exception of the Indians, the various non-European minority groups held little political representation and exercised only a small amount of social and economic influence. Children from the Indian, Dayak, Japanese, and other groups, if they desired an education in Kuching, had to study at schools teaching in a language other than their mother tongue and dominated by students and teachers from other ethnic groups. With the exception of the Indians, no representatives of the minor communities in the town sat on the municipal board or on statewide institutions such as the Council Negri. None of the minor groups provided a serious challenge to the hegemony in commercial affairs exercised by the Chinese.

Yet the minority groups did play a role in Kuching's plural society. For example, the presence of the smaller ethnic groups may have contributed to communal harmony, since they made the

town more cosmopolitan and therefore possibly more tolerant of ethnic differences. The Indians, Dayaks, and others also experienced many of the forces for change that affected the Chinese and Malays. Almost every ethnic group established a voluntary association embracing its various subgroups and able to speak for its community. These associations indicated the need for formalized ethnic interest groups able to represent the sentiments of the various communities and provide mutual aid of various kinds. The different ethnic groups also became structurally more complex.

Some of the most important developments occurred among the Indians, who remained much the largest of the smaller ethnic communities. The influx of Tamil laborers in the late 1890s and early twentieth century substantially altered the nature of the Indian group in Kuching, for Tamils became the largest of the subgroups and exercised an increasingly important role in Indian affairs. By the 1920s Tamils probably accounted for well over half of all the Indians in Kuching, and constituted an increasingly visible segment of the plural society. Most Tamil immigrants were laborers of the untouchable castes, but a few Tamil professionals, mostly medical doctors, also came to Kuching between 1900 and 1941. Moplahs, Sikhs, and Sepoy policemen continued to be the only other Indian groups present in significant numbers.

The growth of the Tamil community in relationship to other subgroups had an impact on Indian leadership, for the Tamil elite began to supersede the prosperous Moplah merchants as the spokesmen for Indians. Tamil leaders did not come from among the numerically predominant laborers but rather from the doctors, traders, and clerks in European businesses who comprised the small professional and entreprenurial class. These men mostly belonged to higher castes in India but caste distinctions among the Kuching Tamils appear to have been minimal. Furthermore, some of the Kuching leaders were Christians. Many differences existed between the Moplah elite of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and the new Tamil intelligentsia. The Muslim leaders were merchants and generally possessed little formal education; few had any training in English. The Tamil leaders, on the other hand, were often well educated, usually in the English language. Some similarities also existed. For example, men born outside of Sarawak, usually in India, dominated leadership in both subgroups.

The major Tamil leader and most important Indian of the late Brooke period, Dr. K.V. Krishna, epitomized the interests and background of the Tamil elite.[65] Dr. Krishna was born in Madras and received his medical training in Hong Kong before immigrating to Sarawak in 1909. An ardent disciple of the Arya Samaj religious reform movement in India, Dr. Krishna's role in the social and cultural development of the Kuching Tamils was immense; he provided a strong force for reform and social improvement. Together with a few other Hindu, Arya Samaj, and Christian Tamils, he led an active campaign in the 1920s and 1930s to improve the Tamil image by encouraging thrift and

abstinence from alcohol. He also recruited support for social and cultural reform from leaders of the other subgroups. One of the most important developments in his campaign was a large meeting of Kuching Indians, which he hosted on the occasion of the Hindu festival Deepavali (Divali) in 1925:

> Over 300 Indians of all classes and religions were assembled, many with their families. He [Krishna] appealed to them to partake of [alcoholic] drinks inside their houses and not in public places, and to keep within a limit. Dr. Chand [a Tamil physician] spoke in Malay and said it is only the Indian who is seen on the roadside drunk and noisy, and he hoped that in the future Indians would try to be like other residents. Rev. B.G. Proctor [a Tamil Anglican priest] spoke in Tamil and said that as many educated Indians did not come to Sarawak, the name of Indians did not always carry respect among people here. Sgt. Major Ram Singh [a Sikh officer in the Rangers] said that Indians have been in Sarawak for over sixty years but that never before was there an occasion when all were assembled together as this evening. He said that Dr. Krishna has been trying to uplift the name of India and Indians here, that he has been instrumental in getting the name Kling Street changed to India Street. Sheik Kassim Hussein [a Moplah leader] ...spoke in Hindustani in much the same strain.[66]

The efforts of Dr. Krishna and others to improve the lot of the Tamil laborers were not in vain, for alcoholic overindulgence and misdemeanor arrests for street fighting gradually declined among the laborers. Some seem to have accepted the warnings about thrift and to have begun depositing money in a savings bank operated by the Post Office.[67] The impetus for reform among Kuching Tamils and other Indians came partly in response to reformist tendencies in India, for the continued immigration of educated Tamils, many of them adherents of India-based reform movements, brought these influences to Kuching. Kuching Indians therefore remained in closer contact with affairs in the ancestral home than had been the case in the nineteenth century. Changes such as the concern for the Indian image also reflected an increasing ethnic consciousness, at least among some members of the elite, which paralleled to some extent similar developments among Chinese and Malays.

Dr. Krishna and some other reformers also promoted increased Indian solidarity but in this area they had less success; subgroup rivalries and distinctions remained very important. For example, eight Indian voluntary associations appeared in the late Brooke period, all founded after 1930, but they reflected the factionalized nature of the Indian group; most of the organizations were religious in nature, catering to the

needs of the Muslims, Tamils, and Sikhs respectively. Different subgroups sent their children to different schools. The Moplahs operated a religious school known as the Sekolah Ugama in conjunction with their mosque. It opened about 1910 and apparently constituted the only purely religious formal school in Kuching, offering no training in non-Islamic subjects.[68] Some Tamil children attended the Tamil section of the Government Lay School until that section disbanded in 1911 due to lack of interest, while some Tamils and a few Sikhs attended the mission schools; a small number of them became Christians. Partly to combat this tendency and to cater to the needs of Tamils, a Tamil Free School appeared in 1941 after a fundraising drive spearheaded by leaders of the Indian, Malay, Chinese, and European communities and led by Dr. Krishna. The school met on the verandah of the Hindu temple and seems to have enrolled mostly Hindus; it faced constant financial difficulties, partly because students from wealthier Indian families generally continued to attend the mission schools.[69]

The absence of associations or schools which could serve as a link among Indian subgroups prompted Dr. Krishna and others to work for an organization embracing all Indians. After several years of effort an Indian Association finally formed in 1937, with the purpose of cultivating friendly relations between subgroups, helping the poor of the community, and establishing a representative organization that could speak for the entire Indian community. Hindus seem to have been more enthusiastic than Muslims and three of the four officers, including the president, Dr. Krishna, were Hindu Tamils; there was one Moplah officer. According to Dr. Krishna, "religion and language do not form a bar to admission into this association,"[70] but the membership remained largely English-speaking, with English used as the language of business. With a relatively highly educated membership, the association very much constituted an elite organization. The initial membership was 23 but by 1938 it was up to 53. To what extent the Indian Association was able to fulfill its original purposes remains unclear, but it did hold an annual luncheon and also established contact with the agent of the Government of India stationed in Kuala Lumpur, who promised his help if the association or Kuching Indians needed assistance. But the organization evidently could not build a more cohesive Indian community, since it did not speak for most of the Moplahs. Indians remained fragmented, although the Indian Association allowed the Tamil intelligentsia to speak with more prestige and authority.[71]

Dayaks comprised the largest ethnic category in Sarawak but they remained a small and fragmented community in Kuching. Ibans continued to be the most important Dayak group, and the local, long-established Kuching Iban families were joined by a few hundred other Ibans employed in the various police and military units or in the government service. Many Ibans attended Kuching mission schools and a small number of unemployed Ibans sought excitement or odd jobs in the town. A few Melanaus from the

"Sago Coast" worked in the government service, particularly the police, or with missions. Some Land Dayaks filtered into the town mostly as laborers or unemployed job seekers, but they constituted at best seasonal urbanites, preferring to remain on the fringes of town or closer to their home villages in nearby rural areas. The absence of a large Land Dayak population seems significant, for they were the largest ethnic group in the rural districts surrounding Kuching, slightly outnumbering Chinese and Malays. It would appear that Kuching's relations with its immediate hinterland were socially, although not economically, largely restricted to Malays and Chinese.

The Brooke government generally discouraged Dayaks from settling in or near Kuching, because it believed that urban living inevitably corrupted them. The Gazette expressed the patronizing official view in 1902:

> Those [Dayaks] who have been brought into a state of semi-civilization, who are living in the vicinity of the capital and around Kuching...show plainly that they have lost the pride they once possessed in themselves and their ancestors, are shabbily dressed and generally dirty and ill-mannered. The independent and pleasing manner, good tempered and natural hospitality to a stranger are qualities which are gone we fear forever among those who can be seen daily hanging about the Courts, or Office, or in Europeans' houses. One can in looking at these creatures sigh for the real and noble bearing Dayak of far jungles, and almost be inclined to forgive him his weakness for taking a head occasionally.[72]

The government also attempted to prevent Iban women from the Second Division from traveling to Kuching and being recruited by Chinese into prostitution, a not uncommon practice.[73]

Kuching Ibans played no role in state-wide political affairs; Dayak representation on the Council Negri remained restricted to the recognized river and longhouse chiefs of the interior. Except for the tuai rumah (chief) of Kampung Tabuan, Kuching Ibans also had no recognized leadership structure. When the government solicited Dayak opinion or participation, St. Thomas's-educated Anglican civil servants with roots in Kampung Tabuan usually represented local Ibans. Some of these men resented their limited career options in a government service dominated by Europeans and Malays. Apparently no person or group attempted to bring unity to Dayaks of diverse backgrounds, and they did not create any formal social organizations except for the Dayak Cooperative Society. This society appeared in Kuching in 1941, was led by Kuching and some Second Division Ibans, and promoted mutual economic benefit among Ibans.[74] Otherwise Dayaks remained perhaps the least organized of the Asian ethnic groups.

The Japanese community was small and occupationally diverse but highly organized. Japanese immigrants to Kuching operated

laundries, photographic studios, food stalls, and a few retail shops; some Japanese vegetable and rubber growers settled just outside the town and a few physicians and dentists lived in the bazaar. One large Japanese firm, the Nissa Shokai, established just after the turn of the century, dealt as a wholesaler and retailer of Japanese goods; it was affiliated with a Japanese-operated rubber estate on the Samarahan River, east of Kuching, and interested in the export trade.[75] Ceremonial and social leadership of the Japanese usually fell to the Nissa Shokai Company manager, who generally served for ten or fifteen years in Kuching before returning to Japan. The temporary leadership reflected Japanese settlement patterns, for only a few Japanese intended on settling permanently.

With most of the Kuching Japanese essentially sojourners, they kept in close contact with events in their homeland and celebrated with enthusiasm Japanese political achievements, visits by Japanese government representatives, or state holidays such as the Emperor's birthday with enthusiasm. They also responded with generosity to fundraising efforts on the occasion of natural disasters in Japan.[76] The worsening political relations between China and Japan may have contributed to the formation of a Japanese voluntary association in 1935, the Kuching Nipponese Association. The association had ostensibly social goals but it may also have been intended to represent Japanese interests vis-a-vis the rising China-focused nationalism among Chinese and the increasing suspicion of Japanese intentions among most ethnic groups. Kuching Japanese may have felt increasingly insecure, but little evidence exists of any restrictions being placed on them by the government. Many Chinese, however, boycotted Japanese businesses in the 1930s.

Eurasians did not constitute a cohesive community and came from diverse origins. Some were products of marital unions between European men and Chinese or Dayak women. In a few cases these Europeans settled permanently in Kuching after completing their civil service, business, or planting careers; their descendants usually remained in Sarawak, often as government employees themselves. Other Eurasians immigrated from Malaya and Singapore and came to Kuching to join the subordinate levels of the government service or to work for the Borneo Company. A Eurasian Association, formed in 1940, provided the first evidence of any attempt to bring unity to the group, but it may have been intended partly to protect the interests of Eurasians in the face of the increasing threat of war, as well as to fight for better recognition and status for the community in Kuching. Before the founding of this organization Eurasians appear to have restricted their formal social participation to such multi-ethnic groups as the Sarawak Union, St. Michael's Catholic and Rotary clubs; they were excluded from the Sarawak Club until 1940. Many Eurasians were fluent in Hokkien and Malay as well as English, some had Asian spouses, and they retained close ties to some of the other ethnic groups in Kuching. In some respects they seem to have been closer to Asians than to Europeans, but they still remained

something of an intermediate group.

Kuching's European population grew considerably between 1900 and 1941 and became increasingly inward looking. The small European community of the late nineteenth century, mostly male and close-knit, was gradually replaced by one characterized by more formal organization, a multiplicity of clubs and activities, and a growing number of women. Charles Brooke did not like his officers to marry but his successor had no such sentiments; by 1927 almost half of the European men in Kuching were married, mostly to British women.[77] The increase in the number of European women also served to estrange them from the Malay women with whom earlier generations had maintained close relations. As one European man noted in 1921:

> When the European community was much smaller...it seemed customary for European ladies to take an interestin the lives of the Malay ladies in the kampungs; now how many European ladies in Kuching know the slightest thing about the life and interests of these ladies?[78]

Europeans were still primarily sojourners, since most government servants, private traders, and missionaries lived in Kuching for specified lengths of time, seldom over twenty years and usually much less.

Some local European critics believed that the Europeans were lazy and decadent in the 1920s, uninterested in anything but their own small social world and incapable of doing their jobs effectively.[79] Whether or not this was actually the case, Europeans certainly spent considerable time in social and recreational activities of various types. An endless succession of golf, lawn tennis, and football tournaments, fancy dress balls given by the Rajah Vyner and Ranee Sylvia at the Astana, and the inevitable round of dinners and bridge nights filled the social calendar. The several hundred Europeans organized ten social, athletic, and dramatic clubs of various types between 1900 and 1941. The Sarawak Club remained the most important and the center of European social life, particularly for the men, but several women's clubs also existed; all these organizations provided entertainment, recreation, and social interaction within a familiar British context and atmosphere. Residents took the affairs of the various clubs very seriously, and the pages of the Gazette were sometimes filled with letters on such matters as the possible admission of women into the Sarawak Club.[80] In a sense the clubs set the tone for European social life.

The increase in size and growing isolation of the European community served to reinforce their attitudes about race and civilization. European stereotypes of the other ethnic groups remained firm and not always favorable. A letter writer to the Gazette in 1931 typified them when he remarked that "everyone knows the extravagance and lack of perspective of Natives."[81] They viewed Malays as pleasant and friendly but conservative,

spendthrift, and lacking in initiative. At the same time there was a tendency on the part of some Europeans to envy the Malays for these very qualities:

> It takes very little energy on the part of a native to provide himself with food and clothing. It is probably true that the average European regards the slackness and conservatism of the Malay with astonishment often mixed with disgust, but after all is there not, in the bottom of our hearts, often a feeling of envy of the life of these happy people--no thought of the morrow--no terrible anxiety as to the probable loss of a job--no pauperisms.[82]

They admired the Chinese for their energy and intelligence but considered them too competitive, non-innovative, and occasionally grasping and unscrupulous. The European opinion of Tamils was highly unfavorable, for the laborers were described as extraordinarily superstitious, lazy, and unintelligent.[83] Europeans did not, of course, hold a monopoly on these ideas, for other ethnic groups held similar stereotypes.[84] But Europeans generally held strong convictions about the superiority of their own culture and way of life, and only a few of them made any attempt to alter their perceptions or adopt Asian ways of thought or life styles. Europeans remained an expatriate community focused on their homeland.

Communal Relations in a Plural Society

The development of ethnic and subgroup-based voluntary associations, vernacular schools, leadership, residential neighborhoods, occupational patterns, religious affiliations, and cultural sub-nationalisms--in short a pluralistic structure or network of sub-structures--strongly supports the thesis that Kuching society was socially and culturally plural. The great majority of Chinese, Malays, Indians, Europeans, and others defined their social activities, political allegiances, and economic endeavors in terms of their ethnic affiliations. Few if any Chinese attended Malay-medium schools, and few if any Malays affiliated with Chinese organizations, attended Chinese-medium educational institutions, or even enrolled in the Islamic religious school operated by Indian Muslims. Little intermarriage occurred between members of different ethnic communities.

Yet, as in the nineteenth century, boundaries between ethnic groups were not absolutely rigid and the compartmentalization of social life did not lack significant exceptions. Institutions, groups, and activities bringing together members of different ethnic groups did exist, and a certain amount of cross-cultural influence which transcended ethnic boundaries developed. Furthermore, ethnic relations remained generally

harmonious. It seems likely that the fragmentation of the Chinese community may have contributed to the relatively peaceful Malay-Chinese relations which characterized Kuching society. Although Malays undoubtedly perceived all Chinese as Chinese, they clearly recognized Chinese dialect distinctions and may have held more resentment for certain groups than for others. Chinese in turn may have vented their frustrations by engaging in inter-dialect quarrels and competition. The targets for potential hostilities remained diffused rather than polarized.

Little evidence exists of any overt communal-based violence, although the Gazette occasionally reported an incident that revealed what seemed to be a lack of goodwill between two groups. In 1908, for example, the paper noted that a Chinese laborer almost drowned while bathing in the Sarawak River while none of the nearby Malays seemed willing to go to his rescue "though it is well known that they can all swim like fish whereas very few Chinese are able to do so."[85] A more crucial potential conflict occurred in 1920:

> A matter which might have proved serious occurred between the Sikh community and a Malay in charge of buffaloes tethered opposite the Sikh temple. One buffalo died, and the Malay began to cut the carcass up in full view of the temple, although he was told by one of the Sikhs that such action was against the Sikh religion, and was asked to stop. He fool-heartedly continued to cut it up with abuse, causing immense ill feeling among the Sikhs who became temporarily of a dangerous disposition. This is not likely to occur again as a promise has been given that in future no blood of any animal shall be shed on this spot.[86]

The need for each group in a plural society to avoid violating the strongly held cultural prejudices of others was usually adhered to and often aided by local ordinance. Laws, for example, prohibited Chinese from raising or selling pigs and pork in areas frequented by Malays and Indian Muslims, including sections of the bazaar. Thus conflicts such as that described above occurred infrequently. However, areas in which the latent rivalries between groups were sometimes translated into more immediate ill feelings did exist. Sports events, especially football, provide the best evidence. Football (soccer) was a popular sport with all ethnic groups and had been played on an informal and largely communal basis since the turn of the century. In the 1930s, leagues were formed, with teams usually drawn from ethnic and sub-ethnic groups. The matches and competition did not always result in goodwill and sportsmanship, and some observers argued that the main effect was actually to accentuate antagonisms among different communities.[87]

The Kuching Football Association, a multi-ethnic organization formed in 1931, made several attempts to alter the

nature of the teams and reduce conflicts. In 1938, for example, the association considered replacing the ethnically based club teams with a pool from which players would be divided into teams regardless of their community, as it was "desirable to get Europeans, Chinese, Malays, and Dayaks on all teams with a spirit of friendly rivalry that has been conspicuous by its absence in past years."[88] The revised system seems to have failed for lack of entries, and the association returned to the club system used in the past. It is unknown whether similar ethnic tensions arose in other multi-ethnic sports activities, and organizations such as the Kuching Badminton Association, but competition seems to have been based on communalism, with clubs representing kampungs and schools in the tournaments.[89]

Occasional inter-group hostilities related to athletic events appear to provide the most serious examples of the potential for conflict in Kuching's plural society, but no recorded fights, riots, assaults, or other acts of violence by individuals or groups of different ethnic communities broke out. Kuching remained a peaceful town, with a reputation for harmonious communal relations. Indeed, many examples of good relations between various groups can be found. Malays, for instance, sometimes contributed money for the staging of Chinese festivals; in 1908 many Malays sent small donations for the Fukien community-sponsored, Wangkang procession. Chinese traders gave generously to the Japanese Relief Fund for earthquake victims in the years before the Sino-Japanese conflict. A few Kuching Dayaks invested in a Malay Savings and Cooperative Society in 1940. A number of Chinese, Malay, European, Indian, and Eurasian leaders joined in the fundraising for such diverse causes as the Tamil Free School, an infants's home for St. Mary's School, or the British "Our Day" collections. Many social and cultural events also brought together Chinese, Malays, Indians, and others. Thus, the visit of a well-known Malay bangsawan (opera) company from Malaya resulted in a theatre packed with Chinese, Indians, and Japanese as well as Malays. Similarly all groups patronized Chinese wayang performances. Chinese coffee shops appealed as much to Malays and Indians as to Chinese.[90]

Many social and recreational events involved members of different ethnic groups, often through formal invitations. For example, at Chinese-sponsored athletic meetings in celebration of the Chinese National Day several top European officials and some of the datus were generally present as honored guests. A football club composed mainly of mission-educated Chinese sometimes held dinners to which leading Malays (including the datu bandar) and Japanese received special invitations. The Sarawak Club held an occasional open house for leading Asians; the highlight of one such evening was a match game of English bowls between Ong Tiang Swee and the datu shahbandar. The rajah and ranee sponsored periodic dances or dinners at the astana for mixed groups of Europeans, Chinese, and Malays. As in the nineteenth century there were also private parties with an ethnically mixed guest list. In 1912, for instance, 'Che Abu Bakar and some of his

Chinese friends held a dinner for the rajah muda and other Europeans at Kampung Gersik. The datu patinggi or other Malay leaders sometimes held large parties on the occasion of a family wedding, with large numbers of Europeans and Chinese invited. Prominent Chinese towkays held similar social events with non-Chinese guests in attendance. Most of the participants in these activities were members of the elite, and it may be that informal inter-ethnic contact was largely an elite phenomenon in the late Brook period.[91]

The significance of informal social mixing in promoting communal harmony and tying together the various strands of the plural society remains difficult to gauge, but it must have played some role. Judging by the announcements of social events in the Gazette, informal social mixing may have declined with the advent of Vyner Brooke's regime, to be replaced by the more formal mechanisms of the multi-ethnic voluntary associations. These were for the most part small organizations, usually with an elite membership. Most of the 22 such groups which existed in the late Brooke period were oriented to various musical, athletic, and recreational interests whose popularity transcended ethnicity, such as horse racing; only a few developed specifically as social clubs. Yet these associations played an important role, since they brought together members of different groups on a regular basis. They provided an important linking mechanism for the plural society.[92]

Perhaps the most important multi-ethnic social organization, the Kuching Rotary Club, appeared in 1936. The Rotary Club promoted such public service activities as coordination of the boy-scout and girl-guide movements and cooperation in various public health improvement campaigns, sponsorship of the education of several poor children at St. Thomas's School, and fundraising for the Tamil Free School. The major focus for the club, however, seemed to be providing "a common meeting ground for Europeans and Asians," as one visiting Rotarian put it.[93] The Kuching Rotary very definitely constituted a social organization and held dinners at various members's houses. Membership seems to have been drawn primarily from three groups: wealthy Chinese towkays, European and Eurasian civil servants and private citizens, and Indian professionals. By 1940 the club had twenty-nine members and could be characterized as essentially an English-educated elite organization providing social and community service opportunities for Westernized leaders of four ethnic groups. The Rotary Club also provided one of the few opportunities for important personalities (and club members) such as Ong Tiang Swee, Dr. Wong Cheong Way, Tan Sum Guan, Dr. K.V. Krishna, Eurasian leader Edwin Howell, the manager of the Borneo Company, and the Anglican bishop to meet together on a frequent basis.[94]

The two social clubs affiliated with the Christian missions also played important roles as a major organizational focus for the mission-educated and particularly for the "Sarawak Chinese." The Anglican-sponsored Sarawak Union Club (SUC) had a largely

Chinese membership, but there were also some Europeans, Eurasians, Indians, Dayaks, and Malays among the active members and supporters. Both Abang Suleiman, the later datu amar, and Abang Abdillah, the later datu patinggi, were founding members but Malay participation appears to have been relatively slight. Chinese members included towkays, civil servants, and clerical workers, but the latter two groups dominated the leadership positions. The club, which provided facilities for recreation and socializing, also kept active in community activities such as fundraising for the China Relief Fund. It's membership grew from about twenty members in 1899 to over two hundred in 1941.[95] The St. Michael's Catholic Club, a similar institution for graduates of St. Joseph's School, also had a predominantly Chinese membership.

Those individuals and groups who might be termed "social brokers" supplemented the multi-ethnic organizations as inter-ethnic bridges. These people were primarily the "Sarawak Chinese," some Westernized towkays, the Malay orang kerani, the mission-educated Malay aristocrats, some of the Tamil intelligentsia, the permanently domiciled Europeans, the Eurasians, and a few Westernized Dayaks and Japanese. They were tied together by a fluency in the English language, usually attained at a mission school or overseas, and by the adoption of some elements of British culture. It was precisely these individuals who became the members of the Rotary or Turf clubs and led fund-raising drives for the Tamil Free School. They also proved the most likely to attend multi-ethnic parties and dinners. As brokers these people served as social mediators between their own communities and the ruling British; they performed similar functions vis-a-vis each other at the elite level. Thus, the Chinese with whom a Malay was most likely to come into contact on a social (as opposed to commercial) basis was an English-educated product of a mission school who worked in the government and perhaps belonged to the same club. But they did not form a true bridge among communities since they represented an elite, not a mass, phenomenon. The social brokers provided linkage at the top, and occasionally in the middle, but seldom at the bottom of the social ladder.

The segmentation of Kuching society along ethnic lines was also tempered at all levels by a certain amount of cultural mixing. Many Chinese could speak Malay, or at least bazaar Malay, although the percentage of Chinese competent in the one-time lingua franca undoubtedly declined as Chinese-medium schools developed, and as traders became less dependent on Malay customers for their livelihood; only a few Malays or Indians learned Chinese. But many Dayaks and Eurasians attained competence in one or both languages, while some Indians could speak Malay. The local spoken Chinese language continued to acquire so many Malay, English, and Dayak additions that it was sometimes called <u>kaki lima</u> ("five-foot way" or sidewalk) Chinese. A Kuching "pidgin English" also emerged at this time, used by shopkeepers and non-mission-educated students; it appears to have

been a joint Chinese-Malay product. Chinese acquired a taste for Malay and Indian food styles; the cuisine available in Chinese, Indian, and Malay restaurants, as well as in many homes, was highly eclectic and cosmopolitan.

Except for Eurasians, some of whom married Chinese, Dayaks, Malays, or Europeans, inter-ethnic marital unions remained infrequent but they occasionally occurred. One of the most prominent Teochiu businessmen, for example, married the Iban daughter of one of the chiefs of Kampung Tabuan, and a younger brother of the datu pahlawan was married to a Chinese (who had embraced Islam). But the influx of Chinese females after 1900 reduced the necessity for Chinese to procure Dayak or rural Hakka wives as they had done in the past, so that the rate of intermarriage probably declined.

The rise of ethnic consciousness in the late 1920s and 1930s may have had an impact on communal relations, but it is difficult to assess the change. In the nineteenth century, and during the first decade or two of the twentieth century, the contrasting concepts of "Chinese" and "Malay" seemed obvious to all although they carried no strictly political or even nationalist connotations. But the increasing Chinese interest in China and its nationalist struggle influenced the priorities of the Chinese community at the same time that Malays entered into a period of introspection about their own identity and position. Although the process may have been incomplete before 1941, these developments seemingly contributed, as similar developments did in Malaya, to an altering of what had once been ethnic "categories" into ethnic "blocs," increasingly preoccupied with their own interests rather than those of the community at large.[96] It is not possible to document the change in the 1930s, if indeed it affected ethnic relations that early at all, for multi-ethnic organizations and cooperation continued to be important. The sense of civic unity exemplified in the various municipal and government advisory boards appeared undiminished. But Kuching's plural society was entering a period of flux, perhaps of uncertainty, a development which would bring great changes and severe stresses in the years following the Japanese invasion of December, 1941.

Chapter VII

UPHEAVAL AND SOCIAL CHANGE

1941-1956

The end of Brooke rule in 1941 came suddenly and Kuching experienced a great upheaval. During the four years in which the Japanese military controlled the city, Kuching was subject to many of the profound changes that Japanese rule brought to other parts of Southeast Asia. The end of the Japanese occupation and the reestablishment of European political hegemony in 1945 began a period of change much more rapid and far reaching than had been the case during the long Brooke period. Sarawak became a British Crown Colony, as the third and last rajah was unable and perhaps unwilling to reassume control. During the next eighteen years the political and social patterns of Kuching life would be altered in many significant ways. For purposes of analysis the post-war period can be divided into two units, 1945-1956, and 1956 onwards. The ten or eleven years immediately following the end of the Japanese Occupation saw a heightening of ethnic consciousness, foreign-oriented nationalism, and political awareness. The period after 1956 was characterized by changes of a somewhat different nature and will be discussed in Chapter VIII.

The Japanese Occupation

From December 15, 1941 to September 11, 1945, Kuching was occupied and governed by the Japanese Imperial Navy; contact with the outside world was minimal except through Japanese military authorities. The Japanese invasion met with little physical resistance and therefore caused little material damage. Many residents had already fled or evacuated their families to the rural areas in expectation of Japanese violence. Europeans were immediately imprisoned for the duration of the war but the Asians initially remained unmolested. Nonetheless, over the next several years a significant proportion, perhaps even a majority, of the town population moved to the coastal and interior regions of the First and Second Divisions in order to avoid the Japanese and grow a subsistence food supply. Chinese were most likely to do so since their urban livelihood depended heavily on trade,

which was seriously restricted; however, some Kuching shops did remain open, usually operated by only one or two of the partners or family members. Malay out-migration from the town was less extensive; but many did send their children to live with relatives in more isolated districts. The great majority of the migrants returned to the capital after the occupation.

The first months of Japanese rule were tolerable but by 1943 food shortages, economic conditions, and a decline in public health made life much more difficult. The Japanese authorities gradually obtained control over many of those Chinese shops remaining open, merging them into a few centralized stores and finally forcing them to sell their stocks to the Japanese at low prices. Assessments on all citizens increased dramatically; when the poor could not pay, they were sometimes conscripted for labor purposes. Chinese and European banks closed, with the assets transferred to a Japanese-operated bank. Many residents had to sell their property to the Japanese. In an attempt to organize the urban population, the authorities established various organizations, including a multi-ethnic Prefectural Advisory Council (called the Ken Sanjikai) which included leading Malays, Chinese, and Ibans; a Chinese economic board composed of some leading towkays to defeat blackmarketing; and a multi-ethnic women's board to raise funds for the war effort. This latter group, the Kaum Ibu, served to both politicize and give leadership experience to Kuching women of several ethnic groups. Although most voluntary associations, including the Malay National Union and the KCCC, suspended operations, the Japanese made particular efforts to enlist the Chinese dialect associations in their cause by appointing officers who were required to represent their respective groups.[1]

Mission schools closed but some Chinese and Malay schools remained open, primarily to offer Japanese language classes and train Chinese and Malay interpreters. Christian church operations effectively terminated except for the quiet work of Asian priests and catechists, who faced trouble themselves if they worked too diligently. The harshest feature of the occupation was the brutality imposed by the kempeitei (secret police) and some branches of the military. Many citizens were tortured, jailed, and sometimes executed, with officers of the China Relief Fund particular targets. Some were suspected of being spies, others suffered punishment for non-cooperation or for failure to pay due respect to a soldier on patrol.[2]

Except for Europeans and some Eurasians who spent the war in an internment camp at Batu Lintang three miles south of the bazaar, Chinese appear to have suffered more than other groups. Before the war Chinese had strongly favored the Allies primarily because of Japan's invasion of China. The Japanese authorities did not follow a policy of conciliation, and Chinese became further embittered. Resistance was largely limited to the smuggling of supplies and information to the European inmates in internment camps--a project sometimes accomplished only at great risk[3]--or to leaving Kuching for the rural areas, where

non-cooperation was more easily accomplished. The taxes imposed by the Japanese affected Chinese particularly acutely, and Chinese community leaders were especially frequent targets of the secret police. Although only a few seem to have done so with any enthusiasm, some Chinese collaborated. A few prominent Chinese, as well as some from non-elite backgrounds, made fortunes supplying scarce goods or buying property. The collaborators, especially those who enriched themselves at the expense of others, caused great bitterness among other Chinese and European internees.

Despite economic and personal hardships, the major effect of the occupation seems to have been greatly to increase the appeal of Chinese nationalism to Kuching Chinese; they had to face physically and emotionally a Japanese invasion parallel to the invasion of China which had been to them a distant if disturbing problem earlier. The defeat of the Europeans, combined with what seemed to Chinese a Malay inclination to cooperate with the Japanese, probably served to alienate even the Sarawak-born Chinese to some extent. The embargo imposed by Japan thus seems to have had the ironic effect of bringing the Kuching Chinese closer to China.[4]

Malays did not prosper during the occupation but neither did they find it as difficult to survive. The major reason seems to be that the Malay standard of living was already, on the average, at little better than subsistence level. Many Kuching Malays, particularly those on the north bank, had always relied on fishing and agriculture and were therefore better prepared than Chinese to survive during a period of economic hardship. Thus, Malays found it less of a necessity than Chinese to escape to the coast in order to secure livelihood. Furthermore, at the beginning of the occupation, the Japanese made a strong attempt to recruit Malay support; they distributed free rice to Malay families and requested many Malay civil servants to remain at their posts. Many Malay policemen also maintained their positions and this, together with the willingness of some civil servants, including most of the datus, to work with Japanese authorities, later raised charges by some Chinese and Europeans of collaboration. Bitterness focused particularly on a few aristocrats who played an active and visible role in the Japanese administration. As the occupation progressed, Malay alienation became greater, particularly as cases of Japanese assault upon Malay women began to rise. The shortage of textiles was also felt, and had the effect of almost eliminating the custom among aristocratic women of wearing veils. Nonetheless, the Malay attitude toward the occupation remained largely passive, although most Malays welcomed the return of the Europeans.[5]

Indians evidenced a divided reaction to the occupation. The Muslim trading community seems to have suffered a great deal and to have been bitterly anti-Japanese; a few of their leaders were tortured. But some of the Sikhs and Hindu Tamils became involved with the Kuching branch of the Indian Independence League, a pro-Japanese movement active in South and Southeast

Asia during the war years; the league reflected a Japanese promise to bring India independence. To this inducement may have been added local Tamil resentment towards the Indian Muslims of Kuching, who had more wealth and may have supported the opposition of their co-religionists in India towards a liberated Hindu-dominated India. The league extorted donations from the Kuching Indian community and gained particular popularity among Tamils and Sikhs. Indians do seem to have sympathized with the Japanese, remaining on the police force or in other ways cooperating with the new government. Some of the Kuching Iban leaders, bitter at their restricted access to top administrative positions under the Brookes, also served under the Japanese; they worked through a Japanese-sponsored organization, the Perimpun Dayak.

In Kuching, as in other parts of Southeast Asia, the Japanese occupation generated profound social changes. Ethnic relations were complicated by the varying reactions to Japanese control, since Chinese and some Indians believed Malays to have cooperated more with the invaders. At the same time Japanese policies deliberately or unintentionally fanned the flames of Chinese and Indian nationalism. The occupation also aggravated intra-group divisions. The issue of collaboration became a very real one for Chinese, with much of the community embittered against those leaders and organizations who appeared to have been too cooperative. Muslim Indians accused Hindus of betraying Indian interests by collaboration. After the war only a handful of "collaborators"--mostly Indians and Ibans--were punished either through deportation or prohibition of government employment.

Traditional economic and occupational patterns were disrupted, forcing many Chinese and others out of business or employment, and even out of the town. The Japanese brought in hundreds of Javanese and Chinese (mostly Shanghainese) forced laborers from abroad, adding an unstable and unacculturated temporary element to the depleted population and strained social institutions. When Australian forces retook Kuching in 1945 and placed it under Allied military administration, the townspeople were generally elated. Some also took the opportunity to settle scores; some "collaborators" were brought to the new authorities, a few people disappeared under suspicious circumstances, and some Indians were beaten by groups of Chinese. Worse, some violence between Chinese and Malays broke out in late 1945 and a major assault by disgruntled Chinese on the Kuching kampungs was only averted by Australian intervention.[6] Clearly serious social and economic problems existed which had not been prominent before the Japanese Occupation.

The Aftermath of Occupation

The return of British political power to Sarawak in September, 1945, did not mark the immediate restoration of the

Brooke Raj or reemergence of pre-Japanese conditions. The dislocations resulting from Japanese rule were significant enough that a return to the past seemed out of the question. Relations within and among the various ethnic groups had become more fractious than had been true in the past. The mystique of European government in general, and of the Raj in particular, had been seriously compromised by the swiftness and power of the Japanese victory. The economy had suffered severe damage from Japanese exactions and the vicissitudes of war. Rebuilding of the state, and of Kuching's socioeconomic structure, would not be an easy task.

Charles Vyner Brooke had few economic resources at his disposal and soon came to the conclusion that he could not finance the economic recovery of Sarawak. In July, 1946, after some months of preparation and debate, he ceded the state to the United Kingdom, with Sarawak transformed into a crown colony. The rajah retired to England and was replaced by a British governor. The era of personal rule by an English rajah had ended, and a more aloof bureaucratic administration emerged. Many institutions of the Brooke period were retained, and indeed some of the European officials who had served under the rajah were appointed to positions in the new government. But the style of government was more European and staffed by an increasing number of British civil servants and other employees brought in from outside.

The change in political control was accompanied by important demographic developments; the town grew considerably in the post-war period, maintaining its position as the leading urban center in Sarawak. Despite the difficulties and mass out-migration during the Japanese occupation, Kuching appears to have gained population between 1939 and 1947, when the first complete census of Sarawak was taken; this census recorded 37,954 people in the Kuching Municipal District, a net increase of 3,490 or ten percent over the 1939 figures.[7] There would appear to be several reasons for the growth of Kuching despite depopulation during the harshest years of the occupation. Some Chinese and Indians had entered the state in 1940 and 1941, after the 1939 census had been taken. Immigration resumed in the early post-war period until it was severely restricted after 1950, and this may have added several thousand immigrants to the town population in 1946 and 1947. During the occupation many girls married young at the behest of their families to protect them from procurement as prostitutes or assault by Japanese soldiers; while young men married to avoid conscription by the Japanese; thus the birth rate may have been high during these years. Furthermore, the immediate post-war period brought an influx of migrants from other areas of Sarawak. Many Chinese moved from the Bau area because the goldmining industry had been closed during the occupation and was not reestablished for several years. Some rural Hakkas benefited from the post-war economic boom and moved to towns to take up trade. Other Chinese and Malays moved from the Fourth and Fifth Divisions, an area particularly badly hurt

during the occupation. Many Ibans also entered the Kuching district and its environs, although some later returned to the Second Division.[8]

A change in the ethnic composition of the town population accompanied the demographic growth between 1939 and 1947. As Table 5 illustrates, the Chinese population increased by over thirteen percent, while the Malay community grew by only eight percent. Europeans and Eurasians had significant percentage, but not numerical, increases. A major change was the loss of over one-third of the pre-war Indian community. The reasons for the decline remain unclear but many Indians apparently returned to India immediately following the termination of the occupation. Almost all of the pre-war Japanese residents were deported, along with the remnants of the Japanese occupation force, after the return of the British.

The proportions of the various ethnic groups in the town changed only slightly. The Chinese proportion of the population increased slightly, but Malays suffered a decline of over three percent. Indians dropped to barely over two percent of the total population and were also for the first time less numerous than Dayaks. The other ethnic groups remained a very minor element in numerical and proportional terms.[9]

Table 5

Population Growth in Kuching by Ethnic Group
1939-1947

Group	1939	1947	Net Change	Percentage Change
Chinese	19,109	21,699	+2,590	+ 13.6
Malays	13,714	13,992	+1,176	+ 8.6
Europeans	124	154	+ 30	+ 19.5
Eurasians	140	167	+ 27	+ 19.3
Indians	1,253	863	- 395	- 31.4
Japanese	133	0	- 133	-100.0
Dayaks	unknown	898	unknown	unknown
Others		181	+ 188	+100.0
Totals	34,478	37,954	+3,490	+ 10.1

Sources: Noakes, 1947 Population Census, pp. 82-3, 102-3.

The 1947 census was the first enumeration in Kuching's history to analyze the Chinese community on the basis of speech group. Hokkiens and Chaoanns together accounted for 29 percent

of the Chinese population, with Teochius and Hakkas each comprising between 21 and 22 percent. Other percentages included Henghuas (9.4), Cantonese (7.5), Hainanese (6.8), Foochows (2.9), Luichews (.5), and Kwongsais (.1).[10] The numerical dominance of Hokkiens and their small allied group, Chaoanns, was therefore maintained although it is probable that the Hakka and Foochow communities were the fastest growing of the Kuching communities due to migration from nearby rural areas and the Third Division.

Table 6

Ethnic Composition of Kuching Municipal Population
1939-1947

Group	1939 Pop.	Percent	1947 Pop.	Percent
Chinese	19,109	55.4	21,699	57.2
Malays	13,713	39.7	13,992	36.6
Indians	1,258	3.7	863	2.3
Dayaks	unknown	---	898	2.6
Others	397	1.2	502	1.3
Totals	34,478	100.0	37,954	100.0

Source: Noakes, 1947 Population Census, p. 82-3, 102-03.

The physical development of the town reflected demographic change: new streets and shops were added to the bazaar, kampungs were relocated or expanded, and new houses and roads continued to displace jungle or rubber gardens in the suburban districts. Indeed, the main task of the municipal government involved the overcoming of an acute housing shortage, overcrowding, and the socioeconomic dislocations of upheaval; for example, in 1949 over 100 Chinese beggars lived in the bazaar, subsisting by begging from shop to shop and ransacking the dustbins.[11] Town expansion corresponded with an influx of Hakkas into Kuching after the war. Many Hakkas came from the rural areas to establish shops in the late 1940s and early 1950s; in the process they became the third largest Chinese commercial group after Hokkiens and Teochius. Most of the Hakka enterprises were retail stores, but they usually attained less prosperity and success than those of the Hokkien and Teochiu rivals.

The new crown colony government maintained many elements of continuity with the Brooke past, particularly in the realm of administration. Like the Brookes, the British governor and his administrators made use of advisory boards and appointed leading Kuching Chinese and Malay leaders to the Council Negri. The

local Resident of Kuching was now termed a district officer, but many of his duties were similar. However, by 1951, this district officer was as likely to be a Malay as a European. The governor lived in the astana and made frequent trips across the river to the government offices; some of the governors and other high officials attempted to form social ties with important Asian families as the Brookes and their senior officers had done.

Despite the attempt by the new government to give the appearance of continuity, significant political changes also occurred. Perhaps the most important development was the ending of Malay special privilege and the removal of preference for that group in government employment. The Gazette reflected the new official attitude in an editorial in 1947:

> No more patronizing paternalism; above all no more invocation of bangsa [ethnic community], that shallow and pernicious excuse for establishing in power and maintaining in riches some who have little desert for either.... The progressive Malay leader understands that there can...be no longer anything approaching a monopoly of "Native Officers Service" by Malays.... It is to be feared that there are many who look upon Sarawak as a Malay country in the same sense, for example, as Johore.[12]

Such anti-Malay sentiments, wholly contrary to Brooke policies, reflected both a European resentment toward alleged Malay collaboration with the Japanese and the bitter opposition among many Malays to the cession of Sarawak to Britain by the rajah (see below). The new policy was largely aimed at the Kuching Malay aristocracy which had dominated the government service.

The termination of special privilege in administration was accompanied by a reduction in the importance and traditional powers of the Malay datus. Two of the eight Kuching datus died during the occupation while several others passed away in the mid or late 1940s. The last temonggong, Abang Kipali, survived into the 1970s but played a minor role in political life. The only two datus to maintain their activities into the 1950s on a level similar to the Brooke period were the hakim and the bandar. The Datu Hakim Haji Mohidin remained the leading authority on Malay adat and Islamic law until his death in 1957; his duties included administration and management of Muslim religious affairs. The Bandar Abang Haji Mustapha, the only titled datu to be appointed in the post-war period, was elevated to that position from his role as datu pahlawan in early 1946. The bandar served as the chief advisor to the government on Malay affairs and the colonial government regarded him as the leading Malay spokesman in the state. In part this reflected his position as the datu to most strongly and actively support cession. The colonial government did not appoint any titled datus and it appears to have been the policy gradually to discontinue their role in the affairs of state. However, they occasionally awarded non-titled honorific

datuships to veteran Malay civil servants.[13] Despite the decline of traditional institutionalized leadership, the government continued to administer the Malay community through a revised form of indirect rule with formally recognized leaders. Veteran Malay civil servants, with or without datu status, were appointed to various boards concerned with community affairs and also sat as the Kuching Malay representatives on local and state-wide institutions. They were titled datus in all but name. The tua kampungs retained an important role at the kampung level.[14]

The decline in the role of the datus had a parallel in the lessening importance of the Chinese kapitans. Six of the Chinese speech groups--Hokkiens, Teochius, Hakkas, Cantonese, Hainanese, and Foochows--continued to elect kapitans through their respective dialect associations, but the traditional role of the kapitans was largely assumed by such new organizations as the Chinese Advisory Board. The post-war kapitans generally restricted their official activities to registration of marriages and betrothals, occasional advice to the government on matters of Chinese custom, and symbolic representation of their communities on various institutions and in ceremonial activities. By the late 1950s even these powers began to wane and the positions became mostly honorific. There was no Kapitan China General appointed to replace Ong Tiang Swee after his death in 1950, so one person no longer represented the Kuching Chinese in the affairs of state as had been true before the Japanese occupation.

Many of the functions of the Brooke kapitans were assigned to the Chinese Advisory Board (CAB), which was established in 1947 and operated until 1959. The CAB, under the chairmanship of the Secretariat for Chinese Affairs, included the Kapitan China General of Kuching, representatives from the eight major dialect associations, the chairman of the Kuching Chinese Chamber of Commerce (KCCC), and representatives from three other important voluntary associations. The CAB became a major link between the Kuching Chinese and the government on social and cultural matters, assuming responsibility for a role traditionally allocated to the kapitans. The board also shared responsibility with the KCCC for the solution of local political issues but left economic affairs largely to the latter organization. The CAB discussed and dealt with a wide variety of matters, among them the upkeep of temples, local citizenship for Sarawak Chinese, the role of kapitans and dialect associations, the situation of beggars and vagrants, bus transportation, the flying of Chinese and Sarawak flags, public gambling prohibition, marriage and betrothal practices, crime, the codification of Chinese customs, fishing problems, and land disputes. The board also provided the major organizational focus for unsuccessful attempts to establish a pan-dialect Chinese community association and had the power to set standards in matters of Chinese custom. Because all major speech groups had equal representation, the board may have contributed to a weakening of the highly centralized control of the Chinese community which was traditionally exercised by certain leaders. In general the CAB cooperated very closely with

the Secretariat for Chinese Affairs, headed by a Chinese-speaking European officer, which had control over many aspects of Chinese life as had also been the case under the third rajah.[15]

The major instrument of local government during the early post-war period was a heritage of Brooke rule, the Kuching Municipal Board (KMB), later changed to a council (KMC). Between 1946 and 1953 the KMB closely resembled the pre-war board, with largely advisory powers and representation on a communal basis; however, for the first time Kuching Dayaks held one seat. All members were chosen by government, dialect and ethnic associations, or the tua kampungs; European civil servants served as chairman and vice-chairman.

In 1953 the KMB was converted into a self-governing council and given additional powers, including complete autonomy in municipal matters; at the same time it was directed to find its own sources of revenue rather than relying on state subsidies as before. The KMC now comprised twenty-four members selected annually, six of them nominated by government and the other eighteen elected on a communal basis by the various dialect associations, tua kampungs, and other important groups. Of the communal seats, Chinese received the most representation, with eleven councilors each term, surpassing their proportion of the municipal population. Hokkiens, Teochius, and Hakkas each appointed two representatives, signifying their numerical predominance among the Chinese speech groups while Cantonese, Hainanese, Henghuas, Chaoanns, and Foochows each had one seat. Malays held three seats, far below their percentage of the population, and Indians and Dayaks were each allocated one seat. A second Indian, Dr. M. Sockalingam, served as an official member and became the first Asian vice-chairman of the council in 1955. In 1954 the major Malay and Chinese women's organizations received one seat each, the first time women had ever served on a municipal political institution. As in the Brooke period, civil servants accounted for many of the Malay KMB or KMC members but one was a journalist and another was a former anticession activist; few came from aristocratic backgrounds. Although the majority of Chinese members were self-employed businessmen, as before, employees in large commercial firms or professionals comprised about one third, suggesting a widening in the elite base within the Chinese community. Both women representatives were teachers. The Indian members more closely conformed to Brooke-period patterns, and both Dayaks were Iban civil servants. Thus the aftermath of occupation included increased access to positions of municipal leadership and decision-making.

The Cession Controversy and the Malays

Vyner Brooke's decision to cede Sarawak to Britain remained highly controversial for some years.[16] Only minimal consultation with leaders of the various Asian communities in the state preceded cession; many Malays in particular felt that their

interests were being betrayed. Furthermore there is considerable evidence of attempts by the rajah's agents to bribe community leaders to support cession as well as to mislead some of them about the nature of the transfer. The controversy over cession touched all of the major ethnic groups in Kuching and complicated communal relations, but the impact most profoundly affected Malays.

Indeed, the cession dispute fundamentally altered the structure of Kuching Malay society. One of the major consequences was division and tension within the Malay community. The datu patinggi served as the figurehead leader of the anti-cession movement until his death in 1946, a development that transformed him into a martyr for the cause. Many other Malay leaders also supported the movement. They believed, correctly as it turned out, that cession would mark the end of special privileges accorded Malays in education and government employment, although this may or may not have been the crucial factor which motivated their opposition. The pahlawan (later bandar), on the other hand, led the pro-cession forces, supported by three other datus (at least one of whom later shifted his position).

Anti-cession sentiment was particularly widespread among civil servants; in 1947, 338 of them tendered their mass resignation rather than sign a loyalty oath to the new colonial government. This group became known as the Pergerakan tiga tiga lapan (338 Movement); resignation was a momentous political act since few could hope to obtain private employment. Although many quietly rejoined the service later, the resignations paved the way for the appointment of more Chinese, Indians, and Dayaks. A large number of Malay students also left the government Malay schools. Another group, led by the datus bandar and amar, supported cession and urged the Malays to adjust themselves to modern realities.

It is not completely clear what social base, if any, there might have been for the split. Some of the pro-cession Malay leaders had kinship ties with Brunei which might indicate a latent Brunei-Siniawan hostility dating from pre-Brooke times. Traditional family antagonisms may have existed among the aristocracy as well. Indeed, the patinggi and pahlawan had quarrelled over ownership of some property. Differences between Islamic reformers and traditionalists may also have played a role, since some anti-cession leaders were identified with kaum muda religious activities. Certainly some class-based resentment existed among some anti-cessionists toward the Kuching abangs, many of whom did favor cession; however, some abangs also played active roles in the anti-cession movement. But a core of mostly young anti-cessionists from commoner backgrounds saw themselves as struggling against the generally more conservative abangs for influence in the Kuching Malay community and favored a closer alliance with the Dayak community that would serve the interests of both ethnic groups. Many Sibu Malay leaders, traditionally resentful of the privileges enjoyed by Kuching abangs, also opposed cession.

The anti-cessionists, who were particularly strong in civil service oriented neighborhoods, staged processions and marches and pleaded with the government to allow the rajah's heir and nephew, Anthony Brooke, to return to Kuching. Since Kuching served as the center of anti-cession sentiment state-wide, the campaign in the capital was active, but not all the ethnic groups in Kuching shared the Malay opposition to cession. Ibans comprised the only other local group in which a sizeable percentage of the population embraced anti-cession ideas. Representatives of this group dominated the leadership of the state-wide Dayak opposition and cooperated with Malay anti-cessionists on many projects. Local Iban sentiments probably reflected their close attachment to civil service occupations and a fear (shared by Malays) of being swamped by Chinese immigration from Malaya or increased Chinese political activity under a colonial government. Most Chinese and Indian leaders welcomed the new arrangement, as they saw the transfer to crown colony status as promising to improve trade prospects and perhaps widen their role in local political affairs. Neither group played a major role in the cession controversy, however, although a small group of largely Sarawak-born Chinese did attend anti-cession functions and several important Chinese organizations publicly advocated cession or incorporation in the mooted (but abortive) Malayan Union; the latter scheme promised Chinese an equal political role with Malays. For the most part, the anti-cession movement remained chiefly Malay.

The anti-cession campaign had many ramifications among Malays but one of the most significant was the increasing institutional proliferation which it generated. Malay voluntary associations led anti-cession activities, and these types of institutions came to play an increasingly important role among Malays. The anti-cession forces in Kuching were well organized and spearheaded by the Persatuan Melayu Sarawak (Malay National Union of Sarawak), which developed into the most important organization in the local Malay community. The original purpose of the MNUS had been to promote Malay interests; the cession controversy provided a forum for the association to do just that. The MNUS became the major spokesman for the anti-cession forces, with several thousand members in Kuching alone; it established a network of satellite organizations throughout the kampungs of Kuching, such as the militant Barisan Pemuda Sarawak (Sarawak National Youth Movement), whose function was to organize young Malays, and the Astana Bintawa Angkatan Satu (United Malay Association), which coordinated anti-cession agitation among the widely scattered kampungs along the north bank. The Barisan in particular became the main organizational vehicle for the more radical anti-abang commoners in their dispute with a predominantly aristocratic MNUS leadership; it claimed to have over 5000 members and supporters in the First Division.

The post-war MNUS and its institutional network constituted a wholly new development in Kuching Malay society. Whereas the pre-war MNUS had been a largely elite organization, with only

vaguely defined goals, the new MNUS became a mass organization with influence throughout the Malay social structure. Most pre-war Malay associations had been small and confined to particular kampungs; MNUS and its satellites penetrated nearly every kampung in Kuching. The pre-war Malay clubs were largely recreational and cultural, while MNUS had openly political aims.

A number of cultural, religious, and literary sub-sections developed within MNUS and helped launch a Malay cultural revival, with an emphasis on Malay language and literature, and on Islamic reform. These new activities gave the young, growing Malay intelligentsia an opportunity to expand their intellectual and political horizons. However, they may also have been intended as a diversion from the heated political disputes fragmenting the Malay community. Another important result of MNUS cultural and political thought appeared in 1949 with the founding of the first Malay language newspaper, the Utusan Sarawak ("Sarawak Messenger"), by an anti-cession leader, Abang Ikhwan Zaini. The Utusan was published tri-weekly in Rumi (romanized) script. The editorial and letters columns became a forum for appeals to Malay uplift and later, with the decline of the cession controversy, Malay solidarity. Perhaps the most significant sub-section of MNUS, the Kaum Ibu (women's section), began in 1947 as the first women's association in Kuching Malay history, with Chegu Lily Eberwein as chairperson. Kaum Ibu's major goals included raising the standard of Malay women and fighting for Malay rights. The groups initial membership numbered over one thousand. Kaum Ibu sponsored an English school for Malay girls and made plans to send Malay girls to Malaya for religious instruction.[17] For the first time in modern history Malay women in Kuching played an important role in political and cultural affairs, heralding the end of their strict seclusion. Whatever the successes of the anti-cession campaign, the Malay community, or at least the anti-cession faction, was moving towards non-traditional forms of association. There was also no clear-cut division into "reactionary" and "progressive" factions, since anti-cessionists were "reactionary" in opposing the loss of Malay privileges but progressive in such matters as women's rights.

Anti-cession also profoundly influenced Malay-medium education. The wholesale resignation of anti-cession Malay teachers in 1947 crippled the few government Malay schools in Kuching but heralded an important new endeavor for the Malay community--private Malay schools. Between 1947 and 1952, eight ra'yat (peoples) primary schools appeared. Many of the Malay teachers who staffed them sought to keep alive the spirit and momentum of the pergerakan tiga tiga lapan, and to work for change among the Malays. These new schools suffered from under-financing and poor facilities, and not all survived. After the decline of the anti-cession movement, some of those remaining received government grants although they remained under Malay control.[18] Education in the ra'yat schools tended to be traditional Malay and heavily religious in character. They made no attempt to teach Chinese. The development of the ra'yat schools demon-

strated the growing desire of many Malays to assume more control over their own future in what was conceived as a hostile environment. Nonetheless some Malays, particularly those who supported cession, continued to send their children to the several government-operated Malay-medium primary schools, as well as to the Madarassah Melayu, the government Malay secondary school.

Although anti-cessionists seemed the most vociferous and committed of the two Malay factions, pro-cessionists were also active, celebrating weddings and birthdays of the British royal family and cooperating fully with the crown colony government. The pro-cession Malays also had their own voluntary association, the Young Malay Association (YMA), established in 1946 with the avowedly non-political aims of encouraging sports, education, and unity among young Malays of Kuching and the state; it also gave moral support to those pro-cession Malays facing boycotts and socioeconomic pressures in their kampungs. The datu bandar was the YMA patron and his younger brother, Abang Othman, the organization's president. The YMA never achieved as much popularity as the MNUS and the membership seldom exceeded several hundred.

The cession controversy produced a wide cleavage in the Malay community. Although few cases of violence broke out between the two groups, political sentiments separated kampungs, neighbors, and, in some cases, families. The proportions of Malays in the competing camps remain unclear, but anti-cessionists were undoubtedly more numerous. Many Malays preferred to stay uninvolved, but fence-sitting was difficult and unpopular in the highly charged atmosphere.

Perhaps the most deep-seated hostilities occurred at the elite level, for the traditional Malay leadership became deeply divided. Pro-cessionists were led by the St. Thomas's-educated Datu Bandar Abang Haji Mustapha, the first bandar who was not a son or brother of the previous supreme datu, a fact which did not endear him to the patinggi and his supporters.[19] Mustapha was a distant relative of the patinggi, who left no male heir, and a descendant of both Datu Patinggi Ali and two former datu hakims. His outspoken pro-cession stance and close cooperation with the government--not to mention his reputation as an ardent collaborator with the Japanese--made the bandar extremely unpopular with anti-cessionists, but his position as officially recognized paramount Malay leader and highest ranking datu gave him an unmatched influence and power among Malays. Two of the major anti-cession Malays were brothers of the bandar.

More diversity marked the anti-cession leadership, as no one leader held the power or position of the bandar. There was also a greater range in their social and political backgrounds. The traditional leaders of the Kuching Malays, the perabangan, were well represented among the anti-cessionists. For example, MNUS President Abang Haji Zaini, the son of the old Datu Bentara Haji Hashim, had served many years as a civil servant under the Brookes. But some important anti-cessionists came from lesser aristocratic or occasionally even commoner backgrounds, such as MNUS officers Haji Mohammed Su'ut Tahir, a former government

dresser, and Mohammed Nor, a teacher and businessman who had helped to edit Fajar. Indeed, there was often considerable tension between the two groups within MNUS ranks, since most of the aristocrats sought to restore the Brooke status quo ante and some radical young commoners wanted true independence, a multi-ethnic coalition with Ibans, and access to political power.

One of the major results of the anti-cession campaign, therefore, was the opportunity it gave to those in the lower ranks of the aristocracy, and those from non-aristocratic backgrounds, to assume positions of leadership and prominence. The Malay social structure was becoming more fluid, with an influential ancestry no longer absolutely essential for community leadership. Perhaps the decision of the new government to discontinue the appointment of titled datus left a vacuum at the highest leadership levels, particularly among the anti-cession faction. It may be too that members of one faction looked upon leaders of the other faction as holding illegitimate positions of influence. The consensus on community leadership of the Brooke period, represented by the hierarchy of datus, had broken down, and in its place came a more flexible system. Membership in the aristocracy still assured high status and prestige, but it was no longer synoyomous with high political or administrative position. The development of educational facilities in the late Brooke period may also have contributed to the change in leadership patterns, for many of the pro- and anti-cession leaders had attended Malay-medium schools. In many cases they had attended both mission and Malay schools and were therefore exposed to both Western and Malay influences. Several had also studied overseas, usually in Singapore, Malaya, Britain, Indonesia or Brunei. The post-war leaders were therefore far better educated than most of the Brooke datus. But a thread of continuity remained, since many of the pro- and anti-cession leaders had civil service backgrounds.

Despite its seriousness, the anti-cession campaign in Kuching failed. There had never been much hope that the British Colonial Office would reverse itself and return Sarawak to the Brooke heirs. Furthermore, anti-cession sentiment had perceptively waned by 1949, with many Malay civil servants returning to their old positions and others adjusting to the political realities in various ways. Whatever the sentiments of remaining anti-cessionists, the assassination in December, 1949, of the British governor in Sibu by a Malay extremist group doomed the anti-cession movement. Outrage against this act cut across all ethnic boundaries, and anti-cession sentiments gradually disappeared. By 1952 the issue had died and relations in the kampungs had at least superficially returned to normal, although latent hostilities remained.

Although the anti-cession movement failed, the changes which it generated continued to influence Kuching's Malays. Anti-cession had brought politicization and an ethnic consciousness far stronger than had existed in the 1930s; it also politicized the Kuching Malays earlier than Malayo-Muslims in

neighboring British North Borneo. The continuing importance of the early post-war developments was reflected in the fact that although the MNUS was weakened and lost some of its mass base after the assassination, it continued to exist. However it had to be reorganized. Several of its satellites, including the militant Barisan Pemuda Sarawak (BPS), suspended their operations and the MNUS quietly and gradually dropped the anti-cession campaign. By 1952 the MNUS had begun joining in British celebrations and projects instigated by the colonial government. Notwithstanding this change of directions, the MNUS continued as a major voice in the Malay community, parallel in many ways to the Chinese Chamber of Commerce. As the leading Malay cultural organization, it encouraged Malay progress in all fields of endeavor, including education and commerce, and also participated in Malay movements in other parts of the Malayo-Muslim world.[20] The MNUS and its remaining satellites constituted the dominant organization in the Malay community until the rise of political parties, but most of their support came from former anti-cessionists. The most basic post-war division among Malays therefore remained important.

Termination of anti-cession did not mean the end of the trend toward a more complex Malay social structure, for new and influential voluntary associations continued to emerge. For example, the Persatuan Pemuda Melayu Insaf (Young Malay Union for Justice), established in 1953 as a welfare and cultural reform group, worked to further what it conceived of as progressive trends within the Malay community, including lobbying for increased educational opportunities for Malays, purification of local Islamic practices, support for female education, and the modernization of adat laws.[21]

One of the most important aspects of the Malay cultural revival which the PPMI and other organizations reflected was the increasing influence of Islamic reformist thought and a growing concern for Muslim piety. Spurred by Islamic reform movements in the Middle East and other parts of the Malayo-Muslim world, Islamic orthodoxy and outward attachment to Islam became more important in Kuching. Increased attendance of Malays at the mosque and suraus (neighborhood prayer houses), and the growing numbers who sought to make the pilgrimage to Mecca, exemplified this interest. It became more popular to send children to study in Islamic schools in Singapore and Malaya, and more Malays attended the religious school in Kuching run by the Indian Muslims. The renewed and rejuvenated interest in Islam was exemplified by the inauguration of public celebrations on the Prophet's Birthday.[22]

The Islamic revival also had an organizational focus, for a new body formed to coordinate Muslim affairs and to define Islamic practices. Under the Brookes, the administration and management of Muslim affairs throughout the state had been controlled by the datu hakim, subject to the concurrence of the other datus. But the retirement of the aged hakim, along with the decline of the Datu's Court in the post-war period, neces-

sitated some changes. The hakim's duties gradually fell to the Majlis Islam (Council of Religion and Malay Customs), which had existed for some years after the Japanese occupation and was reconstituted by the government as a corporate body in 1954. The new Majlis received the power to hold community property, implement or change customary law, and generally facilitate matters concerned with Muslim religious observances in Sarawak. The new powers enabled the Majlis to influence Islamic morality and reformist ideas among both Malay and non-Malay Muslims; and to coordinate and standardize the practice of Islam. One of the first actions of the incorporated Majlis was a revision of the Malay undang-undang (customary law code) in regard to fines for offenses against religious or social customs. The Majlis also ruled that borrowing money at interest was not incompatible with the undang-undang. A board whose members were selected from among the most prestigious Malays in Kuching governed the corporate Majlis; it therefore constituted a Kuching organization with state-wide authority. The first president, Datu Abang Openg Abang Sapi'ee, a veteran civil servant and non-titled datu, later served as the first Malay governor of Sarawak.[23]

The unprecedented Malay political consciousness generated by the anti-cession campaign was nurtured after the decline of that movement by a growing communication system exemplified in the development of Malay publications. The major publication, the Utusan Sarawak, prospered as a forum for local and international news and opinions. A short-lived literary and cultural journal, Kesedaran ("Awakening"), appeared in 1952. The magazine, published in Jawi, was oriented toward youth. Both the Utusan and Kesedaran examined the future prospects of the Malays in the face of the numerical and commercial dominance of the Chinese.[24] They also covered developments in other parts of the Malay world.

By the mid-1950s, Kuching Malays were a rather different people in many respects than they had been in the late 1930s. The four years of Japanese occupation and ten years under Colonial Office rule had wrought some profound changes in Malay social and political patterns. The decline of the datu class and their political hegemony; the increasing flexibility of the stratification system represented by the growing importance of selected non-aristocrats and a few professionals in positions of leadership; the development of large and influential voluntary associations; and the establishment of schools financed and controlled from within the Malay community: all suggested that Malay social structure was becoming less rigid but more highly institutionalized. In many ways the Malay community was coming structurally to resemble the immigrant communities, particularly the Chinese, more closely than the highly stratified and centralized but less diversified Malay community of the past. These tendencies would become even more apparent later. The anti-cession movement was certainly not the only cause for these changes in an increasingly complex and urbanized environment, but it provided the chief catalyst. Because of this, the cession of

Sarawak to Britain marked a major turning point in the social history of the Kuching Malays and of the entire town.

The Triumph of Chinese Nationalism

Most Chinese did not become closely allied with either the pro- or anti-cession movement, although they, for the most part, supported the rajah's decision. But the unprecedented political awareness and activity of Malays was paralleled among the Chinese by an increasing interest in China-focused nationalism and the development of organizations with a political or quasi-political emphasis. As with the Malays these changes would have a far-reaching influence in Kuching.

The traumatic experience of the Japanese occupation greatly increased the appeal of China and of Chinese nationalism, particularly since the rajah's government had failed to protect the Chinese, and some of the other ethnic groups had seemed willing in Chinese eyes to cooperate with the invaders. After the liberation, Chinese nationalism was spurred by the strong, and perhaps threatening, Malay political consciousness evident in the anti-cession campaign; the closer political ties with Malaya and Singapore, where Chinese nationalism had traditionally been much stronger; the inclusion of China among the Big Five powers; and local developments such as the spread of Mandarin, China-oriented education, and the development of an extensive Chinese medium communication system.

The increasing interest in China-focused nationalism during the late 1940s found expression in a variety of ways. Kuching celebrated Double Ten (October 10), the Chinese national day, as well as other nationalist holidays and events such as the swearing in of Chiang Kai Shek as president of China with greater fervor than had been true in the 1930s. The China Relief Fund was resuscitated and new funds appeared for such causes as Fukien flood relief. In 1946 a Kuching branch of the Kuomintang (KMT) was organized under the name Kuching Overseas Chinese Club, indicating a desire by many leaders to emphasize their Chinese affiliations; such sentiments had been much less important in the pre-war period. It is also significant that a majority of active club leaders appear to have been Cantonese and Teochiu.[25] The strong Cantonese attachment to the local KMT may have reflected the powerful position of Cantonese leaders in China's nationalist movement. Perhaps Cantonese and Teochius also hoped to use the KMT affiliation in their commercial rivalry with Hokkiens. China-focused nationalism seems to have been entwined to some extent with local dialect hostilities.

The KMT was only one of two China-based political parties that gained popularity in Kuching. A nascent communist movement developed with a largely Chinese leadership and membership and was influenced by the Communist Party in China. Organized communist activity was centered in the Hakka rural areas southeast of Kuching and dated from the Japanese occupation.

After the liberation, Kuching's Chinese labor unions, youth clubs, and schools proved fertile grounds for recruitment and influence. Communist or pro-Communist sympathies were particularly widespread among students and graduates of the Chinese-medium schools, for whom employment prospects remained minimal at best. Later, in 1953, after a presumably communist armed band attacked a village just south of Kuching, the government arrested and deported a number of Kuching Chinese, including the principal of a Chinese-medium school and the former head of the middle school.[26]

But in the late 1940s, pro-Kuomintang sentiment remained predominant at the elite level. These sympathies, combined with the growing interest in China, resulted in the establishment in 1948, at local instigation, of the first Chinese Consulate in Kuching's history. The new consul represented the nationalist government of Chiang Kai Shek. Chinese community leaders greeted him warmly. Chinese individuals and associations donated generously to a consulate building fund and vied to entertain the new consul as grandly as possible. Although an outsider, the consul exercised considerable influence within the Chinese community, making recommendations on such local matters as Chinese education. His political functions were less clear. Several of the major Chinese organizations, including the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, had announced that the consul would "represent" the Kuching Chinese to both the Sarawak and Chinese governments. But the Sarawak government opposed this since the majority of Chinese were British subjects. The consul did represent the Chinese community on various ceremonial occasions, usually in company with the kapitans or association heads; for example, he presided on Chinese nationalist holidays. He also played an active role in intra-community affairs but he evidently took no part in local or state politics transcending the Chinese community.[27] As a symbolic leader he could be compared with the Kapitan China General of Brooke times; his actual power with regard to Sarawak affairs was evidently more restricted. The consulate closed in February, 1950, with British recognition of the new communist government in Peking, and no further consuls of either Chinese government have since been appointed.

The communist triumph in China in late 1949, and the transfer of the nationalist government to Taiwan, had ramifications in Kuching. Although communist activity in Sarawak was proscribed, a considerable shift of sentiment toward the new government occurred at all levels. In 1950 six Chinese labor unions and trade guilds asked the Chinese Chamber of Commerce to arrange celebrations for October 1, the Chinese Communist National day. For several years the majority of Chinese associations celebrated the holiday; the only major dialect association to withhold support was the Cantonese. Probably due to Sarawak government disapproval, some disillusionment with developments in both Chinas, and a fear of local communist activities, the associations and their leaders gradually withdrew from active commitment to either Chinese government. Nationalist supporters reduced

their activities after 1950; only the Sarawak Overseas Chinese Club, a pro-nationalist youth club, and the Cantonese Association continued quietly to celebrate Double Ten. The former group later disbanded.[28]

The interest in events in China was spurred in the late 1940s and early 1950s by the development of a strong Chinese-language and English-language press in Kuching. Between 1945 and 1956 nine Chinese-language newspapers appeared but only a few had any long-term success. The Chinese Daily News (Chung Hua Jih Pao), which had a circulation of about 600 in the early 1950s, was the most influential local paper. Before 1950 it maintained a pro-KMT editorial policy; after 1950 it became moderate and pro-Sarawak government in policy, and concentrated on local affairs. The same Teochiu-owned company also published the only English-language paper in Kuching, the Sarawak Tribune, founded in 1945 and aimed primarily at the English-educated Chinese. Many of the other papers were politically leftist and focused considerable attention on developments in China.[29] In addition to the local newspapers, periodicals from Singapore, Kwangtung and Fukien also circulated widely in Kuching, most aimed at particular speech groups.

But the interest in China both before and after the communist triumph represents only one manifestation of the changes wrought by the rising ethnic consciousness. Some of the other developments had important implications on the social structure of the Chinese community. Perhaps the most significant change was the increasing interest in pan-dialect unity, a tendency most apparent in the Chinese-medium schools. Immediately after the return of European government, the leaders of the Kuching Chinese community made the decision to replace the dialect-sponsored schools of the Brooke period with Mandarin (Chung Hua) schools open to all dialects and under the central control of a board of management composed of representatives of each of the nine dialect associations among with four major commercial organizations. The Committee of Thirteen assumed control over all Chinese-medium schools in the town, with pre-war school buildings turned over to the board and new schools built as well. The major funding came from Chinese merchants and associations. A number of wealthy towkays donated land or sponsored the building of new classrooms; in one 1948 fundraising drive 300 Kuching shops made donations. At the same time the Kuching Chinese Chamber of Commerce collected a surcharge on export duties to support the Chung Hua schools. The government also gave small grants but Chinese education, as in the Brooke period, was largely community-supported.[30]

Although the new Mandarin schools brought a superficial unity to the Chinese community, in practice they suffered from serious problems. Some of the difficulties revolved around traditional dialect and commercial rivalries. For example, internal quarrels were common on the management committee, resulting in constant changes in membership. Nearly all the members were wealthy towkays with limited experience in educa-

tion; furthermore, many were English-educated and knew little or no Mandarin themselves, complicating their relationships with students and teaching staff. Serious financial difficulties developed, particularly in years when the price of rubber, and hence donations, remained low. Teachers and principals found little job security, with their positions generally tied to insuring their popularity with certain influential towkays on the one hand and with their students on the other. The teachers recruited in China often had little sympathy for Sarawak, feelings often strengthened by temperamental school board members and the insecurity of six-month contracts.[31]

Two aspects brought the troubled Chung Hua schools unpopularity with the government--their dedication to inculcating Chinese values at the expense of social integration, and the opportunities for political agitation which they presented. Before 1950, they based their curriculum almost entirely on that of the Ministry of Education in the Republic of China. English was offered in most of the schools but competence was seldom achieved; many students had to transfer to English senior secondary schools to learn a language other than Chinese and were unqualified for most government and commercial jobs. With their employment prospects bleak, some students gravitated to radical and China-oriented political groups or philosophies.

Chung Hua school graduates were far more conscious of their Chineseness and more interested in events in China than were the pre-war Chinese school graduates; at the same time they had less interest in the speech group particularism which dominated Kuching Chinese life. After 1950 many of the graduates, often more than 100 annually, left Kuching for advanced study in the Peoples' Republic of China; the Sarawak government did not allow them to return. The government outlawed the first student organization at the middle school as a "subversive" society in 1951. Disturbances also erupted in the schools. For example, a serious student strike occurred in 1955, when over 1,100 of the 1,300 students in the middle school boycotted classes to protest against an unpopular teacher. The school was closed for several months, the board of management resigned, and 31 students were suspended or punished. These developments had no precedence in Kuching and indicated the extent to which Chinese schools had become politicized.[32]

The rise of Mandarin education accentuated differences between the Chinese-educated and English-educated. Relatively little overt cleavage had developed between the two groups before the occupation, partly because the Chinese dialect-educated did not constitute a cohesive group and the English-educated usually remained fluent in their own dialects. But Mandarin schooling provided a common denominator for the Chinese-educated that was unintelligible to the English-educated. The cultural gap between the two groups had been relatively narrow earlier because Christianization transcended these divisions and many of the English-educated were not deeply Westernized. Mandarin education's emphasis on "Chineseness" tended to exclude the English-educated.

Ironically, the growing split between the two groups came at a time when English-medium schools, particularly the mission schools, educated an ever-increasing number of Chinese students; by the mid-1950s, St. Thomas's School alone had over 1,000 students, most of them Chinese. Beginning in 1953 several KMC-sponsored English-medium primary schools appeared with multi-ethnic student bodies. In contrast to the Brooke period the Chinese-medium schools attracted more Chinese students than the English-medium schools, but the latter schools, particulary the old mission schools, remained much more prestigious. Partly because of their continued influence, the proportion of Christians among Chinese gradually increased; by the late 1950s, probably between fifteen and twenty-five percent of Kuching Chinese were Christians, with Catholics somewhat more numerous than Anglicans.[33] The rise of Mandarin education and the simultaneous growth of English-medium schools therefore constituted highly significant developments, suggesting a situation in which the language of education and cultural orientation might eventually supplant dialect as the major division among Chinese.

The attempt to lessen dialect particularism through Mandarin education was strengthened by a parallel interest in the development of a strong pan-Chinese organization capable of transcending the traditional divisions within the community and dealing with the cession issue. The most important result of this interest, the formation of the Kuching Chung Hua Association (CHA), began early in 1946 as an attempt to bring together all associations and speech groups into one representative body. The Chinese Chamber of Commerce had this responsibility in the pre-war period but had not yet been revived when the new organization appeared. But the CHA was even more of a community organization, since it received support from most Chinese voluntary associations and not just from the business community; indeed, it comprised the first mass pan-Chinese organization in Kuching history. Officers were chosen from among the leaders of the various associations.

The CHA also appears to have had political aspirations and evidently close ties with the Kuomintang; the CHA publicly supported cession. Perhaps the founders planned to develop a pan-Chinese political base for KMT activities, but this remains conjectural. Nonetheless, the CHA sponsored rallies and marches on Double Ten, and approached the government on behalf of various Chinese groups with grievances as well as promoting the reestablishment of the Chinese school system. More conservative Chinese leaders apparently mistrusted the CHA and its younger leaders. The nationalist overtones of the organization differentiated it as a community spokesman from the pre-war Chinese Chamber of Commerce. Nonetheless, the hegemony of the association was short-lived, as it was dissolved in March, 1948. The major reasons for the demise of the body were said to be the establishment in 1948 of the Chinese consulate, which many felt could assume the duties of community spokesman; mediocre leadership;

and lack of cooperation between member groups. Furthermore, the government entertained suspicions of the group and the resuscitation of the KCCC, as well as the establishment of the Chinese Advisory Board, provided a vehicle for traditional conservative business leaders to reassert their authority. Perhaps the declining fortunes of the KMT in China had also sapped the popularity and influence of the CHA.[34]

The failure of the CHA suggested the difficulties involved in developing a different sense of "community" for Kuching Chinese. Later attempts to establish a strong pan-dialect association like the CHA did not succeed. Yet on a smaller scale, pan-dialect appeals did result in the formation of associations and clubs whose popularity and interests transcended speech group barriers. One of the most interesting of these, a women's organization, the Chung Hua Women's Association (CHWA), appeared in 1947. Women had been traditionally neglected by the Chinese organizations. The goals of the CHWA were equality, friendship, and the protection of the interests of Chinese women. The CHWA inaugurated the annual celebration of International Women's Day, sometimes in cooperation with the Malay Kaum Ibu, and, in 1949, established a night school for Chinese women and girls. Many of the association's officers worked as teachers in the Chung Hua or in mission schools.[35]

Women were not the only interest group to organize themselves for the first time along pan-dialect lines; a variety of youth clubs, labor unions, and charitable societies also developed. Formal Chinese youth organizations, and labor and trade unions, constituted a wholly new development for Kuching; some of them had strong political interests. For example, the ardently pro-cession Hua Kheow Tshin Nien (Overseas Chinese Youth Association), a large organization founded in 1946 and composed mostly of Chinese-medium school graduates, was later banned by the government for "subversive" political activities. The association openly criticized the kapitan leadership system. Even more significant in size and scope, the new unions represented a variety of occupations--construction workers, mercantile employees, bus employees, seamen, coffee shop employees, and many others; most of them had wholly or largely Chinese memberships, often composed of Chinese from several speech groups. For example, the Kuching Wharf Laborers Union, established in 1948 with an initial membership of 302, included large numbers of Chaoanns, Hakkas, and Teochius.[36]

The post-war voluntary associations, however, did not completely supplant the traditional organizations of the Chinese community nor did they necessarily imply a total rejection of speech group particularism. Many of the major organizations of the Brooke period reappeared after the occupation and resumed their important place but, in some cases, they played a somewhat different role than in earlier decades. With the failure of the Chung Hua Association the major pan-dialect organization of the Brooke period, the Chinese Chamber of Commerce (KCCC), regained it supreme position. The KCCC had recovered slowly from the

effects of the occupation and was in danger of collapsing altogether due to lack of funding, inability to secure widespread support, and the problems posed for many prominent businessmen by the collaboration issue. As one local Chinese noted, it was "in a deplorable state...a skeleton of its former strength."[37] The establishment of the CHA further deprived the KCCC of its leadership of the Chinese community. Nonetheless, by 1949 the CHA had been dissolved and the KCCC began to regain its pre-war prominence.

The closing of the Chinese Consulate in 1950 once more assured the KCCC of paramount status in the Chinese community but generally forced upon it unwanted political problems. As a result, the chamber became a multi-faceted organization in the early 1950s. On the one hand, it assumed its traditional role as leading spokesman for the Chinese community and as protector of Chinese commercial interests, sponsoring the Chinese case for Japanese war reparations, mediating disputes between employers and employees, and protesting increase in municipal assessment rates. In addition to its traditional activities, the KCCC took the lead in organizing community celebrations for both the Chinese Communist and Chinese Nationalist holidays and in coordinating protests of government and educational policy and trade licensing legislation.[38] The best example of the KCCC's political role came in 1954-1955, when the chamber led Chinese protest over a bill passed by Council Negri which would raise commercial license fees. The KCCC organized a three-day hartal that closed virtually every shop in Kuching, including those run by Indians and Malays. This was the first time in Kuching's history that such a protest tactic had ever been used. The chamber thus became the mediator of the political movements dividing the Chinese community.

Reestablishment of the chamber's position also benefited those speech groups which came to play leading roles in the organization, in particular Hokkiens and Chaoanns.[39] Between 1946 and 1956, Hokkiens and Chaoanns held nearly half the offices on the twenty-man executive board. Their position was thus out of proportion to their numbers, a situation similar to that existing in the Brooke Period. Teochius and Cantonese appear to have been under-represented in relation to their role in commerce, the Teochiu figures rarely exceeding a quarter of the seats and often less. This probably reflects their often bitter commercial rivalry with Hokkiens and Chaoanns and a successful effort by the latter groups to restrict their membership. Hakkas only once occupied more than one seat, although they accounted for twenty percent of the Chinese population, and Henghuas were seldom represented at all although they comprised almost ten percent of the Chinese population. The emergent and wealthy but numerically insignificant Foochows, on the other hand, usually held one seat. Hokkien-Chaoann domination was even more impressive at the upper decision-making levels.[40]

Like the KCCC, dialect associations remained very much at the center of Chinese social life. Perhaps as a reflection of

the increasing interest in pan-dialect unity and the strength of the new pan-dialect organizations, the dialect associations do not appear to have been as powerful as they had been in the Brooke period. Nonetheless, they played an important role. Representatives of the larger associations continued to handle minor civil disputes in addition to their traditional charitable, religious, and social activities. They also joined with other social and commercial organizations to finance Chinese education. New associations appeared to represent previously unorganized speech groups--Henghuas founded the Heng Ann Association in 1946, and the Kiangsi Association was established in 1947 to represent the diverse southern Mandarin group.

A marked decline in interest in dialect associations occurred among younger Chinese. The Chinese Advisory Board and the associations themselves discussed the lagging youth participation at some length in the late 1940s and early 1950s, but they took few steps to counter the trend. The Teochiu Association established a youth section but it does not appear to have met with much success. In general young people avoided the associations because they saw them as anachronisms, controlled by what appeared to be an "Old Guard" of leaders. Most of the regular members used the clubs to play mahjong and other gambling games, which were unpopular with many younger Chinese. A critical generational and cultural gap divided the older towkays, whose education had been largely in English or dialect if at all, and the nationalistic graduates of the growing Mandarin school system. The associations also lost some of the powers they once had to arbitrate civil disputes between members of the group. The virtual termination of Chinese immigration after 1950 ended one of the major roles of the pre-war associations--the integration of, and aid to, newly arrived Chinese. An association could no longer speak with authority for its entire speech group but represented instead primarily the older generation.[41]

A decline in the role of the speech group associations did not necessarily mean that traditional speech group hostilities had come to an end. For except perhaps among the Mandarin- or English-educated youth and many members of the elite, speech group particularism continued to be the major determinant of social organization. For example, many of the voluntary associations which developed in the late 1940s and early 1950s reflected speech group priorities as they had in the Brooke period. Since a close correlation existed between speech group and occupation, many of the trade and occupational associations that emerged had memberships largely drawn from one or two speech groups. Thus the members of the ice-water hawkers and druggists' associations were predominantly Hakkas, goldsmiths were mostly Hokkiens, shoemakers were largely Cantonese, and coffee shop employees' association members were overwhelmingly Hainanese. Several of the Chinese cooperatives which developed were formed by members of a particular speech group such as the Henghua fishermen. A number of surname and kinship associations also appeared, particularly among Chaoanns and Hokkiens.

Speech group rivalries continued to have an important impact on all levels of economic and commercial life. Perhaps the most publicized conflict occurred in the bus industry where three main groups--Hakkas, Henghuas, and Chaoanns--operated buses within Kuching and to outlying areas. An intense rivalry over routes and fares existed, with no centralized control, and the municipal board attempted to bring some order into the system by regulating and standardizing fares, routes, and traffic laws. In order to protect their interests, Hakka and Chaoann operators ended their feuding in 1948 and formed the Kuching Bus Association to represent them while Henghuas formed a rival organization. The bitterness between the two organizations resulted in physical assaults on rival drivers, forcing the municipal board to intercede and allocate routes.[42]

A continuity in leadership patterns paralleled the continuity in speech group particularism, although many of the men in leadership positions were different. Many among the pre-war elite had died before, during, or just after the Japanese occupation so that much of the top-level leadership was removed; for example, Ong Tiang Swee died in 1950. Furthermore, many suspected some of the most influential towkays of having collaborated with the Japanese, which destroyed their credibility if not their wealth. The Japanese occupation had also allowed for some social mobility by so totally disrupting social and economic life.[43] No other Kuching Chinese emerged in the next two decades who had the power and prestige that Ong Tiang Swee had enjoyed during most of his career.

Although there were many new faces in leadership positions, one of the most striking features about most of the important leaders of the early pre-war years was their close relations with the traditional elite.[44] The old towkays may have died or retired but other towkays, many of them Kuching-born and sons or occasionally business partners of earlier leaders, carried on their tradition. The leadership of the Hokkien community, for example, largely devolved upon the shoulders of men like Ong Kwan Hin, the eldest son of Ong Tiang Swee, who served as the Hokkien kapitan and chairman of the Chung Hua school's board of management. The major Teochiu leaders included men like C.P. Law, the grandson of Law Kian Huat, and Tan Bak Lim, the China-born pre-war kapitan who became chairman of the KCCC. The most important Chaoanns were Chan Qui Chong, grandson of Chan Ah Koh, and Tan Kui Choon, son of Tan Sum Guan and, like his father, a KCCC chairman.

Some leaders did not conform to this pattern, of course, such as Lim Kong Gan, a China-born Hokkien immigrant who became the founding chairman of the Chung Hua Association and the moving force behind the establishment of a Chinese consulate. And yet the overwhelming impression is one of continuity. The grandchildren of the early Kuching pioneers Ong Ewe Hai, Law Kian Huat, and Chan Ah Koh maintained the family traditions of power and success. Like their predecessors, these men were nearly all self-employed businessmen and based their power in part on

control of influential commercial organizations. Like the towkay leaders of the late Brooke period, many among the post-war elite had received mission-school educations. But the "third generation" of towkay leaders did not have the power and influence of their predecessors, in part because of the decline in the traditional institutions of leadership such as the kapitans. The elite also could not adjust fully to changes such as the rise of Mandarin education and youth movements. The towkay leadership in the early 1950s was far less secure and unchallenged than had been the case in the Brooke period.

The social structure of the Chinese community was undergoing alteration. In the late Brooke period the various speech groups, headed by the kapitans and association officers, had been integrated at the top through the Kapitan China General and the KCCC. The office of Kapitan China General terminated with the death of Ong Tiang Swee, and the other kapitans played an increasingly symbolic role. The KCCC regained its position but the dialect associations became less representative and important. A wide range of new, if often short-lived, institutions emerged to claim leadership--CHA, Communists, Kuomintang, Chinese Consulate, Chinese-medium schools, labor unions, youth clubs. In a sense, despite the new awareness of "Chineseness, the increasing nationalism, and the rise in pan-dialect sentiments, the community became more fragmented as various groups vied for leadership. The Chinese were in a state of flux, divided between the demands of speech group and of unity. It is in this atmosphere that the rise of Chinese political parties in the late 1950s, to be discussed in the next chapter, can best be understood.

Changes Among the Minor Communities

The smaller ethnic groups in Kuching experienced many of the same forces for change as Malays and Chinese. The nationalist movements in India and Indonesia had important repercussions on the local Indians and Javanese, very much as had been the case for Chinese. An increasing tendency toward a heightened ethnic consciousness also emerged, as exemplified in the establishment for the first time of important voluntary associations for the Dayak and Javanese communities.

Political influences emanating from an ancestral homeland had perhaps the most importance for Indians. Representatives of the Indian government visited Kuching several times in the late 1940s and early 1950s, receiving enthusiastic welcomes from the local Indians, particularly Tamils and Sikhs.[45] Muslims looked to the new nation of Pakistan but a growing local split between Muslims and non-Muslims also owed much to the conditions of the different Indian subgroups during the Japanese occupation, when Muslims had been badly treated while some Tamils and Sikhs were accused of collaboration.

Muslims, particularly Moplahs, generally supported the

Kuching Indian Muslim League, which had been established clandestinely in 1942 as a counter-weight to the Japanese-sponsored Indian Independence League. The League surfaced with the liberation and played a significant role in heightening distinctions between Muslim and non-Muslim Indians. As the best organized Indian association in the early post-war period, the government allocated to the league responsibility for distributing relief supplies to the Indian community; one of its leaders became the Indian representative on the Council Negri. Tamil and Sikh leaders bitterly opposed both activities, contending that the league did not represent all Muslims, much less the entire Indian community.[46]

The Indian Association, which was revived in 1949, represented Tamils, Sikhs, and other non-Moplahs and had few Muslim members. While the Muslim League promoted Islamic revival in such forms as the public celebration of the Prophet's Birthday, the Indian Association spoke increasingly to Tamil needs. For example, the association attempted to recruit government and private support for a government-sponsored Tamil-medium school and also promoted the training of Tamil laborers for more prestigious and remunerative work. Neither project met with much success, however.[47] Increasing bitterness and politicization complicated traditional divisions within the Indian community, making it less cohesive than it had ever been.

Dr. M. Sockalingam, a Tamil physician, became the major Indian leader and spokesman in post-war Kuching. Sockalingam was an English-educated immigrant from Malaya and therefore not closely identified with either the Kuching-born or India-born elements. Furthermore, as a Christian rather than a Hindu, he may have seemed more acceptable in Muslim eyes. Dr. Sockalingam became the most influential Indian in Kuching's history--he was an early member of the post-war Council Negri, and the first Asian vice-chairman of the Kuching Municipal Council. His resemblance to the pre-war Indian leader Dr. K.V. Krishna appears striking--both were immigrant Tamil physicians. But Sockalingam had a much stronger influence in affairs beyond those that affected the Indian community.[48]

The other ethnic group for which foreign-oriented nationalism played an important role was the Javanese. In the nineteenth century most Javanese and other Malayo-Muslim immigrants had been assimilated into the Kuching Malay group within one or two generations, but this process had been slowed somewhat in the late Brooke period as increasing numbers of Javanese were imported as contract laborers for rubber estates near Kuching. Many of those Javanese who did not return to Java upon the expiration of their contracts formed small agricultural settlements in the rural areas southeast of Kuching, which provided an alternative focus of loyalty and cultural orientation for those Javanese who settled in the capital. Many of the surviving Javanese laborers brought in by the Japanese joined these communities after the occupation and strengthened the Javanese group; furthermore, some became interested in the battle

for independence then raging in Indonesia. As a result the more recent Javanese arrivals in Kuching no longer found assimilation into Malay culture and identity the only alternative. This atmosphere provides the context for establishment of the first Javanese association in 1947. The Sarawak government later proscribed this group in 1949 because of its political agitation in support of the republican forces in Indonesia but its existence does suggest that the Javanese no longer constituted a semi-assimilated subgroup of the Malays; furthermore, Javanese formed another association in the late 1950s to promote their interests. Developments in other parts of Asia therefore contributed to the sharpening of ethnic boundaries in Kuching.

In the immediate post-war period some Kuching Dayaks moved closer to Malays in political matters, and a number of prominent Ibans played an important role in the anti-cession movement. The vehicle for this participation was the first major Dayak voluntary association in Kuching, the Sarawak Dayak Association (SDA), which appeared in 1946 as a representative of urban Dayaks in Kuching. Later it became more political and concentrated primarily on working against cession to Britain. The great majority of leaders, as well as most members, were Kuching Ibans and Sebuyaus, mostly government employees; they sought both to improve the Dayak social, economic, and political position and to forge closer cooperation between Ibans and Land Dayaks. In the late 1940s, the SDA worked closely with the MNUS and its affiliates but it became largely dormant with the decline of anti-cession activity after 1950. Nonetheless, it had spearheaded an unprecedented Dayak involvement in Kuching's political affairs. The rise of Dayak political activity coincided with the inclusion for the first time of Dayak representatives on the municipal board. Although they remained a small group numerically, the Dayaks in Kuching began to assume a more important position in community affairs.

The rise of foreign-oriented nationalism and of ethnic consciousness among the various Asian ethnic groups in Kuching corresponded to, and may have been in part influenced by, an increase in the European population. The British administration installed in 1946 made a practice of employing more Europeans in the various levels of the civil service than had been the case under the rajahs. This trend did not go unnoticed among Asian residents, who complained that Europeans from Britain and the Commonwealth were thwarting the career hopes of potential Asian employees.[49] An influx of European firms based in Malaya and Singapore also occurred. The post-war European community formed the usual assortment of social and recreational clubs, with the Sarawak Club maintaining its preeminence. Less elegance characterized the European style of living in inflationary post-war Kuching than had been the case in the late Brooke period; but life was still comfortable. Few of the political movements among the Asian inhabitants had much impact on individual European residents and they continued to enjoy their influential and prestigious position in Kuching.

The rise of competing nationalisms among Asians seemed perhaps more threatening to the several hundred Eurasians, who had long played an intermediary role between the Asian and European groups. The Eurasians had been a marginal community under the Brookes but they had never been forced to define more clearly their identity and allegiances. Their situation became more difficult after the occupation, for they had little in common with the newly arrived British civil servants and they were increasingly cut off from their more politicized Asian neighbors. They had never constituted a cohesive group and they became even less so; the major symbol of Eurasian unity, the Eurasian Association, dissolved in 1952. Some of the Eurasians moved increasingly toward identification with one of the major groups. Other small and marginal ethnic groups such as Filipinos, Ceylonese, and Land Dayaks faced similar problems. The politicization of major ethnic groups therefore complicated the positions of smaller ethnic groups and sharpened the boundaries between ethnic communities.

Communal Relations and Socioeconomic Structure in the Postwar Period

The impact of rising ethnic and political consciousness on communal relations in the early postwar period is difficult to gauge. No evidence exists of any overt tension between groups after the reestablishment of effective government and the waning of the passions of the immediate post-occupation period.[50] Nonetheless, the potential for conflict was much greater than it had been under the Brookes. Malays, for example, increasingly distrusted a Chinese nationalism that seemingly served to encourage Chinese unity. Chinese came to be considered more of a threat, particularly since the traditional governmental favoritism and protection of Malays weakened under the new colonial authorities. Malays particularly distrusted the apparent popularity of communism among some Chinese since they tended to be strongly anti-communist; the ideology was closely associated in their minds with Chinese nationalism and anti-religious attitudes. Chinese, for their part, may have considered the increasingly well-organized Malay political agitation as constituting a long-term threat to the eventual political hegemony to which they believed their numerical superiority throughout Sarawak entitled them.[51]

An increasing emphasis on ethnic cohesion sharpened contours of Kuching's plural society and inter-ethnic marriage became even less common than it had been in the past. Furthermore, the number of individuals able to speak a language of one of the other major groups also declined. Fewer Chinese could speak Malay than had been the case in earlier decades, partly because of the rise of Mandarin education, partly because urban Chinese had little need to learn the language unless they were government employees or engaged in direct commercial dealings with Malays. Very few Malays, on the other hand, could either

speak or read Chinese.

The tendency for ethnicity and occupation to coincide may not have become any stronger after the occupation than it had been earlier; nonetheless, the 1947 census of Sarawak revealed the extent to which different Kuching ethnic groups were concentrated in particular areas of employment.[52] Chinese superiority in commerce, both wholesale and retail, was clearly substantiated, as they accounted for eighty-five percent of the total. Chinese heavily dominated the fields of banking, the professions, blacksmithing, land transport, catering, and entertainment at almost all levels, from executive to laborer. Chinese also constituted the largest group in general manufacturing, building and construction, and personal services, and were second in government service and vegetable oil and soap manufacture. Commerce clearly ranked as the most important Chinese occupation, with forty percent being engaged in that industry; catering and general manufacturing were the next most important in terms of numbers. Chinese appear to have constituted the great bulk of the mercantile, artisan, professional, and white collar groups but they were also in the majority among the laboring class. They held a significant strength at the executive and ownership levels in most industries.

Malays predominated in three occupations: government service, sea or river transport, and vegetable oil and soap manufacture; indeed, a third of the First Division Malays in urban occupations were employed in government service, nearly equally divided between white collar and lower level police and laboring jobs. Fishing comprised an important part-time activity for many Kuching Malays, particularly in the north bank kampungs, and there was a strong Malay presence in sailing occupations and control of the cross-river sampan trade. Malays were also well represented in building construction and personal services. Few Malays engaged in commerce, the major Chinese occupation, except at the hawker level; most Malay shops were small and situated in kampung areas.

The strongest Dayak representation came in government service, particularly at the higher levels, reflecting a determination by the new colonial government to recruit in that community. The majority of Dayak civil servants were Iban, many of them from outside Kuching. Indians concentrated in government service, commerce, catering, and the professions, but over half worked in the former, primarily in lower-level and laboring positions. Well over half of the Europeans and Eurasians were in government service, generally in upper level posts, with most of the remainder in the professions or commerce. While few occupations were totally restricted to members of a particular ethnic group, a strong tendency did exist for ethnicity and occupation to correlate.

Occupational patterns had obvious social ramifications because of the close correlation between occupation and social status. Thus from an occupational perspective, Chinese and Europeans dominated the upper class in Kuching: Europeans occupied

the highest civil service posts and controlled some significant commercial and industrial activities while Chinese were particularly important as owners, managers, and directors of retail, export and industrial concerns. Higher civil servants primarily comprised the Malay upper class. Whatever criteria of membership is used, the upper class was numerically small, certainly under one percent of the total population. Chinese predominated in the middle class because of the high proportion of Chinese traders, clerical workers, professionals, and teachers. The middle class, however it may be defined, constituted a substantial section of the Chinese community, perhaps as much as thirty percent or possibly larger. The Malay middle class was considerably smaller, perhaps ten percent of all Malays, and consisted largely of middle-echelon civil servants, teachers, and religious officials. Middle-class Indians and Dayaks were usually retail traders or civil servants. Malays predominated at lower income levels, as the majority worked as fishermen, laborers, hawkers, lower level government employees, and agriculturalists. A probable majority of Chinese also worked in economically marginal occupations, particularly as craftsmen, shop assistants, laborers, hawkers, fishermen, and agriculturalists. Perhaps half or more of the Indians fell under the classification of laborers, shop assistants, or hawkers.

Occupation and social status, like residence and organizational affiliation, largely reflected ethnic group membership. Yet, it may be that the relationship between ethnicity and occupation did begin to change slightly. For example, more Chinese and Dayaks entered the civil service. The first large Malay commercial venture, a hotel, appeared in the early 1950s. Despite the increasing competition in the economic sector, the continued absence of serious communal disharmony also suggests that important integrative mechanisms still existed for tying together the various elements of the plural society into a functional unit. The municipal government was one such institution. Some state-wide and local advisory boards, such as the Social Welfare Council, served a similar purpose. Mission and government-sponsored English-medium schools allowed children of diverse ethnic backgrounds to study together in a common curriculum. The traditional "social brokers" between various communities--the "Sarawak Chinese," orang kerani, and others--continued to play a limited role as a "bridge" at the elite level although this was changing as they were either increasingly alienated from or drawn toward their own more politicized communities.

A rapidly proliferating number of multi-ethnic associations, clubs, and other organizations constituted one of the most significant post-war developments. Paradoxically a town increasingly dominated by the demands of cultural sub-nationalism and ethnic consciousness also proved fertile ground for the formation of organizations bridging ethnic boundaries--perhaps multiethnicity remained at least an important ideal among many residents. In any case many of these organizations proved most

popular with the mission-educated. The traditional multi-ethnic elite clubs such as the Rotary, Sarawak Union, St. Michael's Catholic, and Turf clubs remained important, but new special interest and public service clubs also developed, pursuing such activities as art, photography, prisoner's aid, and tuberculosis control. Some of them had a youth focus, such as the Boy Scout Troops which began at the various schools in Kuching in 1946; an unaffiliated multi-ethnic troop for non-schoolboys also appeared. The troops largely reflected ethnic particularism because of their school affiliations but the adult leadership of the District Boy Scouts Association included Chinese, Malays, Dayaks, and Europeans. Another important organization, the Kuching Youth Club, was founded in 1955 with government encouragement and an initial membership of 400, with the majority of active members Chinese,[53] primarily students or graduates of the mission schools.

Not all of the multi-ethnic organizations maintained an elitist orientation. Some of the labor and trade unions also had a multi-ethnic focus. One of the most important of these, the Kuching Municipal Laborers' Union, began in 1951 with a membership of 200 laborers employed by the municipality. Although a majority of the membership was Malay, the executive committee included five Malays, three Chinese, and three Indians.[54] The influential and mostly Chinese Wharf Laborers' Union had forty Malay members. The development of non-elite multi-ethnic institutions contrasts rather strongly with the Brooke period, when few formal mechanisms existed for bringing together non-elite and less educated members of different ethnic groups. It may be that the development of such organizations in the post-war period reflected an increasing sense of common class or occupational problems which transcended ethnic affiliation. The development of more organizations of this type was obviously limited by the tendency for occupations to be restricted in practice to one particular group.

As in the Brooke period, informal or non-institutional social events also occurred which brought together Europeans, Chinese, Malays, and others, particularly at the elite level, but they seem to have become less frequent than during the Raj. Kuching was no longer the small town it had been under the first two rajahs, and most of the inhabitants may have been less likely than previously to have friends outside of their own ethnic or subgroup. But common interests could often overcome a lack of contact or even of linguistic familiarity--for example, the Malay Kaum Ibu and the Chung Hua Women's Association, both products of competing and highly politicized sub-nationalisms, helped bridge the growing gap between Malays and Chinese by co-sponsoring the celebration of International Women's Day in the late 1940s and early 1950s.

The formal and informal mechanisms for ethnic interaction worked to lessen the potential for communal hostility and to bring cohesion to the plural society, as they had done in the Brooke period. In their institutional form, however, they

extended more deeply in the post-war era into sectors of society, including women, youth, and laborers, which they had not reached in earlier years. This may have been necessary to prevent the heightened potential for conflict from becoming predominant. By the middle 1950s the major wave of Chinese, Indian, and Malay nationalism had passed, however, and all of the major communities began to focus their attention more closely on local rather than state or homeland politics. The ability of Kuching society to withstand the stresses of increased ethnic consciousness and of foreign-based nationalism is testimony to the strength of community institutions in promoting functional cohesion in a heterogeneous environment. The next test for Kuching would come with the development of elected self-government, the rise of political parties, and the termination of European rule in the late 1950s and early 1960s.

Chapter VIII

THE IMPACT OF POLITICAL TRANSFORMATION

1956-1970

Sarawak remained under colonial control longer than most other states in Asia, in large part because no organized movement seeking independence existed. The first state-wide election was not held until 1963, in preparation for Sarawak's entry into the Federation of Malaysia in that same year. On the municipal level, however, the first direct elections took place in 1956, as did elections for other local authorities such as the rural district councils. Concomitant with the introduction of local elections a movement began, for the first time, toward the formation of political parties. Although the first party to be organized in Sarawak was formed to contest the 1959 Kuching municipal elections, it was clear that more than municipal considerations were being taken into account by the party organizers who, with one eye on the progress made toward self-government in Malaya and Singapore, looked toward eventual state-wide elections for Sarawak.

Thus the elected representative bodies and the new parties constituted a significant development for Kuching in many respects. Perhaps most importantly they represented an expansion of the political community, as Kuching found itself in less certain control of its own destiny than had been the case in the past (with the exception, of course, of the Japanese Occupation). During the preceding decades Kuching men had dominated the Supreme Council and Council Negri, the most powerful state-wide governing bodies. As the time for self-government approached, however, forces outside Kuching began increasingly to influence social and political developments in the town. Political life in the largely Chinese and Malay settlement would henceforth have to be at least partly subject to considerations deriving from the state-wide political balance of power, in which there was a third major force--the Dayaks.[1] For Kuching, the stakes of politics grew higher, with the result that an increasing politicization of social institutions occurred in the town. These tendencies increased in 1963, when colonial rule ended and Sarawak became part of the Federation of Malaysia. The political community had now widened to include federal and state, as well as local interests. By 1970 policies and ideas imposed from the outside

were having a growing impact and generating considerable chan
upon Kuching society.

Introduction of Direct Local Elections

Before 1956 municipal government had been based on commun representation, allowing all of the numerically significa ethnic groups and subgroups a voice in local civic affairs. change of major importance came in 1956, when the Kuchi Municipal Council became a local authority to be guided members elected directly by the general population. This mark clear autonomy for the council, which was no longer encumbered official councilors nominated by the government. The introdu tion of direct elections allowed increased access to publ office by individuals not members of the traditional elite, well as direct participation in government by the avera citizen.

The new local electoral system gave a major politic advantage to Chinese, whose demographic increase had been mu more rapid than that of the other major ethnic groups in Kuchi under crown colony rule, as is illustrated in the followi table:

Table 7

Population Growth in Kuching by Ethnic Group
1947-1960

Group	1947	1960	Net Change	Percentag Change
Chinese	21,699	36,727	+15.028	+ 69.2
Malays	13,992	10,396	- 3,596	- 25.7
Europeans[a]	321	710	+ 389	+121.2
Ibans	614	834	+ 220	+ 35.0
Land Dayaks	227	594	+ 367	+161.7
Melanaus	49	117	+ 68	+138.8
Other Asian[b]	1,044	1,178	+ 134	+ 12.8
Other Indigenous	8	29	+ 21	+262.5
Total	37,954	50,579	12,625	+ 33.3

[a] Includes Eurasians
[b] Mostly Indians

Source: Jones, Census of Population...1960.

During a fourteen-year period of rapid population growth, when the municipal population had grown from almost 38,000 to over 50,000, Chinese had by far the largest numerical gain. Chinese also recorded a higher percentage gain of almost seventy percent, or over twice that of the total population of the town as a whole. Europeans, Land Dayaks, Melanaus, and various small Dayak groups showed the largest percentage increases but their numerical growth remained relatively insignificant. Ibans and Indians recorded only modest gains.

The Malay decline in the municipal population resulted largely from a change in municipal boundaries--in 1956 the north bank kampungs, which contained some 10,000 Malays, were transferred by the state government from the municipality to the Kuching Rural District. The change of boundaries also involved the transfer to the municipality of the largely Chinese Pending district east of Kuching as well as some eastern suburbs.[2] Although complete figures are unavailable, it is probable that the Malay population in the Kuching metropolitan area grew nearly as rapidly as did the Chinese; indeed, some evidence exists that Malay rural-urban migration to the Kuching area exceeded Chinese.[3] But the change in boundaries increased Chinese, and reduced Malay, political influence in municipal affairs.

As Table 8 demonstrates, Chinese increased from about fifty-seven percent of the population in 1947 to nearly three-quarters in 1960, while Malays dropped from over one third to just about twenty percent. Indians continued their relative decline while Dayaks and Europeans both registered modest increases. Yet it is likely that in the functional metropolitan area of Kuching the proportion of Chinese and Malays remained similar to that in 1947, about three-fifths Chinese and one-third Malay. The total population of Greater Kuching, including north bank kampungs and outer suburban areas, approached 77,500 in 1960.[4]

For electoral purposes, the municipality had wards, each of which elected three councilors. Seven wards, including three in the bazaar district, had a majority of Chinese while two embracing the kampungs of the Datu's Peninsula were heavily Malay.[5] The correlation between ethnicity and residence that marked the Brooke period clearly persisted in the post-war period, and this translated into the political domination of electoral wards. Councilors had to live or work in the municipality but they could run in any ward. The government designed electoral laws to favor certain segments of the population. Only rate-payers (those possessing property of a minimum value) over twenty-one years of age or lawfully married could vote, and candidates for the council had to be proficient in English. In all, 4,557 residents qualified for the electoral rolls and some eighty-seven percent of them voted in 1956.[6]

In a society characterized by social and cultural pluralism it might be expected that the first election based on a popular franchise would be decided along communal lines, and in 1956 most voters in the KMC election did cast their ballots for candidates

of their own ethnic groups.[7] Chinese candidates won in every ward where Chinese predominated. Likewise, in both largely Malay wards, the voters elected Malay councilors. Three Malays ran unsuccessfully in predominantly Chinese wards while four Eurasians, two Dayaks, one Indian, and one European ran and lost in the election. Indians and Dayaks, therefore, no longer had representation on the major municipal body.

Table 8

Ethnic Composition of Kuching Population, 1947-1960

Group	1947 Pop.	Percentage	1960 Pop.	Percentage
Europeans[a]	321	0.8	710	1.6
Dayaks[b]	898	2.4	1,574	3.1
Other Asians[c]	1,044	2.8	1,178	2.3
Malays	13,992	36.8	10,396	20.5
Chinese	21,699	57.2	36,727	72.5
Totals	37,954	100.0	50,625	100.0

[a] Includes Eurasians
[b] Includes Ibans, Land Dayaks, and Melanaus
[c] Mostly Indians

Source: Noakes, 1947 Population Census; Jones, Census of Population...1960.

The council members elected a Teochiu, William Tan, chairman by only one vote over a Hokkien, Ong Kee Hui; a progressive Malay university graduate, Ahmed Zaide Adruce, was elected vice-chairman. Before the council selected its officers some political observers speculated that voting would follow educational background, with the large group of St. Thomas's graduates selecting their own man. This did not happen, however, as the new chairman was a St. Joseph's-educated Roman Catholic. Tan gained reelection as chairman in 1957 and 1958 with an even bigger margin, but Ahmed Zaidi was replaced as vice-chairman in 1958 by a Hakka lawyer, Stephen Yong.

In 1959, the second KMC elections took place, with voting again strictly on a communal basis. Two Chinese ran in predominantly Malay wards and lost, while four Malay, two Iban, and one Eurasian candidates in Chinese wards also failed to gain a seat. However, in a later by-election to replace a retiring Chinese, a Kuching-born, St. Mary's-educated Iban woman, Barbara Bay, ran

unopposed and was elected; she had the support of a new predominantly Chinese political party (see below). The Hokkien Ong Kee Hui became chairman, while the office of vice-chairman went to the Hakka Stephen Yong, who was later replaced by a Malay, Haji Satem Sulong.

In addition to the KMC, another important vehicle for political participation by Kuching leaders was the Kuching Rural District Council (KRDC). Seven of twenty-eight KRDC wards functioned as parts of the town, four on the predominantly Malay north bank and three in the largely Chinese suburbs. As in the KMC, voting in 1956 and 1959 largely followed ethnic affiliation. No Chinese ran in Malay wards but several Malay candidates in Chinese wards lost. Some KRDC members actually lived or worked in the municipality and some candidates ran for both the KMC and KRDC at different times.

Popularly elected municipal government engendered important changes in inter- and intra-ethnic group relations and in social structure. Hokkiens and Chaoanns solidified their traditional commercial supremacy by extending their control of municipal affairs. On the earlier nominated municipal board, Hokkiens and Chaoanns had held no more seats than any other numerically significant speech group; with direct elections this pattern changed. On the 1956-1959 KMC, Hokkiens and Chaoanns held almost half of the twenty-one Chinese seats. In 1959-1963, they dominated even more, with two-thirds of the Chinese seats. Their major commercial rivals, Teochius, won only four seats in 1956 and five in 1959, a respectable showing but hardly commensurate with their important commercial and numerical position. Hakkas notably achieved a political position more closely approximating their numerical strength, which represented twenty percent of the Chinese population. In 1956, Hakka candidates won seven seats, as many as Hokkiens, and in 1959 they won four. The importance of controlling the new KMC lay in its powers to dispense municipal contracts and patronage, set zoning policies, operate certain local schools, influence educational policies, and help arbitrate commercial and political disputes within the municipality; it also elected one representative to the Council Negri.

The inauguration of popular government may have helped broaden the base for elite recruitment, particularly among Chinese. A majority of Chinese KMC members were still self-employed businessmen, but in 1956, one-third of the membership was comprised of educators, commercial employees, and lawyers; one of the teachers was a woman. In 1959, the non-towkays included a lawyer, a lawyer's assistant, an educator, a commercial employee, an architect, and a publisher. All of the Malay councilors had been civil servants but one was a pioneer journalist before his election to the council in 1956.

The rise of professionals, commercial employees, and others to positions of political influence suggests a breakdown of the traditional hegemony exercised in the Chinese community by wealthy towkays. The introduction of direct elections and the rise of political parties partially accounted for this (see

below). In addition, the decline of mass Chinese immigration undermined the role, and thus the influence, of the towkay as protector of newly arrived kinsmen and clansmen. Consolidation of Kuching's Chinese schools, with subsequent emphasis on Mandarin, produced a younger generation less interested in dialect differences than in their "Chineseness." British colonial government brought closer ties with Malaya and Singapore and lessened Kuching's parochialism. The generally conservative traditional elites in all of the ethnic groups found themselves in many cases unable to adjust adequately to a series of new and only dimly understood forces. Combined with the above factors was the growth of a new intelligentsia based on education and professionalism rather than wealth alone, partly a result of the development of schools in the late Brooke and early post-war period. Some Kuching Chinese went abroad and returned as lawyers, teachers, doctors, and progressive businessmen, often opposed to towkay leadership. By the time the Federation of Malaysia was established in 1963, wealth, kinship, and speech group affiliation no longer constituted the only keys to political power.

Malay leadership patterns also changed. The cession controversy, the development of nationalism, and increasing interest in Islamic reform encouraged the growth of a younger, more militant leadership less tied to preordained civil service roles. At the same time the continued development of Malay schools, both public and private, enabled more Malays, many of them nonaristocrats, to gain an education and subsequent access to better jobs. Criteria for both Malay and Chinese leadership changed even more with the formation of political parties in the late 1950s and early 1960s.

Formation of Political Parties

The formation of political parties represented one of the most significant developments in Kuching's social and political history. The tendency in Malaya and many other ethnically heterogeneous societies for parties to organize along communal lines was followed in Sarawak, for the parties which emerged between 1959 and 1963 reflected a politicization of traditional communal rivalries. The parties themselves constituted significant social institutions but, more importantly, they contributed to the politicization of many other social institutions, particularly the voluntary associations. Since most parties maintained state-wide interests and memberships, they must to some extent be seen within the framework of Sarawak's evolution towards independence and democratic government. From this perspective the introduction of directly elected local authorities throughout the state, the proposal for a state government to be chosen by the local authorities, and the mooting of the plan for including Sarawak within a new Malaysian Federation contributed to the development of political parties and of alliances. Yet, at the

same time, many of these parties were products of Kuching's leadership and sociopolitical life, and the initial impetus for them came with the KMC elections of 1956 and 1959.

Younger Chinese leaders who had worked in the local political campaigns against government commercial and educational policies in the mid-1950s generated the first proposal for a political party. The major leaders of this group included Ong Kee Hui, a Hokkien businessman and grandson of Ong Tiang Swee; Hokkien businessman Song Thian Cheok; and Stephen Yong, a Hakka lawyer. With informal government support, they attempted to form a politically moderate multi-ethnic party to contest the 1956 KMC elections but failed to gain the support of influential Malay and Dayak leaders for the venture, so it was temporarily dropped. Finally, in 1959, they formed Sarawak's first political party, the Sarawak United Peoples' Party (SUPP).[9] The leaders hoped that SUPP would become multi-ethnic, but only a few influential Kuching Malays and Dayaks joined, while Chinese joined in large numbers. The most important leaders and a high proportion of members came from Kuching. Party Chairman Ong Kee Hui, Secretary-General Stephen Yong, and Treasurer Charles Linang, an Iban, were all longtime Kuching residents. The first executive committee included eight former or serving KMC members, while half of the forty state-wide officers came from Kuching, including two Malays.[10]

From its inception SUPP received support from many key organizations in the Chinese community, including the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, Hokkien, Chaoann, Hakka, and Hainanese dialect associations, most Chinese labor unions and youth groups, and most Chinese-language newspapers. The party leadership was composed largely of middle- and upper-middle class businessmen, with Hokkiens, Chaoanns, and Hakkas predominant. A large number of Teochius and Cantonese remained opposed to SUPP although hostility was stronger at leadership levels and among older adults than among young people, many of whom were Mandarin-educated, politically leftist, and less interested in dialect particularism. SUPP forged an enduring political alliance between the prosperous Hokkien-Chaoann group and the less affluent Hakkas that gave the former groups more numerical strength and the Hakkas new community influence. Most of the leaders were English-educated, partly because of an English fluency requirement for public office, but the party's greatest support came from the Chinese-educated. SUPP's tight structure, buttressed by wide associational support and scores of dedicated party workers, helped it become something new in Kuching society --a multi-dialect Chinese mass organization with thousands of enrolled members from all occupational levels, age groups, and educational backgrounds.

The political alliance between Hokkiens, Chaoanns, and Hakkas had no parallel in Kuching's past but it gave Hokkiens a solidified power base in Kuching as well as extensive influence in the Hakka rural areas of the First Division, where Teochiu traders traditionally enjoyed considerable economic and political

strength. But it was not only Teochius who opposed Hokkien-Chaoann hegemony. In the late 1950s and early 1960s an important influx of Foochows arrived in Kuching. The Foochows of the Third Division had traditionally rivaled Kuching Hokkiens for control of Sarawak's economy, and some of them had grown extremely wealthy on timber; the entrance of heavily capitalized Foochow businesses into Kuching marked an extension of that commercial rivalry to the capital itself. Many Foochow companies in Kuching engaged in manufacturing, banking, construction, and exporting rather than retail trade; they thus challenged important Hokkien and Chaoann power centers. Since few members of the Foochow elite of the Third Division joined SUPP, SUPP and the Hokkien-Hakka alliance it represented became an important tool in Hokkien competition with Foochows.

Apparently SUPP was heavily infiltrated at lower leadership levels by communists and their sympathizers, causing seven Chinese party leaders, including five KMC members, to leave and publicly denounce the party in 1962.[11] Two SUPP executives were deported while several others, including a KMC member, were arrested for alleged subversion. SUPP proved attractive to dissident elements by strongly opposing the formation of Malaysia and maintaining a somewhat leftist and socialist orientation. Nonetheless, the leadership core was politically moderate and the bulk of this middle- and upper-class support was based on its "Chinese" rather than "leftist" orientation. SUPP supported issues popular with the Chinese, including non-interference by government in Chinese schools and labor unions, and alteration of zoning policies so as to make more rural land available to Chinese.

SUPP's leadership reflected elements of both continuity and change.[12] Ong Kee Hui, for example, was a son of Ong Kwan Hin, grandson of Ong Tiang Swee, and had married a daughter of the wealthy Wee Kheng Chiang. A university-educated businessman, banker, and former civil servant, Ong became Kuching's most respected Chinese leader as a political broker of moderate political views; he served as chairman of the KMC between 1959 and 1965. Song Thian Cheok had a similar background, being the son of a powerful Hokkien towkay, Song Kheng Hai. Both Ong and Song were educated wholly in English at St. Thomas's. Party publicity chief Chan Siaw Hee was a descendant of Chaoann pioneer Chan Ah Koh; yet he also represented the rising wealth and influence of the postwar transportation industry, since he operated a highly profitable bus company linking Kuching to nearby towns. Stephen Yong, on the other hand, was the son of a humble Hakka shopkeeper in the town of Simunjan although he later married a Hokkien of the Ong family. Yong was educated in both Chinese and English and worked as a teacher and small businessman before gaining a scholarship to pursue university study in England, returning as a lawyer. The most important Hakka political leader in Kuching in many decades, he served as KMC vice-chairman.

SUPP's leadership was drawn from a wide variety of

sources--businessmen, professionals, trade unionists--but they had a number of things in common. Most were Kuching-born and educated either in English or in both English and Chinese. Few were solely Chinese-educated. Of those who had attended a mission school, most had studied at St. Thomas's. The potential division between Mandarin- and English-educated Chinese does not appear to have affected the leadership of SUPP. Although few of the leaders were highly Westernized "Sarawak Chinese" or Christians, most could represent both English- and Chinese-educated Chinese because of their own bi-cultural backgrounds. Some of the leaders had elite family backgrounds while others did not. Few SUPP leaders qualified as traditional towkays. Nonetheless, the important political role played by Hokkiens and the small Chaoann group was perpetuated.

Kuching's second political party, the Party Negara Sarawak (PANAS), appeared in 1960 under the datu bandar's leadership. PANAS was a Malay response to SUPP's Chinese challenge but the party leadership included a few important Ibans and Chinese, most notably the first elected KMC chairman William Tan, a Teochiu. PANAS particularly attracted those Malays who had supported cession. A few prominent Kuching anti-cessionists also joined, including the influential editor of Utusan Sarawak, Abang Ikhwan Zaini, a grandson of the datu bentara. The party's stronghold was Kuching and the First Division, where the datu bandar's prestige as the paramount Malay remained strongest. PANAS's Malay leadership was drawn primarily from Kuching perabangans, the traditional aristocratic elite, but many were mission-school educated and considered somewhat "Westernized" in comparison to other Malay politicians. The bandar headed PANAS as chairman with his brother, Abang Othman, as the secretary-general. The party had clear ties with the traditional Malay leadership. In political matters PANAS was pro-Malaysia, anti-communist, and generally favored policies designed to protect and uplift the indigenous peoples, particularly Malays.

Two other political parties formed in Sarawak prior to Malaysia also had important support in Kuching. The Barisan Ra'yat Jati Sarawak (BARJASA), founded in January, 1962, was almost wholly Malay and represented the anti-cession sector of the community. The leadership and much of the support in Kuching came from the intelligentsia, particularly teachers, students, civil servants, and religious leaders, many of whom opposed the power of the abangs and the pro-cession datu bandar. PANAS-BARJASA hostility thus perpetuated the most important post-war division in the Malay community. BARJASA received strong support from some Kuching Malay voluntary associations, including the Malay National Union, Barisan Pemuda Sarawak, and many youth clubs as well as from the Majlis Islam and Malay members of the influential Sarawak Asian Government Officers' Union (SAGAOU). Many of the local leaders were Malay-educated and more Islamic in their orientation than the PANAS officers. BARJASA attracted fewer aristocrats than was the case with PANAS. Like PANAS, BARJASA was politically anti-communist, anti-socialist, pro-

Malaysia, and concerned with the apparent Chinese threat to Malay power. Some of its leaders favored the restriction of Chinese political and economic rights. The electoral strength and many leaders of BARJASA came from outside the First Division but some Kuching Malays occupied high party offices. They differed in many respects from their PANAS counterparts. Like the party chairman Haji Su'ut Tahir, most Kuching officers had actively opposed cession and few came from the aristocracy.

The final party, the Sarawak Chinese Association (SCA), was founded in August, 1962, and patterned after the Malayan Chinese Association (MCA). It hoped to provide an economically conservative, anti-communist, and pro-government alternative to SUPP's apparent domination of the Chinese political scene and was intended as the Chinese component of a pro-Malaysia, pan-communal alliance of parties on the Malayan pattern. Wealthy businessmen who had left SUPP or PANAS for various reasons supplied most of the leadership. Most were English-educated, including many from St. Joseph's School, posing an "old school" rivalry to the predominantly St. Thomas's-educated SUPP leaders. Willian Tan, a Kuching Teochiu Catholic and former PANAS vice-chairman, became SCA's first chairman. Tan had strong business rivalries with Ong Kee Hui. Teochius and Cantonese were well represented in SCA, along with Foochows from Sibu. Most of the Third Division Foochow elite supported the party. Thus, traditional clan and commercial rivalries, particularly between Hokkiens, Teochius, and Foochows, were transferred to the political arena. SCA gained much of its support from English-educated, often Christian, Chinese and some older Chinese-educated towkays but was not able to attract a large membership in Kuching, partly because it seemed to represent "a group of wealthy businessmen of the past era...seeking to perpetuate their influence by participation in the new ruling elite."[13]

The leadership of SCA reflected the social configuration of the party. The chairman, William Tan, was a Roman Catholic, St. Joseph's-educated businessman from a prominent Teochiu family. The secretary-general, Teo Kui Seng, was a St. Thomas's- and Ming Teck-educated defector from SUPP who had also been born into a prominent Teochiu family: he had kinship ties to the influential Law family. Teo was a long-time employee of the Sarawak Steamship Company and became manager of the Kuching office in 1962. The third major local SCA leader was Tan Tsak Yu (T.Y. Tan), a China-born Christian, former headmaster of the Teochiu-operated Ming Teck School, and later a successful businessman. Tan succeeded Teo as secretary-general of the party. While each of these men differed in certain respects from the traditional towkay leaders, they conformed more closely to the pattern than did many of the top leaders of SUPP. All three had also been elected members of the KMC.

The four parties with important strength in Kuching differed in structure. SUPP was by far the best organized of the parties, with a tight organization, voter discipline, and mass appeal not yet apparent in the other parties. It may be that the

ability of SUPP to establish a cohesive organization reflected the fact that the Kuching Chinese had long had a wide-ranging network of formal associations, and many of them supported SUPP. SCA lacked a mass base and received the support of fewer organizations while the Malays were much less experienced in the operation of such organizations.

All four parties had communal overtones. Indeed, the Chinese leaders of SUPP represented the Chinese community to the government in a way not unlike the kapitans of an earlier period, although they did not assist in administering the Chinese in judicial, customary, and other matters. Much like his grandfather Ong Tiang Swee, the SUPP chairman, Ong Kee Hui, was a public spokesman on matters affecting the Chinese community. The datu bandar performed a similar role for the local Malays. It should be noted, however, that both SUPP and PANAS were officially multi-ethnic. Indeed SUPP had some success in recruiting Dayak and Malay members, including Abdul Kadir Marican, a prominent Kuching anti-cessionist who became the major Malay leader in SUPP. SCA and BARJASA were openly communal, yet they also joined with several Dayak parties to form the Sarawak Alliance to work toward the inclusion of Sarawak into the proposed Malaysia federation. PANAS favored the federation but stayed out of the alliance while SUPP opposed the federation.

The most important local battleground for the new parties was the KMC elections. SUPP had nominated various Chinese and Iban candidates for the 1959 election and many of the Chinese were successful against organized opposition. The June 1963 elections, held in conjunction with state-wide elections in preparation for entering Malaysia, saw all four parties entering candidates. More than local control was involved for the KMC would select representatives to a Divisional Council, which would in turn elect councilors for the Council Negri, which then would become a wholly Asian body without European leadership. BARJASA and SCA, members of the Sarawak Alliance, fielded joint candidates in each KMC ward, with Malays running in the Malay wards and Chinese and one Malay in the Chinese wards. PANAS ran five Malays and one Chinese in the two Malay wards, while SUPP offered eighteen Chinese, two Dayaks, and one Malay in Chinese wards, and a Chinese and Dayak in one Malay ward.

For the first time in a Kuching general election, voting did not correlate with the ethnic composition of the ward. A Chinese was elected from a predominantly Malay ward, while largely Chinese wards elected two Ibans and one Malay. The reason for the sharp change was political party affiliation. The Chinese elected from the Malay ward was a candidate of PANAS, a party he served as vice-chairman, while the non-Chinese elected in Chinese wards were all candidates of, and officers in, SUPP. Political party sponsorship transcended ethnicity. SUPP candidates won all twenty-one seats in the Chinese wards and PANAS candidates took the six Malay ward seats, signifying the electoral superiority of the two parties in their respective communities. None of the SCA and BARJASA candidates, including

eight incumbent councilors, gained a seat.

The overwhelming SUPP and PANAS victories were reflected i the characteristics of the successful candidates. Nine of th elected Chinese were Hokkiens, three were Hakkas, and three wer Chaoanns, giving these three allied groups fifteen of the nine teen Chinese seats although they comprised only half of the tota Chinese population. The Teochius were reduced from five seats i 1959 to one, signifying their identification with the SCA. On Cantonese and two Hainanese won seats, the first time members o these groups had been elected, but the Cantonese was a PANA candidate. Three of the Malays were former civil servants but for the first time, this group did not constitute a majority There were also a journalist, a licensed auctioneer, and professional politician. Self-employed businessmen still pre dominated among the Chinese, but there were also two lawyers, tw lawyer's assistants, one farmer, one journalist, and one trad unionist, indicating the wide occupational reach and support o SUPP. The Ibans included one former civil servant and a socia worker. Nine SUPP and one PANAS winners were incumbents.

SUPP and PANAS won a similar victory in Kuching's KRD wards but the party nominations did not conflict with war ethnicity. PANAS and BARJASA nominated the only candidates i Malay wards, all of them Malay. With the exception of on Kuching Sebuyau, only Chinese ran in the three predominantl Chinese wards. SUPP won four of the five seats, the other goin to an independent. SCA nominated only one candidate. Some o the top Kuching BARJASA leaders were defeated, including severa running in coastal Malay wards. The datu bandar and his tw brothers were both elected from north bank constituencies. Fou of the five Chinese councilors were Hakkas and the other was th Chaoann Sim Kheng Hong.[14] The preponderance of successful Hakk candidates reflected the Hakka voting strength in the suburbs an the appeal of SUPP to this speech group.

The development of political parties had important ramifi- cations throughout Kuching society in addition to the power struggle for control of the municipal council. One of the major results was competition between SUPP and SCA supporters for control of the major Chinese voluntary associations. In 1962 and 1963, SCA partisans gained most of the offices in the Teochiu and Cantonese associations; indeed, the local SCA offices were located in the Teochiu Association building. SUPP sympathizers generally controlled most of the other dialect associations. Only the Henghua and Foochow associations remained somewhat aloof from the developing political battle. The dialect associations therefore became more politicized than had previously been the case.

There was also a rivalry for control of the major associa- tion in the Chinese community, the KCCC. Between 1956 and 1962, the power structure of the KCCC was similar to that of the early post-war years. The Hokkiens and their allies, the Chaoanns, generally held close to half of the twenty offices while the Teochius never held more than four. The Hakkas never held more

than two seats and in two years won none at all. The domination of power by the Hokkiens and Chaoanns was even more apparent in the four top positions of leadership for the chamber--between 1956 and 1962 the office of chairman was filled by a Chaoann, Tan Kui Choon, while the vice-chairman, secretary-general, and treasurer were all Hokkiens. But in 1963 the leadership pattern changed; in the election of officers no candidate who expressed a preference for the SCA was elected.[15]

The development of political parties also had an impact on the labor movement, for the unions were drawn into the political sphere and differences between Chinese and Malay unions intensified. Some of the Chinese unions were early supporters of SUPP while several predominantly Malay unions gave their support to BARJASA. When a leftist First Division Trade Union Congress was established in 1961 under the leadership of prominent Hokkien SUPP leader Lim Kim Seng, only one Malay union joined and it later withdrew over the TUC's opposition to the formation of Malaysia. Five Chinese unions were members. Similarly, Malay members of the Kuching Wharf Laborers' Union and of several other predominantly Chinese unions resigned from these groups for the same reason.[16] The labor movement was beginning to lose its multi-ethnic focus and to become more politicized.

The increasing conflict between the two Chinese parties and their sponsoring groups also affected the organization of the Chung Hua schools in Kuching. In 1961 the Sarawak government instructed all government-aided schools, including the Kuching Chung Hua schools, to prepare programs for gradual conversion to English-medium education. The announcement caused a wide cleavage within the Chinese community. The Chung Hua Schools' Board of Management initially refused to accept further government grants despite a desperate financial situation, prompting the Teochiu Association to withdraw its support and reclaim its school properties from the board. The Teochiu decision was strenuously opposed by many groups, especially the Chinese labor unions,[17] but it indicated a willingness of the Teochiu leaders to break publicly with the other Chinese associations sponsoring the schools; most of these associations were dominated by supporters of SUPP and the Chung Hua schools had proven a fertile ground of recruitment for SUPP. Although most of the other Chinese associations publicly opposed the government policy, several of the other Chung Hua schools later followed the Teochiu example and accepted the government plan. By 1963 the enrollment in the remaining Chung Hua secondary schools was declining and the transfer of several former Chung Hua schools to English-medium education indicated that an increasing proportion of Chinese children would be educated in English.

As the preceding discussion has attempted to demonstrate, the traditional Kuching pattern of Chinese speech-group particularism changed under the impact of political parties to one of competing alliances of several speech groups. The impact of Chinese nationalism in the early post-war period had appeared to be narrowing the dimensions between speech groups, but a new

pattern of coalescence around two poles had emerged by 196
Among the Malays, intra-community patterns of conflict remain
more stable as the old divisions over the cession controver
continued to be reflected to some extent in the competiti
between PANAS and BARJASA. Like the cession issue, par
rivalries divided families, friends, and kampungs. For bo
Chinese and Malays, however, the trans-ethnic alliances form
between parties represented innovations. The cooperation betwe
SCA and BARJASA, for example, created an alliance between conse
vative Teochius and anti-cession Malays; both groups favored t
inclusion of Sarawak in Malaysia, although for different reason
Anti-cession Malays resented British colonialism and saw t
Malay-dominated government of Malaya as a useful ally in promo
ing Malay influence and restricting Chinese power, while t
conservative SCA businessmen believed that federation would
good for commerce and provide protection against the lefti
tendencies represented by SUPP. There was also a more informa
and temporary alliance between SUPP and PANAS representatives
some of the local authorities at the time of the election
members to the Council Negri in 1963; the alliance was aimed
insuring that both parties were represented in the highes
governmental body. The alliance was short-lived and ended afte
the elections but it resulted in a charge from BARJASA supporter
in Kuching that "history repeats itself--in July, 1946, Malay
were sold to the British, and now in July 1, 1963, Malays wer
sold to the Chinese."[18]

Perhaps the most remarkable aspect of the politicizatio
of communal rivalries in the late 1950s and early 1960s was tha
it resulted in no overt communal violence. The only recorde
incident of potential violence with communal overtones was
confrontation between a Chinese youth gang and some Mala
students outside a cinema in 1958, before the development o
political parties:

> A group of Chinese roughs have congregated in the evenings around the Lilian Cinema, where they traded cinema tickets at black market prices, threatening cinema patrons and cinema employees, and fighting. On 6 October a member of this group, known as the Lilian Gang, threatened a Malay youth who, the next evening, returned with a party of Malay youths numbering between one and two hundred. Serious interracial trouble was averted by the good sense of a senior member of the Malay community, who persuaded the Malays to depart. Later, eight alleged members of the Lilian Gang appeared in District Court.[19]

The potential for communal conflict increased in the earl
1960s. One major barrier to Malay-Chinese cooperation was th
increasing interest in communism by some sections of Chines
youth. In the minds of the Malays, Europeans, and some Chinese
there continued to be a close association between Chinese-mediu

education and communism, and this served further to discredit the Chung Hua schools in Kuching. This fear was intensified when, in the early 1960s, some Kuching Chinese youth went into the jungle to join what were reported to be communist-led armed bands planning guerrilla warfare against the government. For the most part the Kuching Chinese involved in these groups were former students in the Chung Hua schools although many had never finished their studies. Communists and those sympathetic to communism had been increasingly disaffected by the plan to include Sarawak in the new Federation of Malaysia, which would insure that the Chinese would be subordinated indefinitely to Malay political dominance. But opposition to Malaysia was not restricted to leftist Chinese --a large majority of Chinese in Kuching and elsewhere as well as some non-Chinese preferred independence for Sarawak or continued colonial control. The only Kuching group wholeheartedly in favor of the Malaysia concept were the Malays, although they had some allies among the conservative and pro-government Chinese and local Dayaks. The issue of Malaysia would remain a major issue in Kuching political life even after the formation of the federation.

The Impact of Malaysia

Sarawak became a state within the Malaysia Federation on September 16, 1963, with Kuching as the state capital. The long period of European political control was terminated and Sarawak came under the control of a federal government in Kuala Lumpur dominated by the Alliance Party--a coalition of Malays, conservative Chinese, and Indians in which Malays held the major decision making powers. Although Sarawak retained a certain amount of local autonomy in many matters, the influence of federal policies became stronger over the course of the next eight years.

The end of European rule brought changes in the state political structure. The European governor was replaced by a veteran Kuching Malay leader, Datu Abang Openg, a descendant of Datu Patinggi Ali and the chairman of the Majlis Islam. Datu Dr. Sockalingam, the Kuching Tamil, was appointed speaker of the Council Negri, a nominated post. The state government was controlled by the Sarawak Alliance, a state-wide coalition of two predominantly Dayak parties with BARJASA and SCA; in 1965 PANAS joined the alliance and one of the Dayak parties left in 1966. The Sarawak Alliance was modeled upon and strongly influenced by the Malayan Alliance Party and thus it facilitated the gradual extension of West Malaysian policies and attitudes into Sarawak. The Sarawak Alliance was controlled by Ibans and Malays. Kuching, on the other hand, was largely Chinese and controlled by the anti-Malaysia SUPP, which was an opposition party on the state level and without substantial power. The result was that Kuching had little control over many of the changes that the new political situation would generate.

One result of political change was the continued rapi growth of the population. As the state capital, Kuching absorbe a small influx of West Malaysian civil servants, technicians military personnel and businessmen, but most were temporar residents and made little demographic or social impact. However accelerated rural-urban migration helped generate a municipa population increase to an estimated 64,000 in 1970, or 14,00 higher than 1960.[20] The fast-growing suburbs were believed t contain 35,000, giving the metropolitan area a total populatio of around 100,000.

There was a modification of the occupational specializatio that had so conspicuously marked Kuching's plural society sinc the demise of the Malay nakodas. The efforts of the state an federal governments to bring more Malays into the commercia sector enabled some Kuching Malays to establish businesses. Mos of these new firms, still few in number by 1970, concentrated o import-export or industrial activities rather than retail trade Government support to Malay commerce was encouraged by the forma tion, in 1967, of the Native Chamber of Commerce (Perniaga Bumiputera Sarawak), which had a largely Malay leadership an membership. The chamber, established under the patronage of th Malay National Union, promoted Malay enterprise and lobbied fo such policies as a requirement that private companies reserv shares for Malays.[21] Malay occupational guilds also appeared fo the first time; Malay barbers founded one of the earliest o these in 1966. The new interest of Malays in entreprenuria activities came at a time when Chinese traders faced difficultie from low world prices for rubber, pepper, and timber and fro increased competition, forcing many shops into bankruptcy Foochow businessmen and company branches from the Third Divisio who continued to establish operations in Kuching provided some o the competition. For the first time since the late nineteent century, Chinese and Malays were again competing in the sam economic sphere.

One of the major changes under Malaysia came in the fiel of education. In the early and mid-1960s, the state governmen promoted the spread of English-medium education and a number o new government and private primary and secondary schools wer established in Kuching. At the same time, Chinese-medium educa tion continued in its state of decline despite strong suppor from such important local organizations as the Chinese Chamber o Commerce. By 1960 nearly sixty percent of all Kuching primar students in the municipality, including almost half the Chinese were being educated in English, in private, mission, o government schools.[22]

In the late 1960s the state government, under pressure fro federal authorities, made the decision to prepare all aide schools for conversion into Malay-medium institutions. Thi development met with strong opposition from non-Malays, who fel it would give the Malays an unfair advantage in education an subsequent employment. Chinese also interpreted the pressure t shift to Malay-medium instruction as a grave threat to Chines

culture and it increased apprehension about the Chinese future in Malaysia. Because of financial difficulties and the need for government assistance, by 1970 most English-medium schools were increasing their Malay curriculum in anticipation of the new arrangement. The proposed change had unprecedented implications for Kuching--for the first time the language of one of the Asian ethnic groups would become the required medium of instruction for the schools. The Brooke goal of educating each ethnic group in its own vernacular and the mission and colonial desires to promote Western education were abandoned. The change had the potential to promote communal harmony by establishing a common language and shared educational experiences, but it could also lead to greater difficulty by further embittering Chinese and other non-Malays.

The federal government also influenced religious life by strengthening Islamic institutions and practices in Kuching through official patronage and financial assistance. Islam was the official religion of the Malaysian Federation, though not of Sarawak, and the somewhat more zealous and puritanical Muslim traditions of Malaya became increasingly popular in Kuching. Islamic orthodoxy became closely linked with Malay nationalism in the eyes of many Malays. The new influence manifested itself in the construction of an expensive new Masjid Besar in Kuching, aided by large federal and state grants, and the establishment of militant Muslim organizations. The most important of these--the Angkatan Nahdatul Islam Bersatu (Islamic Youth Movement), or BINA appeared in 1968. BINA had a reformist orientation, sponsored religious courses and lobbied for the stricter observance of Muslim requirements by Malays. The Majlis Islam was also controlled by reformist elements and worked to revise Malay adat along modernist lines, by such means as making divorce more difficult and curtailing high funeral expenses.[23] The Christian, Chinese, and Hindu religious leaders in Kuching became increasingly concerned that Islamic power would eventually threaten them, as had happened in neighboring Sabah, and the rising Islamic influence further heightened Malay-Chinese antagonisms.

Rivalry between the two Chinese political parties, SUPP and SCA, became increasingly bitter in the first eight years of Malaysia. SUPP maintained its general control of the Kuching Chinese but suffered both from a growing moderate-leftist cleavage and the arrest of some of its local leaders, including three KMC members, for alleged pro-communist subversion. Pro-communist guerrillas operated in the border regions south and southeast of Kuching, particularly during Indonesian Confrontation, and this compromised the positions of leftist Chinese in the capital. The SUPPcontrolled First Division Trade Union Congress and several Chinese-language newspapers were proscribed in 1966. SUPP remained an opposition party until 1970 although several of its top leaders gained election to the Council Negri and the Federal House of Representatives (Dewan Ra'ayat). Because of its membership in the Sarawak Alliance, SCA received several cabinet positions in the state government. But the party

came increasingly under the control of upwardly mobile, wealt
Sibu Foochows, who saw participation in the alliance as a vehic
to political and economic supremacy, and therefore lost even mo
popularity in Kuching.

SUPP-SCA rivalry continued to find its major local battl
grounds in the KMC and Chinese associations. The KMC remain
the major institution of local government, and was also partic
larly important as a local power base for Kuching leade
involved in state or federal politics. In 1968, for exampl
three KMC members also sat as members of the Dewan Ra'ayat, s
served on the Council Negri, and one on the Supreme Council. T
three major SUPP officers in the state were all KMC members. O
Kee Hui resigned as KMC chairman in 1965 and was replaced by So
Thian Cheok, while A.K. Marican Sallen, a Malay member of SUP
became vice-chairman. SCA lost to SUPP in two by-elections f
KMC seats. Because of state and national political difficultie
the general KMC elections scheduled for 1966 were not held a
members elected in 1963 were still serving in 1970.

The Chinese Chamber of Commerce was the most importa
associational forum for SUPP-SCA maneuvering. SCA supporte
obtained control of the chamber in 1964 and 1965, with Teochi
and Cantonese holding half of the twenty offices. T.Y. Tan,
Teochiu SCA leader, became chairman. A major reason for the S
triumph appears to have been a general feeling among non-par
members that SCA dominance would give the chamber closer ties a
influence with the Alliance state government, particularly sin
a Kuching SCA leader, Dato Teo Kui Seng, served as minister
Natural Resources until 1966 and controlled the lucrative timb
concessions. SUPP supporters regained power in 1966, electi
six Hakka, five Hokkien, and two Chaoann officers; only thr
Teochius and Cantonese gained election.[24] Dato Wee Hood Teck,
wealthy Hokkien banker, son of Wee Kheng Chiang, and brother-i
law of Ong Kee Hui, became chairman. Hakkas continued to u
their SUPP affiliation and alliance with the Hokkiens as
vehicle to stronger commercial influence. Indeed, a number
Hakka, Chaoann, and Henghua had risen from humble origins
achieve commercial success since the 1940s, and the number
enterprises in Kuching operated by members of these grou
multiplied. To some extent this commercial success came at t
expense of Teochius and, to a lesser extent, Hokkiens;
particular the Teochius lost some of their predominance in t
grocery trade. Hakkas, Chaoanns, and Henghuas also pioneered
and hence came to dominate the rapidly growing transportati
industry, setting up bus companies, service stations and aut
mobile dealerships. Some of this upward mobility reflected the
activity in SUPP.[25]

Malay parties developed along somewhat different lines
PANAS leader Abang Haji Mustapha, the datu bandar, died sudden
in January, 1964, a few days after being appointed a minister
the federal government. This removed the major personal barri
to at least superficial PANAS-BARJASA cooperation and, in 1965
PANAS joined the Sarawak Alliance with the new PANAS leader

Abang Othman, being given a state cabinet post. Most of the non-Malay officers in PANAS had already resigned from the party because of the increasing emphasis on Malay-oriented issues. However, without the strong leadership and organizational skills of the bandar, PANAS lost some of its cohesion; in 1966 the party divided over a state political controversy. One faction, led by Abang Othman, joined the Sarawak National Party (SNAP), a predominantly Iban but officially multi-ethnic party that constituted the main non-Chinese opposition to the Alliance state government. The other, larger faction, including all the PANAS KMC members, merged with BARJASA to form a new wholly Malay party, Party Bumiputera (Indigenous Party). The new party brought together both pro- and anti-cession elements and gave the Malays a political coherence they had not known since the Brooke period. Since it united competing factions and had a strong and unified leadership, Party Bumiputera gained an unprecedented influence among Kuching Malays. Borrowing on the organizational tactics pioneered by SUPP, it succeeded in building a disciplined voting bloc able to maximize Malay electoral power. The organizational advantage traditionally held by the Chinese over the Malays was beginning to diminish.[26]

Political polarization, combined with the unpopularity of many government policies with non-Malays, still did not generate any overt inter-ethnic hostilities in Kuching, at least none major enough to have been newsworthy. Undoubtedly greater bitterness and suspicion existed on a personal level than had been the case in earlier historical periods but these did not result in violence. The only serious case of group violence reported in the town came in 1966 when a large number of Kuching Malays, mostly youths, fought with some thirty Malay soldiers from West Malaysia. The local Malays resented the Malayans, who were stationed in Kuching due to confrontation with Indonesia, because they were considered arrogant and disdainful of the local customs and population.[27]

Kuching remained free from inter-ethnic violence although ethnic riots did on certain occasions occur in several Southeast Asian cities, including some in Peninsular Malaysia. One factor may have been a resentment towards West Malaysia that often transcended ethnic boundaries. Whether justified or not, many Chinese and Dayaks shared the opinion that Sarawak had merely exchanged a European colonial master for an Asian one. Although Malays tended to be pro-Malaysia and the Malay parties cooperated fully with the federal government, some Malays seemed disappointed in developments since 1963. The anti-Malayan fighting in 1966 confirmed the disaffection of some Malays. Lingering intra-group antagonisms also continued to absorb some of the energies that might have been directed to inter-ethnic conflict. In addition some of the political party leaders maintained friendly personal relations with members of other ethnic groups and kept the more chauvinistic elements in their own parties in check. Thus, moderate SUPP leaders like Ong Kee Hui and Stephen Yong prevented SUPP from following a political strategy appealing

only to Chinese of a more radical ideology and made every eff
to promote a multi-ethnic identity for the party.

In 1970 the first state-wide election which could test
strength of cross-ethnic alliances and non-Malay dissatisfact
with state and federal policies was held. For the first time
Sarawak history, voters elected their representatives directly
popular franchise to the Council Negri and Federal House
Representatives rather than indirectly through the three-tie
system used in the past. Most observers expected that SUPP wo
capture the seats from largely Chinese districts in the Kuch
area, with Bumiputera winning the predominantly Malay constitu
cies, but the election results showed that the alliance betw
SCA and Bumiputera could prove more valuable to SCA on a lo
level that had been the case in the past. With the aid of
unexpectedly disciplined Malay voting bloc organized
Bumiputera, SCA won one of the two Council Negri seats from
Kuching municipality when Cheng Yew Kiew, a young universi
trained Hainanese former civil servant, defeated Ong Kee H
The district included the Datu's Peninsula kampungs as well
the western section of the bazaar and suburbs, and had a sli
Malay majority; Malay votes accounted for about eighty percent
Cheng's support.[28] SUPP won the other municipal constitue
(with Stephen Yong) as well as one in the Chinese suburbs, wh
a Bumiputera woman, 'Che Ajibah binte Abol, won in a distr
that included the north bank kampungs. 'Che Ajibah, a Kuchi
born former schoolteacher and anti-cession activist, had hea
the women's section of MNUS and was a founding member of BARJA
since 1966 she led the women's wing of Parti Bumiputera.[29]
Kee Hui was elected to Kuching's seat in the Dewan Ra'ayat.

Contrary to expectations, no one party or group of part
won enough seats to gain control of the Council Negri in sta
wide electoral results.[30] SUPP, Bumiputera, and SNAP, a larg
Dayak opposition party, each won one-fourth of the seats,
this necessitated the formation of a coalition government.
coalition that was formed did not bring together the two oppo
tion parties, SUPP and SNAP, nor did it rely on the often fe
ing but theoretically allied members of the Sarawak Allian
Rather, in a move that came as a considerable surprise,
leaders of SUPP and Bumiputera established a coalition gove
ment, with the Dayak component of the Alliance, Party Pesa
also invited to participate. Kuching men (two from SU
received three of the six cabinet portfolios, including Step
Yong as deputy chief minister to a Malay chief ministe
Bumiputera evidently gave SUPP leaders certain guarantees ab
state policies as a condition of the coalition, while SUPP agr
to vote with the Malaysia Alliance on critical matters in
Dewan Ra'ayat. One of SUPP's conditions for participation
that SCA be excluded from the cabinet.

For Kuching the ramifications of the coalition we
however, interesting, since it meant that, temporarily at lea
political power in the state and the town was distributed
parallel fashion. Although the coalition was nominally

three-way alliance between SUPP, Bumiputera, and Pesaka, in actuality Pesaka's share of power seemed more symbolic than real. The two dominant parties in Kuching--Bumiputera and SUPP--therefore controlled the state government, at least for the time being. Kuching, of course, remained subject to outside political forces since in the town itself a coalition government would not have been necessary at all, given the clear Chinese numerical dominance.

The future of the newest alliance depended to some extent on the ability of Malays to remain united. It remained to be seen whether the intra-group hostilities of the post-war period could be submerged successfully over a long period of time. The tenure of the coalition was also dependent on success in minimizing inter-ethnic tensions both locally and state-wide. In 1970, the people of Kuching faced the future with some trepidation and some optimism; but it was possible that the coalition government could make some progress in solving the problems facing the town and state.

Contemporary Kuching

Some of the most decisive developments in Kuching since 1970 have been demographic; by the mid-1980's the metropolitan area was estimated to contain between 250,000 and 300,000 inhabitants, well over double the 1970 population. Much of this growth can be attributed to migration from nearby rural areas, other parts of the state, and (to a lesser extent) West Malaysia. Many of the new arrivals were Dayaks, and the Dayak presence in the town became more pronounced. New suburban neighborhoods and housing projects sprouted up on the fringe of the town, displacing mangrove swamps and rubber estates. Some of these were multiethnic in population, and residential patterns in these districts seemed to reflect socioeconomic class rather than ethnic patters. Some of this development occurred on the north bank, where a new state government center was established north of the astana, including the state secretariat and Council Negri chambers. Traffic jams clogged the town's expanding road system, and suburban shopping centers increasingly challenged the commercial primacy of the bazaar.

Although the traditional "downtown" business district betrayed some signs of decay, the city as a whole reflected considerable energy, prosperity, and recent economic development. Clearly Kuching had won the battle for economic primacy with Sibu, still very much a secondary city in Sarawak. Some of Kuching's growth was financed by revenues or profits from the expanding oil and timber industries in the northeastern part of the state. Kuching in 1985 boasted half a dozen malls or large shopping complexes mostly situated on the fringe of the old bazaar, and many modern supermarkets (compared to one shopping complex and one supermarket in 1970); this paled in comparison to Kuala Lumpur (a dozen or so malls in the metropolitan area) or

even Penang but marked Kuching as more commercially developed ar dynamic then comparable regional West Malaysian cities such a Ipoh, Melaka, Kuantan, Seremban Alor Star, or Kota Bahru. At th same time many of the new arrivals were poor, and a few "shant town" neighborhoods common to most Southeast Asian cities ha appeared.

The increasing Malay socioeconomic influence on Malaysia' plural society was clearly evident in Kuching, with more Mala enterprises and organizations, a stronger Islamic presence, ar the increasing use of the Malay language. And yet, despite gradual decline in English-medium (and Chinese-medium) educatior English was still widely used in everyday life, indeed, mor commonly heard on the streets of Kuching than in any Wes Malaysian cities except Kvala Lumpur and Petaling Jaya. Th Sarawak government had only recently mandated the switch fro English to Malay in state administration and offical business (decision much criticized in Kuching). The Utsusan Sarawak Kuching's only Malay daily newspaper, ceased publication; in 198 the only Kuching daily newspapers published in English c Chinese, although West Malaysian newspapers and periodical (including Malay publications) enjoyed a wide circulation.

Malay-led Parti Bumiputera (now called Pesakea-Bumiputer Bersatu) continued to dominate both Sarawak and Kuching Mala political life, although the party suffered from divisions ar factionalism at the state level. Kuching's Chinese communit maintained their reputation for opposition political sentiments SUPP became basically a moderate, "Establishment" party ar remained in coalition with the dominant Malay leadership at bot state and federal levels; the party continued to have many loca supporters and retained domination of the KMC. But the Wes Malaysia-based, Chinese-led, opposition Democratic Action Part held Kuching's main Chinese seat in the federal Parliament ar enjoyed wide popularity. The predominantly Dayak SNAP (a membe of the governing coalition since 1976) also retained the allegi ance of a small but generally prosperous and influential sectio of the Kuching Chinese community. While Kuching remained rela tively free from serious communal strife, the dominant Malay ar Chinese appeared to be increasingly competitive in the political economic, and sociocultural life of the town. To some exten this reflected the gradual diminishment of ethnicity-based resi dential segregation and occupational specialization, evidenc that Kuching has been a plural society in change.

Chapter IX

KUCHING IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

The study of Southeast Asian urban history is still in its formative stages; it is too early to determine conclusively whether the development of urban society in Kuching can serve as a model for understanding the social evolution of other intermediate-sized urban settlements in Insular Southeast Asia or throughout the region. Yet it may not be premature to attempt to relate some aspects of Kuching's history to the social dynamics of urbanization in other parts of Southeast Asia. A number of themes in Kuching's social history may call forth fruitful comparisons and suggest avenues of inquiry which could be further pursued by scholars studying other Southeast Asian cities and towns.

In this chapter several important elements in Kuching's social history are examined with reference to other urban centers for which sufficient data is available. Although there is a paucity of historical information from secondary sources on which to draw, enough can be compiled from the works of scholars in other disciplines, particularly anthropologists and geographers, to attempt some meaningful comparisons. Much of the interest of urban researchers has focused on the larger cities of the region such as Bangkok, Singapore, Manila, Semarang, Medan, Kuala Lumpur, and Phnom Penh. But some useful material is available for cities closer to Kuching in population size, including Sukabumi (Indonesia), Muar, and Pasir Mas (Peninsular Malaysia), and Vientiane (Laos). Indonesian and Malaysian cities have received more attention than those in other countries; Burma, Vietnam, and Laos have been especially neglected. There has also been more concentration in the literature on the Chinese than on the indigenous peoples, and this is reflected in the choice of topics as well as the emphasis of the discussion which follows. The themes to be discussed include the formation of new groups, inter-ethnic relations, communal violence, urban political structure, the role of Chinese speech groups, and the nature of urban Malay society.

The Formation of New Groups

Over the course of 140 years a variety of peoples established themselves in Kuching under a succession of four very different governments. During this period a wide range of social, political, and economic institutions emerged which served to integrate the various ethnic groups and subgroups internally and relate them as well to the broader community. Because ethnic and sub-ethnic categories greatly influenced urban life and structure, a certain degree of social and cultural pluralism characterized Kuching society; the general citizen related to the town and its institutions not as an individual but through membership in a particular group defined by the ties of language, religion, culture, and ancestral homeland. Yet, Kuching did not completely match the model of a plural society as outlined by Furnivall, Smith, and some others. Thus, social interaction was not confined totally to the market place nor were the institutional structures of the town wholly segmented and antagonistic. Furthermore, political divisions did not entirely correlate with ethnic ones, and there is little evidence that the force of an outside political authority was absolutely necessary to maintain local cohesion. Indeed, since 1963 outside political authority (state and national) may possibly have hindered rather than improved local communal relations.

A good deal of evidence suggests that the urban milieu has sometimes been conducive to the formation of new social groupings based on physical and cultural intermixture or radical cultural change. One of the by-products of ethnic heterogeneity and cultural mixing in Kuching was the formation of groups characterized by a high degree of Westernization generally acquired through an English-medium education. These groups, most particularly the "Sarawak Chinese" and the Malay orang kerani, reflected the acculturation of Asians to European cultural norms and attitudes rather than the "Malayization" of Chinese or the "Sinization" of Malays.

An analysis of cases elsewhere in Southeast Asia reveals the evolution of a variety of social groups, many of which manifest a more extensive cultural mixture than existed in Kuching. A number of new social groupings based on both physical and cultural intermixture occurred, the best cases being the Peranakan Chinese of Java, the Baba Chinese of Malacca and Singapore, the Jawi Peranakans of Singapore and Penang, the Chinese Mestizos of the Philippines, and the Eurasians in many settlements. For purposes of analysis these groups except the Eurasians, were termed "acculturated immigrant groups" since they involved adaptation to indigenous cultural norms by immigrant Chinese or Indians. The Peranakans and Babas constituted strongly demarcated and culturally distinct Chinese subgroups while the Mestizos and Jawi Peranakans formed new ethnic categories. The Eurasians resulted from physical intermixture. Perhaps the most prominent example of radical cultural change without physical or indigenous cultural inter-mixture was the

case of the Straits Chinese of Singapore (and Penang). Except for a few Baba and Jawi Peranakan immigrants from Malaya and Singapore, no similar groups exist in Kuching.

The Peranakan (native born) Chinese of the Javan towns and cities developed as a group primarily in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when Chinese immigration was sporadic, the Chinese communities relatively small, and few Chinese women were available for marriage.[1] Most Peranakans were descendants of Chinese men and local Javan women. The group further increased in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, less by intermarriage than by marriage of China-born immigrants with Peranakan women. The rapid increase of Chinese immigration in the present century created a new element in the Chinese population, the Totoks, who retained their ties with China, maintained Chinese culture, and often brought their own China-born women for marriage. Peranakans, although identified by both Indonesians and Chinese as part of the Chinese community, were a mixed group culturally. They spoke Malay, Javanese, or Sundanese as their mother tongue, although they embellished these with a considerable amount of Hokkien vocabulary since Hokkiens constituted the predominant Chinese speech group in Java until this century. Peranakans identified with Java rather than China and in food, dress, and life-style they followed Javan patterns, while their social and kinship pattern was both Hokkien and Javan. The Baba Chinese, who developed in Malacca between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries and then spread as immigrants to Penang and Singapore, were similar to the Peranakans in that Malay was their mother tongue and they identified with Malaya rather than China; their social and cultural orientation, however, remained more Chinese. Neither group adopted Islam to any great extent after around 1800.

Peranakans and Babas remained Chinese in identification if not in culture and were therefore basically subgroups within the Chinese community. The Jawi Peranakans and Philippine Mestizos, on the other hand, may have been more than subgroups. The Mestizo community developed throughout the period of Spanish rule, largely as a result of Chinese marriages with Filipinos; in some cases Spanish blood was added to the racial mixture. Powerful political and economic advantages influenced Chinese to become Christians or marry Filipinos, with such inducements augmented by the scarcity of Chinese women. Over the course of several generations Mestizos constituted a separate group from the pure-blooded, usually non-Christian, Chinese, with different legal, economic, residential, and social obligations. In time many came to draw closer to, in many cases even amalgamating with, the Filipino rather than the Chinese community. Their cultural and social patterns were mixed, and they often faced discrimination from the more numerous pure-blooded Chinese.[2] The Jawi Peranakans, a comparatively small group, developed in Penang and Singapore during the nineteenth century as the product of marriages between South Indian Muslim men and Malay women. The resulting offspring inherited a somewhat mixed culture and an

identity on the fringes of the Malay community, but they were never fully accepted by the Malays despite their attempts to lead that community.[3] This pattern was not duplicated in Kuching, where Indians who married Malays were absorbed into the Malay community.

The acculturated immigrant groups which developed in insular Southeast Asia seemed to represent a pattern that was most common before the great Chinese and Indian influx of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries which improved communication with the homeland, greatly increased the immigrant population, and facilitated the influx of Chinese and Indian women. Although the development of the groups mentioned above continued through the nineteenth century and, with respect to the Peranakans, even into the latter half of the twentieth, it would appear that with the exception of the Jawi Peranakans and, more significantly, Eurasians, no additional new groups were formed after the early 1800s. Even before then the pattern does not appear to have been universal. West Borneo and southern Thailand were areas with considerable Chinese immigration in the late eighteenth century but culturally mixed Baba-like groups do not seem to have developed in such town as Pontianak, Sambas, or Patani. Nor does any available evidence suggest that the large number of towns founded in the nineteenth century in East Sumatra, Malaya, and British North Borneo, all with numerous Chinese immigrants, developed Peranakan-type groups. Chinese acculturation to indigenous social and cultural patterns occurred frequently in Bangkok and Phnom Penh, but in these cities the Chinese were assimilated into the Thai or Khmer group rather than forming an intermediate group. Thus the failure of such a group to develop in Kuching does not appear unusual.

Eurasians generally derived from the marriage or cohabitation of European men and indigenous or sometimes Chinese women; they were found in most towns and cities in the region. The development of Eurasian communities varied greatly. In some cities, such as Kuching, they generally came to be identified as ethnic groups in their own right, occasionally even establishing their own community institutions and associations. Frequently they developed a mixed culture; in Java this cultural pattern--particularly strong in the nineteenth century--was known as "Indisch" (Indies) culture. Continuing usually to speak the language, and practice the Christian religion, of their European forebearers, they were often fully accepted by neither European nor Asian groups but occupied an insecure, intermediate position. With the rise of nationalism and the coming of independence, Eurasians were generally forced to choose between basically European or indigenous identities; many have moved closer to their Asian neighbors in culture, life-style, political life, and sometimes even religion while others have maintained a more European type socio-cultural orientation.[4]

It is worth noting that not all changes in cultural and ethnic identification involved acculturation to an indigenous or European cultural pattern. In colonial Batavia, for example, a

strong tendency existed in the eighteenth and nineteenth century for settlers from a wide variety of ethnic groups from outside Java to coalesce over time into a wholly new group, the Jakarta Asli or Batavians, who came to be looked upon as an indigenous group. More than most Southeast Asian cities, Batavia seems to have been a melting pot for certain peoples despite a well-entrenched system of indirect rule and residential segregation. Over the course of several centuries many of the smaller ethnic groups in the city, some of whom were brought to Java by the Dutch as slaves, others of whom were free immigrants, were beginning to inter-marry and amalgamate. The ethnic strains that went into the making of the Jakarta Asli included Muslim Chinese Peranakans, South Indians (mostly slaves), Pampangans from the Philippines, Balinese, Bugis, Japanese, Mardijkers (Christianized, Portuguese-speaking slaves from India), and various peoples from the southern Celebes. The newly formed ethnic group developed a hybrid version of Malay, with many Portuguese, Chinese, and other accretions, and most of the people became Muslim. Together with Javanese, Sundanese, Chinese, Malays, Arabs, Europeans, and various migrants from other parts of the Indies they became one of the major ethnic groups in the city; indeed by the 1930s they were by far the largest group in Batavia.[5]

In the Straits Settlements, and particularly in Singapore, one other type of group developed which might have been expected to appear in Kuching as well. The Straits Chinese, a group which emerged in the mid to late nineteenth century, was a Singapore-born, English-educated, often Westernized elite group with strong loyalties to Britain and a marked tendency to consider the Straits Settlements, rather than China, as a permanent home. Although the Straits Chinese retained the bulk of Chinese social and cultural norms, and were of pure Chinese lineage rather than of mixed origins, they were fluent in English and generally used that language in the home rather than Chinese, of which many were ignorant. The Straits Chinese formed a cohesive group with its own voluntary associations, and individuals had little concern for their speech groups; they were generally enumerated in colonial census figures as Straits Chinese rather than as Hokkiens or Teochius. Many were Christians.[6] Some of the ethnically or culturally mixed Christian groups of colonial Batavia, who modeled themselves on the Dutch and adopted many elements of Dutch culture, might represent a similar pattern of acculturation to Western rather than indigenous culture.[7]

At first glance it might seem that a Kuching counterpart to the Straits Chinese existed in the "Sarawak Chinese." These people were mostly of pure Chinese lineage, local-born, Christian, and inclined to view Kuching rather than China as their home; furthermore, they constituted an elite group who, like the Straits Chinese, staffed the civil service and the large European and Chinese businesses. They were sometimes called, by themselves and others, "Peranakans." Nonetheless they differed from their Straits counterparts in certain important respects. While

all were fluent or competent in English, few used English rather than Chinese as a mother tongue. Because Kuching had a limited educational system, with no senior secondary school until the 1930s, the English education was less complete and Westernization less pronounced. Perhaps most importantly, the Sarawak Chinese never constituted a cohesive group along the lines of the Straits Chinese. They participated in a few largely Sarawak Chinese voluntary associations such as the mission-sponsored social clubs, but did not limit their activities solely to these groups. The division between the English-educated elite and the rest of the Chinese was never wide, although the post-war growth of Mandarin education served to accentuate the differences between the English-educated and the Chinese-educated.

There seem to be a number of reasons for the failure of true Peranakan- or Straits Chinese-type groups to develop in Kuching.[8] The general Brooke policy of maintaining each ethnic group as separate, discouraging Asian inter-marriage, and encouraging both residential and occupational specialization helped discourage large-scale social interaction and encourage the retention of traditional cultural patterns. Offspring of mixed marriages had a very ambiguous social position but were legally assigned to a particular ethnic category depending on circumstances. Brooke policy encouraged each group to remain fluent in its own language and constantly challenged what was seen as an attempt by the mission schools to create yellow or brown "Englishmen." The mission schools were largely responsible for the creation of the Sarawak Chinese and the Malay oran kerani. The non-mission schools institutionalized Brooke policy by erecting separate and exclusive Chinese and Malay facilities. Religion also constituted a barrier to inter-marriage. A Chinese who took a Malay wife would have been compelled by local Islamic law to embrace Islam--a step the pork-eating, family-centered Chinese were reluctant to take. Baba and Peranakan Chinese in Malacca and Java married Malay or Javanese women without, in most cases, adopting their religion, although in general this occurred prior to the nineteenth century. In any case many Javanese were little concerned with Muslim law and traditionally tolerant of religious differences. Most Kuching Chinese who did marry Malay were absorbed into the Malay group.

Perhaps the most important factor militating against the development of acculturated groups, whether European- or indigenous-oriented, was the absence of an incentive. Inter-marriage between Chinese and Malays in early Kuching was not necessary as a means of supplying wives for Chinese immigrants because a long-settled rural Hakka group existed, as well as rural Dayaks, capable of providing marriageable women to the urban Chinese. Unlike the Philippine towns, no legal privileges accrued to Christian converts in Kuching although they might have enjoyed a slight edge in government employment. Malays were prohibited by law and custom from renouncing Islam. No attempt was ever made to Islamicize the Chinese. A Chinese Muslim with a Malay wife could sometimes gain access to the kampung, where

might establish a small shop, but he would have sacrificed his opportunity for upward mobility or influence in the Chinese community, which frowned on such actions and controlled the economy.

After the turn of the century, when the Chinese had achieved numerical significance, Malay ceased to be the lingua franca of commerce and fewer Chinese gained fluency in that language. Chinese, particularly Hokkien, became the language of trade with bazaar Malay only secondary. English was useful only for the elite or government servants in the Brooke period; after 1945, the knowledge of English became more essential for business and government. Culturally or ethnically mixed groups, fluent in several languages and capable of bridging the cultural gaps, were not necessary to the functioning of the economy of the town. Even in the early Brooke period, when a knowledge of Malay was essential and the Chinese community was small, no evidence suggests that any Peranakan-type group existed. Although the absence of Peranakan- or Straits Chinese-type groups differentiates Kuching rather strongly from Javan, Philippine and some Malayan cities, it does not appear to have been unusual for towns which developed in the mid-nineteenth century or later.

Inter-Ethnic Relations

To determine more fully to what extent Kuching can be considered a plural society, it may be useful to consider whether more or fewer avenues for inter-ethnic contact and interaction existed in Kuching than in some other Southeast Asian urban settlements. Many, perhaps most, towns and cities have reflected ethnic heterogeneity and cultural pluralism. Structurally the Southeast Asian city has developed in a remarkably similar way regardless of location, with most elements of the structure pointing to considerable ethnic segmentation. Only in the post-war years have residential patterns characterized by the concentration of alien groups (Chinese and Indian) in the downtown commercial districts, indigenous trading groups (where they existed) in their ghettos, and non-commercial indigenous in the suburban districts, begun to break down with increased Chinese movement into formerly indigenous neighborhoods or vice versa.[9] Except at the elite level, the associational, educational, and political structures of most cities in the colonial period developed around mutually exclusive ethnic categories. Only the mission schools, the elite social and civic clubs and, occasionally, the churches and temples, would seem to have represented exceptions, as they did in Kuching. Most Southeast Asian urban centers developed as what Geertz calls "hollow" towns, because they were comprised of a combination of small societies rather than an integrated social structure.[10] Yet inter-ethnic contacts did occur, sometimes frequently, in both the colonial and post-colonial eras.

Evidence from other urban settlements suggests that Kuching

seems to have had, on balance, a degree of Chinese-indigenous interaction comparable to most cities and towns in the region. Giok-lan Tan did one of the most extensive studies on the subject in the West Java city of Sukabumi, founded in the late nineteenth century and with a population of about 70,000 in the 1950s, including 10,000 Chinese.[11] Tan found clear cut differences in the early 1960s between Totok and Peranakan Chinese; Totok relations with the Indonesian population, most of them Sundanese, were restricted largely to the realm of business. Few Totoks could speak any Indonesian language fluently, nor did they belong to any organizations which had Indonesian members, send their children to non-Chinese schools, or socialize with Indonesians privately. She did find that Totok-Indonesian interaction may have been more common in the pre-war period, however, when some Totok-Indonesian marriages were arranged. Peranakans maintained a much wider range of relationships with Indonesians. Peranakans and Indonesians of varied status associated with one another in church, particularly the Roman Catholic Church, which had many Outer Island and Javanese members, and in the mission secondary schools. Western-educated, usually elite, members of both groups also joined the same social clubs and occasionally the same political party, and they socialized informally. Peranakan-Indonesian marriages were numerous, although perhaps more common in the pre-war period. Nonetheless both groups retained negative perceptions of each other, the Peranakans sharing the Totok feeling of superiority over Indonesians and the Indonesians lumping the Peranakans and Totoks together and considering them both opportunists and exploiters.

Donald Willmott found a somewhat comparable situation in the north coast city of Semarang, a long-established port with a population in the 1950s of 360,000 including over 60,000 Chinese.[12] Despite the residential segregation required by Dutch policy, inter-ethnic bridges developed during the colonial period. Some Chinese and Indonesians attended Dutch schools and Western-educated, wealthy families of all three groups mixed socially together at least in churches and schools; but few, if any, inter-ethnic social clubs existed. The churches were integrated but church auxiliary organizations (women's clubs, etc.) remained generally segregated. Inter-marriage between Chinese and Indonesians occurred with some frequency but Asian-Dutch unions were few. Indonesian independence seems to have encouraged increasing interaction between Chinese and Indonesians, particularly at elite levels. Indonesians and Chinese entered into joint business ventures, a few multi-ethnic social clubs were established, and a growing number of Chinese students attended mission and government schools with Indonesians.

Some data also exists for Bangkok and Vientiane.[13] Bangkok has contained a very large and important Chinese community since the late nineteenth century. Chinese and Thai intermarriage in pre-war Bangkok was common before World War I, and often served as a mechanism for recruitment of Chinese into the Thai elite. It declined with the increasing immigration of Chinese women in

the 1920s. Thai and Chinese leaders generally maintained close relations and the mission schools provided an educational focus for students from both groups. The lines between the communities sharpened in recent decades, however, with intermarriage becoming increasingly infrequent and carrying stronger negative value connotations. This tendency was offset somewhat by the entrance of more Chinese into mission and, particularly since 1960, Thai medium schools; the required teaching of Thai language and a Thai-based curriculum in Chinese schools, which would give the two communities at least a vehicle for communication; and the growth of various multi-ethnic elite social clubs and alumni associations. But groups retained fairly strong prejudices against the social and cultural patterns of the other group. There was also a tendency, as in Java, for local-born Chinese to have closer relations with the Thai than the China-born. This pattern especially characterized the 1960s and 1970s, as many increasingly acculturated Chinese youth moved closer to Thai society.

The Chinese immigrants in Laotian cities such as Vientiane also established a close, even symbiotic, relationship with the Lao nobility, as Chinese operated businesses financed by Lao capital. A considerable amount of Chinese-Lao intermarriage occurred. Chinese-Lao business partnerships and intermarriage continued into the post-war period. Chinese and Lao also participated together in Buddhist religious festivals. In the past it was relatively easy for Chinese to become absorbed into the Lao group. A significant number of Chinese children also attended Lao rather than Chinese schools.

Some information is also available for Pasir Mas, a town in the Malaysian state of Kelantan, where Malays, Chinese, and Indians tended, during the past several decades, to live in their own neighborhoods, maintain their own customs, follow different (and to a certain extent non-competitive) occupations, and intermarry infrequently. Although a large majority of non-Malays could speak Malay (though seldom as a mother tongue), the language of the numerically and politically dominant group, some bitterness characterized inter-ethnic relations. Malays and Muslim Indians do not socialize with each other or maintain particularly friendly relations.[14]

Interaction among different indigenous groups in Southeast Asian towns has received very little scholarly attention by comparison with the subject of Chinese-indigenous relations. But during the 1950s Edward Bruner studied the East Sumatran city of Medan and in particular the situation of the Toba Bataks, a largely Christian group from the interior highlands.[15] Apparently in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Bataks were persecuted by Muslim inhabitants, with many forced to renounce or hide their Christian affiliation. In later years, and particularly after the achievement of independence, it became possible for the Bataks to reassert their identity in a multiethnic town. Urban Bataks came into contact with other Indonesians by attending the same schools, working at the same jobs,

joining some of the same clubs and political parties, and even living in the same neighborhoods. Intermarriage with non-Toba Bataks, however, was as strongly discouraged as it had been earlier and Bataks tended to encapsulate themselves in a Batak milieu. On the other hand, interaction among the various Muslim groups in Medan was apparently quite extensive. Intermarriage between groups occurred frequently and a strong tendency existed to standardize cultural practices to a common Islamic pattern. Although the groups retained their separate identities they seemed to have numerous opportunities for social interaction, suggesting that, in Medan at least, religion was a greater barrier than culture to the social interaction between indigenous groups.

Studies of other Indonesian cities suggest that Medan has had an unusually segmented and competitive form of ethnic relations. In Bandung, where Sundanese comprised nearly seventy-five percent of the population, Bruner noted that:

> The expression of ethnicity in the two cities of Medan and Bandung is different not only in terms of the quality of social relationships between members of different groups but also in terms of such other features as the organization of voluntary associations, the performance of rituals, rates of intermarriage, and the depths of the differences between the older and younger generations.[16]

The Sundanese dominated all phases of urban life, set the local rules, and influenced the minority groups toward Sundanese norms. Except for some Sundanese hostility toward the Javanese, ethnic relations were good. Cunningham reports that the Celebes city of Ujung Pandang (formerly Makassar) represents a situation intermediate between Medan and Bandung; ethnicity is important (although less so than several decades ago; some conflict occurred in the 1950s) but considerable inter-ethnic interaction takes place, with no one ethnic group holding a dominant position.[17]

The most extensive ethnic mixing seems to have occurred in Philippine cities, particularly after the end of Spanish control. The Spanish-imposed "Chinatowns" rapidly broke up after 1900, with most Chinese living intermingled with Filipinos, few true Chinese ghettos even in commercial districts, considerable intermarriage between Chinese and Filipinos, no major communal violence, and little overt antagonism between the two groups. No doubt this resulted in part because of the relatively small size of the Chinese communities outside of Manila. The various regional Filipino groups who migrated to the towns also showed little tendency to develop important ghettos; furthermore, most became multi-lingual and learned the major local dialects. The only group to remain relatively segregated were the Muslims in Mindanao towns, who were culturally quite different from Christian Filipinos; however, considerable intermarriage occurred between Christian and Muslim Filipinos.[18]

The evidence presented above would suggest that, despite institutional impediments to social interaction in many Southeast Asian towns, there were many instances of inter-ethnic contact, indicating that the urban center did in fact constitute more than a series of self-contained ethnic communities. The amount of contact varied, and it also seems to have varied in terms of the direction of change over time, increasing in the case of Medan, Semarang, Bandung, or the Philippine towns, and evidently decreasing in Bangkok until fairly recently. Furnivall's classic definition of pluralism as entailing interaction only in the market place does not appear accurately to describe Southeast Asian urban society. At the same time, certain categories of people seem to have been more likely to interact with members of other ethnic groups. Local-born and Western-educated Chinese and Western-educated indigenes have been the most likely to belong to the same associations, attend the same schools, and sit on the same boards. Informal social interaction was more common at elite levels than among lower status groups.

One major difference among cities was the rate of intermarriage. Contacts among Chinese and indigenes appear to have resulted in a much higher rate of intermarriage in Sukabumi, Semarang, Bandung, Bangkok, Vientiane, and Philippine towns than in Kuching, Pasir Mas, or Medan, although some evidence suggests that it became less frequent in many cities after World War II when nationalism heightened indigenous-immigrant tensions. Significantly, perhaps Chinese comprised a smaller percentage of the population in many of the former cities than in the latter. The extent to which intermarriage led to assimilation also varied and seems to have depended to a considerable extent on socio-political structure. Skinner has demonstrated that assimilation of Chinese into indigenous groups through intermarriage in the pre-war period was common in Bangkok and in Siam generally, where Thai comprised the ruling elite, but much less common in Java, where Indonesians were socially inferior to Chinese in the colonial pecking order.[19] The situation in Kuching differed from both, since neither Chinese nor Malays had a higher status. Furthermore, the more orthodox Malay Islam in Kuching provided a stronger cultural barrier to Chinese-Malay intermarriage than in Java, and at the same time other alternatives seem to have been available. The tendency of Malayo-Muslim immigrants to Kuching to join the Malay group apparently was not unusual; the case of Medan indicates that Islam was able to provide an organizational and cultural focus for the absorption of migrants, as it also did in Kuching.

Communal Violence

A considerable amount of ethnic interaction apparently occurred in Southeast Asian urban centers. This raises the question as to whether or not it resulted in serious communal conflict. It would appear that there has been no noticeable

correlation between the extent of social interaction and intermarriage and the extent of inter-ethnic conflict. In the case of Bangkok, intermarriage was common into the early twentieth century, although less so later. Some anti-Chinese feeling was evident in the nineteenth century; it resurfaced around 1910, prompted in part by a Chinese strike against higher taxes. Thereafter the Thai government progressively instituted stiffer measures against the Chinese, restricting Chinese economic activities and, eventually, curtailing Chinese education, all the while enflaming Thai nationalism against the Chinese minority and embittering the Chinese. One result was a growing incidence of anti-Chinese violence. Most incidents were small-scale, battles between rival Chinese and Thai gangs or attacks on individuals by members of the other group enraged by some slight. The worst outbreak occurred in 1945 just after the end of World War II, when the Thai army broke up a hostile Chinese demonstration, heralding several days of looting, armed robbery and assaults on Bangkok Chinese, leaving at least seven dead.[20] No major confrontations occurred during the 1950s and 1960s, but the potential for violence was evident, and in 1974 serious rioting broke out, involving many deaths.

Anti-Chinese disturbances have also marked the history of some of the Javan cities, where Chinese were generally a numerical minority. Massacres of the Chinese minority occurred at several times in the eighteenth century in Batavia (Jakarta), provoked by antagonism between Dutch and Chinese. The growth of nationalism combined with a growing envy toward Chinese on the part of Muslim Javanese traders sparked serious anti-Chinese riots and looting in Tuban in 1913 and Kudus in 1918, both cities on the heavily Muslim northern coast, as well as murders of Chinese during the revolution in the 1940s. Independence generally increased Chinese-indigene tensions. In 1963, Sukabumi, despite its history of cordial Peranakan-Indonesian relations, was the scene of another anti-Chinese riot, sparked by the death of an Indonesian student in a traffic accident. Shops were looted and Chinese attacked. The riots soon spread to other Javan cities, including Jogjakarta and Bandung. The 1963 communal conflicts proved a prelude to more serious massacres of Chinese and Indonesians who were not orthodox Muslims by Muslim groups in 1965-1966 following the suppression of the alleged pro-communist coup. Some of Indonesia's major cities, including Jakarta and Medan, saw widespread killing as well as the ransacking of Chinese businesses, with little distinction being made between Peranakan and Totok Chinese.[21] Whatever the extent of ethnic interaction in the Javan cities, the various outbreaks indicated substantial communal antagonism.

The urban centers of peninsular Malaysia, more like Kuching in ethnic composition, did not witness any major Chinese-Malay clashes in the nineteenth or early twentieth centuries, although occasional Chinese riots against the British occurred in Singapore. The end of the Japanese occupation led to Chinese-Malay fighting in some towns, especially those in West Johor, as

a result of communal tensions generated by the occupation period. The post-war years, particularly the period after independence in 1957, saw repeated and serious Chinese-Malay clashes in Singapore, Penang, and Kuala Lumpur, although the disturbances do not generally seem to have spread to the provincial cities and towns. Singapore was wracked by a serious outbreak in 1964 resulting from Malay political insecurities in a predominantly Chinese state; there had been violent disturbances earlier but of an ideological rather than communal nature. A major confrontation occurred in Penang in 1967, with at least five people left dead; lower-class Chinese and Malay bitterness about economic policies, abetted by the agitation of anti-government political parties and a hartal by Chinese shops, provided the spark.[22] The climax came in May, 1969, when following a national election polarized on ethnic grounds and a strong showing by left-wing Chinese parties, major violence occurred in Kuala Lumpur and, to a lesser extent, Penang. According to official sources, 163 persons, including Chinese, Malays, and Indians, were killed and many more injured. While the immediate reasons for the riots were political and non-local in scope, violence erupted only in urban centers and thus it can be viewed to a considerable extent as an urban phenomenon, with immediate issues exciting more deeply rooted localized ethnic tensions.

Communal antagonism between Chinese and indigenous peoples was paralleled in Burma by serious disturbances generated by a Burman hostility to Indian immigrants; in the cities and towns of Burma, Indians were far more numerous than Chinese and maintained a similar control of economic life. Anti-Indian rioting and looting occurred in 1930 in Rangoon but the most serious violence erupted in 1938 over both religious and economic antagonisms. Casualties in Rangoon and provincial cities numbered over 1,000; 192 Indians were killed.[23] In recent years some serious violence has also been directed at the Chinese in Rangoon. Like the Chinese elsewhere in Southeast Asia, the Indians in Burma constituted an immigrant group with great commercial power, suggesting that serious communal antagonism in Southeast Asian cities largely revolved around hostilities between indigenous and immigrant groups. Tensions probably derived from both differential economic success and the wide cultural gap separating immigrants from the various indigenous peoples.

Inter-ethnic conflicts have therefore occurred in Southeast Asian towns and cities with varied impact and frequency. Such disturbances also increased notably in scale after World War II. It seems significant that many of the ostensible reasons for the violence--Chinese resentment of alleged Malay and Thai collaboration during the Japanese occupation, Malay concern for their future under a powerful and growing Chinese community, rival nationalisms, accidental deaths, Chinese fear of Malay political control, intolerance of other religious celebrations, national political developments--were present in Kuching at various times, yet they did not result in any overt hostilities or violent outbursts. Nonetheless, the evidence suggests that the potential

for violence increased in Kuching during the past thirty years, and particularly after the formation of Malaysia.

It is difficult to suggest why Kuching should have remained peaceful while other cities with similar problems have exploded, particularly since we know very little about the situation in other small provincial cities in Malaysia, most of which seem to have avoided communal violence. Violence occurred in both predominantly Chinese cities, like Kuala Lumpur, and indigenous-dominated cities like Sukabumi. It may be that violence has been most likely to occur in the larger cities, where problems are less easily dealt with. Rabushka has suggested that ethnic hostilities are lessened by frequent contact, which may be easier in smaller urban centers.[24] Still, smaller Burmese towns and Javan cities like Sukabumi and Kudus were sites for major ethnic conflict.

Perhaps the reasons for Kuching's peace lay in a combination of factors. Relative geographical and political isolation insulated Kuching from political and social developments elsewhere. The benevolent, relatively non-exploitative paternalism of Brooke rule was popular with all urban ethnic groups and therefore reduced levels of hostility towards the government which could have otherwise been transformed into communal antagonism. Furthermore, for much of Kuching's history, Chinese and Malays were not economically competitive but complementary; they served different economic niches in the plural society. In Java, Chinese competed with indigenous Islamic trading groups. Inter-dialect conflicts among Chinese may also have focused attention on intra-Chinese rather than Chinese-Malay differences; such conflicts were less common in places like Java. Paradoxically Kuching had less intermarriage than many of the other urban centers. It may be that high rates of intermarriage increase tension by bringing outsiders into the power structure, and that low rates reduce interaction while creating a "you mind your business, we will mind ours" atmosphere. The history of Kuching would suggest that social and cultural pluralism were not necessarily synonymous with communal conflict.

The Role of Indirect Rule

One of the more salient aspects of Kuching's social organization would seem to be the system of indirect rule during the Brooke period under which the Chinese and Malay communities were generally governed separately through their own elites; although a municipal board did exist after 1921, it had limited powers and responsibilities and, most importantly, its membership too was based on the principle of communal representation. It seems relevant here to inquire whether this constituted a general practice throughout the region or whether the Brookes employed a unique form of administration. Although a considerable literature devoted to the political organization and nature of colonial rule exists, information on the situation in urban centers

remains surprisingly meager. The lacuna is more marked for the indigenous peoples than for Chinese. Nonetheless enough pertinent data does exist to suggest that some form of indirect rule was indeed widely practiced and that, as in Kuching, it had a segregating effect.

One city which might be expected to have had similarities with Kuching was British-ruled and predominantly Chinese Kuala Lumpur, and in fact many parallels did exist in the period before 1942.[25] In the formative years of the town during the late nineteenth century the three major communities--Chinese (already the largest group), Malays, and Indians--were evidently governed largely through their traditional leaders. The first head of the Chinese community earned his position by being the leader of the most powerful local secret society; he was appointed kapitan China by the British. After his death, the British continued to appoint a kapitan from among the triad chiefs. With the decline of secret societies in the 1890s, the appointment came to be based more on wealth than on triad connections. There was one kapitan for the entire Chinese community. The small Malay community was led first by Sumatran leaders and later by aristocratic migrants from nearby centers of royalty. Leaders of each group became assessors to the courts with responsibility for cases of their own group. A Sanitary Board, precursor to a municipal board, appeared in 1890, with Asian and European members and functions similar to the later municipal board in Kuching.

The system in Kuala Lumpur was altered after the turn of the century, with abolition of official kapitans in 1901; Chinese leadership shifted to the leaders of the powerful Chinese associations, some of whom served on municipal and state advisory boards and acted as intermediaries between the Chinese and the government; they also arbitrated disputes with their own groups. Kuala Lumpur had no parallel to Kuching's Kapitan China General. With the gradual influx of Malays and the development of such Malay residential areas as Kampung Bahru, Malay leadership seems to have shifted to the kampung. Kampung Bahru had, soon after its founding in 1899, a Ruling Committee which controlled commerce, agriculture, education, and household renting within the settlement, with considerable power over the behavior, personal property, and welfare of the inhabitants. The committee lacked legal sanction but its policies could only be overruled by the chief administrative officer of the state. Some of the members were aristocrats. No city-wide Malay counterpart to the Kuching datus existed, although the influence of the Selangor Sultan and his court situated in nearby Klang must have been considerable. An appointive multi-ethnic municipal board, much like that in Kuching, administered township affairs under the supervision of British officials. Thus, as in Kuching, early twentieth century Kuala Lumpur was governed in two ways: through a town board comprised of representatives from the various communal groups, having control over purely municipal affairs such as roads and license fees; and through local elites influ-

encing the social, cultural, and economic life, as well as some legal matters, within their own communities. In the post-war period indirect rule declined as political parties developed and municipal government became more important, with members elected by popular vote.

A situation similar to Kuala Lumpur could be found in Singapore, a predominantly Chinese city established in 1819, although there were also important differences.[26] The fast-growing Chinese community, which constituted a majority of the city's population by the 1830s, was governed by officially appointed kapitans only for the first few years, with one kapitan apparently paramount. In 1826, however, the British introduced a new legal system which provided for supervision of Chinese legal problems in a special court. Although technically abolishing the kapitan system, the government continued to deal with Chinese through unofficial kapitans during most of the century. Comparable in some respects to an unofficial Kuching-style Kapitan China General, this man did not have the same control over the Chinese community. The Chinese in Singapore were numerous enough that power was somewhat dispersed. For example, the leaders of the powerful secret societies had important intermediary functions between their members and the government; the organizations themselves handled internal troubles. For most of the nineteenth century, the various Malayo-Muslim groups, mostly immigrants from many regions of the Archipelago, were administered through their own chiefs or leaders. No overall Malay authority comparable to the datu bandar in Kuching existed.

The governmental system became more formalized and less indirect in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In 1856 a municipal commission headed by a European official was established. By the turn of the century a number of Chinese and Malays were serving on the commission as "unofficial members," selected by their own communities. The commission controlled many public service expenditures. The development of municipal government, the formation of advisory boards to handle social and cultural affairs, and the decline of the Chinese secret societies in the late nineteenth century all influenced the structure of city government. By the 1930s, Singapore had a much more dispersed leadership structure than that in Kuching. Instead of a Kapitan China General, the Singapore Chinese were led by the heads of various Chinese voluntary associations and by members of various communal advisory boards. Several leading Malays achieved great influence through their appointments to governmental bodies and advisory boards, but they were less traditional leaders than members of the Western-educated intelligentsia. But as in Kuching, government was still predicated on communal considerations, since despite the multi-ethnic municipal commission, such communal bodies as the advisory boards continued to play an important role before the Japanese occupation. The post-war period saw a further development of local government, the introduction of direct elections and the development of political parties, all of which heralded the triumph of pan-community

government rather than indirect rule, as they did in Kuching.

Phnom Penh and Vientiane both maintained more formal systems. The indigenous inhabitants were governed as part of the realm under their traditional leaders, aristocrats in the case of Khmers and Laos, chiefs for such groups as the Islamic Malay-Chams of Phnom Penh. Chinese were placed under the authority of their respective dialect associations, which were vested with judicial and political power unparalleled outside of French Indochina. Membership in the association was required. This system, known as the congregation system, provided for all members of the speech group to be governed by the head of the association, known as the chef. This constituted a strict form of political segmentation. Phnom Penh also had a municipal government, however, under a resident responsible to the colonial government. In 1915 a Municipal Commission appeared and included members from the various ethnic groups. The commission had purely advisory functions and had no power to legislate so it was apparently less influential than its Kuching counterparts, at least in the colonial period. The congregation system was not abolished in Phnom Penh until 1958, when it was replaced by a more informal system of consultation with important businessmen and officers of the major voluntary associations, and continued in Vientiane into the 1960s. With independence and the development of parties and a form of representative government, the indigenous urbanites became part of a more modern political system.[27]

Cities in Java also had a rigid structure of indirect rule until the 1930s.[28] Chinese in Sukabumi and Semarang--always numerically inferior to indigenous inhabitants--came under the authority of government-appointed Chinese officers. In contrast to Kuching, each city apparently had only one kapitan at any one time. Furthermore, the kapitans were assisted by several lieutenants, whose positions were also officially recognized, and by neighborhood heads known as wijkmeesters; together with the kapitans and lieutenants they staffed the Kongkoan (Chinese Office). The kapitans and their deputies were expected to maintain peace and order and also handle all matters of Chinese custom. After the turn of the century, the Chinese Chamber of Commerce became a more influential organization among the Chinese than the Kongkoan and the government used both to administer the community, dealing with the chamber informally and the Kongkoan formally. Information on the administration of the Indonesian town dwellers remains sketchy, but they appear to have been governed largely by local regents and lower territorial officials of the district in which the city was situated.

As in Kuching, pure indirect rule was modified by the development of municipal governments in the twentieth century. Such governments, with nominated councils, were established in Javan towns in 1905, although they later were made elective; Europeans held a majority of seats. The municipal government thus came to have more power than in Kuching, but also allowed less Asian participation in decision-making. In the post-war

period the situation changed somewhat. Chinese were at first governed by an umbrella organization formed under the Japanese; after independence in 1950 they were placed under the direct jurisdiction of the various departments of the municipal and national governments, along with the Indonesian inhabitants. As a consequence Chinese community leadership became more dispersed, with no leader recognized as having prestige at the apex of the community.

Kuching would therefore seem to have represented a position somewhat between two patterns. The Javan cities, until the 1930s, and Phnom Penh were characterized by a highly developed system of indirect rule, with a strongly organized mechanism of administration represented by the congregations and the Kongkoan. European-dominated municipal councils tended to have a less integrative function and served largely public service purposes. In the cities of British Malaya on the other hand, the major institutions of indirect rule symbolized by the kapitans and Malay aristocrats ended by the turn of the century. Municipal government became more important and indirect rule grew less formalized, with no apex leaders comparable to the Kapitan China General or datu bandar in Kuching, or to the chefs, kapitans, and regents of Phnom Penh or Java.

During the nineteenth century, Kuching resembled the British cities in many respects but deviated in that the kapitans represented their speech groups rather than the entire Chinese community, and the datus spoke for the whole Malayo-Muslim community rather than segments of it. Furthermore, no corporate Chinese administration such as the congregations or Kongkoan existed. Another major difference concerned the secret societies, important in Malaya, but missing from Kuching and playing no leadership role. The absence of the triads seems to have been due largely to early Brooke hospitality, which prevented them from developing. Unlike Kuala Lumpur or Singapore, the kapitans and datus were maintained in Kuching until the 1960s, although the actual power of the kapitans evaporated in the late 1940s. The growth of municipal government, with a multi-ethnic board, and the formation of strong community organizations, nevertheless tended to disperse power and modify indirect rule to a certain extent as it did in Kuala Lumpur, Singapore and, after 1931, in Semarang.

The Role of Chinese Speech Groups

One of the most significant themes in Kuching history has been the competitivive relationship among the different Chinese speech groups. The numerically and economically dominant Hokkiens, along with their Chaoann allies, have maintained supremacy almost from the beginning, a fact which sparked a powerful rivalry with the other influential group, Teochius. Dialect differences permeated the associations, businesses, occupational structure, schools and even churches and temples.

Except for the unique relationship between Chaoanns and Hokkiens, boundaries between speech groups remained generally distinct. Despite the rise of Chinese nationalism and the introduction of Mandarin education, dialect particularism remained important as the chief structural element in the Chinese community. It must be asked whether this situation was unique to Kuching or whether speech groups played similar roles and had a parallel development in other urban centers.

One of the most important structural manifestations of speech group distinctions was the dialect association. The evidence from other Chinese communities would suggest that the formation of a strong dialect association structure was common but that the perpetuation of that structure has varied considerably. In Bangkok, for example, hui kwan formation came later than in Kuching, with the Cantonese pioneering in 1877, followed by the Hainanese and Hokkien associations about 1900, and the Hakka Association in 1909. The Teochiu Association was founded last, about 1930, but was much the strongest and reflected the general strength and numerical dominance of the Teochiu group.[29] The post-war period has not witnessed a major decline in the strength of the Bangkok dialect associations. Skinner does suggest, however, that speech group particularism in Bangkok was becoming less rigid in the 1950s, with previously dialect-sponsored hospitals, temples, and other institutions opening to all speech groups.[30] Nonetheless, the pattern seems similar to Kuching in many respects.

Although data is extremely limited, it would also appear that dialect associations played an important role in the towns of Sabah (British North Borneo) for all groups except Hakkas. Hokkien, Teochiu, Cantonese, Hainanese, and Ngee Ann associations developed in most urban settlements, received energetic support from community leaders, and played an important leadership role. Hakka associations, however, developed only in Jesselton (Kota Kinabalu) and Sandakan and even there played generally minor roles. As in Kuching the impact of party politics tended to involve the associations, with the Hokkien and Teochiu associations and their leaders generally allied against the more numerous Hakkas. The Hakka associations were not formed until after World War II, as an attempt to provide a counterweight to the other associations. The Cantonese and Hainanese groups seemed least interested in dialect distinctions. Speech group particularism thus seems to have remained relatively important in Sabah towns, although Han Sin-Fong's study found that inter-dialect marriages, business partnerships, and other criteria of social integration were increasing in recent years, particularly among certain speech groups.[31]

Chinese society in Kuala Lumpur was marked initially by important speech group and subgroup associations. The most important, and at that time dominant, Hakka subgroup established the first hui-kuan in 1859, soon after the founding of the mining settlement. During the 1880s, the two other important dialect groups in the town--Hokkiens and the now dominant Cantonese--

organized their own associations. The Teochius, Hainanese, and several Hakka subgroups followed within a few years. The associations sponsored temples and some operated their own schools. The associations became increasingly important after the turn of the century because of the termination of the kapitan system; community leadership and representation shifted largely to the association leaders. Inter-dialect violence occurred occasionally, the worst incident breaking out in 1912. The rise of China-focused nationalism beginning in the 1930s tended to promote unity and undermine speech group particularism, a pattern that continued after 1945. Speech group associations and rivalries remained important but probably somewhat less so than in Kuching.[32]

Somewhat different situations existed in Phnom Penh and in the Javan cities. The hui kwans in Phnom Penh were founded in the late nineteenth century and perhaps earlier. As indicated earlier, they had important political functions which reinforced their strength, including compulsory membership of all Chinese. Yet with the elimination of these functions and of compulsory membership in 1958, the speech group associations declined rapidly. Willmott found in the 1960s that the Cantonese Association had disappeared entirely and that the Teochiu Association was largely inactive. These two groups were much the largest of the speech groups in the city. Only three smaller associations for Hakkas, Hainanese and Hokkiens still played significant roles. Although speech group remained important, there were indications that inter-dialect cooperation extended to a wide variety of considerations, including political leadership, political groups, and social and benevolent organizations.[33]

Strong dialect associations were not absolutely essential to immigrant Chinese communities, as is illustrated by the cases of Semarang and Sukabumi. The rapid decline in importance of speech group affiliation in Java, aided by the Peranakanization of the Chinese immigrants, is reflected in the relative, indeed almost striking, unimportance of dialect associations there. In Semarang, for example, Willmott recorded only two regional associations, for Cantonese and Hokchius, both very small elements in the Chinese population. Neither of the major speech groups--Hokkiens and Hakkas--had such an association, even among the Totok element. In Sukabumi only two small dialect or sub-dialect associations existed. Social relations within the Chinese community appeared to be based more on the Peranakan-Totok dichotomy than on dialect despite some tendency, particularly among Hokkiens and Hakkas, to maintain separate institutional formats.[34]

The speech group generally had a considerable impact on the institutional structure of the urban Chinese community in Southeast Asia and was perhaps most important in the field of education. As in Kuching, a strong link existed in the pre-war period between speech groups and the educational system. Chinese education developed fairly late in Bangkok, the first Chinese-sponsored schools not appearing until around 1910. Between 1913

and 1921 each of the major speech groups formed a school of its own, with instruction in dialect. Mandarin was usually offered as an elective. By the 1930s all of the schools used Mandarin as the medium of instruction. Nonetheless, most of the Bangkok Chinese schools remained under the sponsoring group in the 1970s.[35] A similar situation characterized Manila, where Hokkiens and Cantonese maintained their own schools even after introduction of Mandarin as the language of instruction; in smaller cities such as Davao, however, Cantonese and Hokkiens attended the same Mandarin school.[36] All Chinese schools in Phnom Penh before the Japanese Occupation, and most since, have been affiliated with a particular speech group.[37] Whether schools in Malayan towns followed the same pattern or whether they were pan-community in scope remains unclear; some schools in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Singapore seem to have been dialect sponsored while others were not. Many pre-war Chinese schools in Kuala Lumpur were operated by dialect associations. But Chinese schools in post-war Muar apparently enjoyed the joint sponsorship of all speech groups.[38] Pre-war Chinese-medium schools in the towns of Sabah's west coast were speech group sponsored, but after World War II Mandarin schools on the Kuching pattern predominated.[39] Thus, it appears that, like Kuching, some cities and towns had dialect-sponsored schools in the pre-war period but that after the Japanese occupation Mandarin schools became the norm.

Speech group particularism was significant in many other areas--the sponsorship of Chinese temples or occupational specialization, for example--but it may be more useful at this point to describe some of the ways in which the various speech groups cooperated, particularly through the formation of pan-dialect organizations of various types. In Kuching the Kongkek and later the Chinese Chamber of Commerce appeared to coordinate the interests and serve the needs of the entire trading community, although dominated by Hokkiens, Teochius, and Chaoanns. In the post-war period the chamber was joined by the Management Committee for the Chung Hua schools as well as the short-lived Chung Hua Association. Pan-dialect organizations such as these served to integrate the Chinese subgroups at the top and to promote cooperation in matters of vital importance to Chinese.

Information from other urban Chinese communities suggests that pan-dialect organizations with significant powers did develop. In Phnom Penh during the French period no community-wide body existed but, in 1958, a multi-dialect Chinese Hospital Committee was established to operate the Chinese hospital and serve as the leading community organization for the business community. In Muar, four pan-dialect organizations appeared, only one of which seems to date from the pre-war period. In Singapore, Bangkok and most Philippine cities, the Chinese Chamber of Commerce has served since the first decade of this century as the major community organization drawing support from all dialect groups although actually dominated by the major group in each city. In Semarang a somewhat different pattern emerged.

During the nineteenth century one major organization and its affiliate coordinated political and benevolent activities for the community but their functions declined when the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, founded in 1907, gradually assumed leadership for the entire group. In the 1930s this body lost all but its commercial purposes. In addition to the Chinese Chamber, the <u>Tiong Hoa Hwe Kuan</u> (Chinese Association) appeared in Semarang just after 1900 to promote Chinese nationalism as well as Peranakan-Totok and inter-dialect cooperation. The THHK, which operated the first Chinese-medium schools, was a branch of a Java-wide organization. Pan-dialect leadership in Semarang has gradually been vested in a number of umbrella organizations since then, with none being recognized as clearly predominant. Kuching would appear to fall somewhere in the middle, with pan-dialect bodies playing a somewhat weaker role than in Bangkok, Semarang, or Muar but stronger, or at least similar to those in modern Phnom Penh.[40]

One organization that might have been expected to be functional for pan-dialect unity--the predominantly Chinese political party--developed in Malaya, Singapore, North Borneo, and Indonesia as well as in Sarawak. In Kuching the new political parties tended to develop along dialect lines but no evidence suggests that the same situation occurred elsewhere. The BAPERKI party of the Javan Chinese was predominantly Peranakan and therefore primarily Hokkien, but this reflected factors of citizenship more than dialect, since relatively few Totoks gained Indonesian citizenship. The Singapore and Malayan parties do not seem to have been dialect-oriented although Baba Chinese appear to have occupied an important leadership role in the Malayan Chinese Association (MCA). Hainanese played a role disproportionate to their numbers in the largely Chinese Malayan Communist Party in its earliest stages but their influence later declined somewhat. Sabah's two Chinese parties were sometimes internally divided between Hakkas and non-Hakkas, but both parties boasted a largely Hakka leadership in any case.[41]

All of this suggests that speech group differences have been important in Southeast Asian towns but that the extent of their perpetuation has differed. Apparently Bangkok and, to a lesser extent, the Sabah towns, fall closest to Kuching in pattern although some differences also existed. Phnom Penh and the Javan towns have been characterized by a pattern of declining importance for the speech group although paradoxically in Phnom Penh they had once been much more strongly defined than in Kuching. Unfortunately little information is available on Malayan towns which might be expected to be more similar to Kuching in structure. It is interesting to note, however, that since 1959 the popularly elected prime minister of Singapore who is, in effect, also "mayor" of Singapore, has been a Hakka, Lee Kuan Yew, although the Hakkas constitute a very minor element in the Chinese population, being far outnumbered by Hokkiens, Teochius, Cantonese and other groups. By 1970 no member of a minor dialect group had yet been elected to the

chairmanship or vice-chairmanship of either the Kuching Municipal Council or the Kuching Chinese Chamber of Commerce, suggesting that perhaps the situation in Singapore has been more flexible.

The persistence of dialect particularism in Kuching, as opposed to its apparent decline in some other cities, can probably be traced in part to the geographical and social isolation of Kuching from trends in other parts of the region, a situation manifested in the use of dialect in Chinese schools for a longer period and by the less extensive impact of Chinese nationalism. An additional explanation may be the numerical balance between the speech groups. No one group achieved numerical dominance, in strong contrast to Sukabumi and Semarang, where Hokkiens and Hakkas accounted for much of the population, or Phnom Penh, where Teochius clearly outnumbered other groups, the Cantonese accounting for much of the rest. Bangkok was over half Teochiu but the other Chinese groups were numerically significant enough to offset this dominance. Perhaps in the smaller cities like Kuching a fair balance allowed each group more leeway to strengthen itself, thus perpetuating particularism.

Integration of the Malay Community

Unfortunately much less comparative data is available concerning the structure of indigenous communities in Southeast Asian urban settings than concerning Chinese. But it may be useful at this juncture to ask whether the Kuching Malay community developed along lines similar to other urban Malay communities or whether it constituted an important deviation. Kuching Malays were characterized by a tendency to absorb most Malayo-Muslim immigrants into the general community, by the absence of a strong and important associational structure until near the end of Brooke rule, and by the ability to form a cohesive unit despite diverse cultural and geographic origins. The best available comparative data concerns Kuala Lumpur, Singapore, and Brunei.

Kuala Lumpur did not have a sizeable Malay village as its core but rather began as a Chinese mining settlement. Therefore, in contrast to Kuching, most of the Malays have been immigrants or migrants from elsewhere. From the very beginning the Malay community lacked cohesion, with the Sumatran and Peninsular Malay settlers inhabiting their own kampungs. Considerable rivalry developed between Bugis and Mandiling miners, but this rivalry lessened by the late nineteenth century. The various groups worked at different occupations: Malaccan Malays as clerks, craftsmen, and traders; Minangkabau as traders, Javanese as laborers, Mandilings (from Sumatra) and Bugis as tin miners. The residential aspects of subgroup distinction evidently declined after 1900, with large kampungs such as Kampung Bahru containing inhabitants of varied Malayo-Muslim origins. Nonetheless, groups such as the Javanese were often confined by kampung leaders to their own hamlets. It appears

that, before World War II, social stratification reflected subgroup affiliation, with Malacca Malays at the top, Sumatrans in the middle and Javanese at the bottom. Intermarriage did occur but not on a large scale.

After 1935, the situation became more open. An increasingly fluid social structure allowed low-status ethnic groups to rise, subgroup restrictions on residence were lifted, and intermarriage became more frequent, although subgroup distinctions were maintained. Provencher has postulated that British colonial administrators, blind to sub-ethnic variation among Malays, helped develop a common, more homogeneous, Malay culture and identity through their policies; the linguistic and cultural diversity within the Malay community gradually lessened. Subgroup distinctions declined even more rapidly in the post-war period with the rise of Malay nationalism and the spread of Malay education, but the minangkabaus and particularly the Javanese still constituted distinctive groups and often formed their own voluntary associations. Malay voluntary associations began appearing in Malayan towns after 1910; for the most part, these were social, cultural, and economic in character but in the 1930s groups with more political goals emerged.[42]

Malay community structure in Singapore appears to have developed along similar lines. From the founding of the city each of the major Malayo-Muslim subgroups--Bugis, Boyanese, Javanese, Johor Malays, Riau Malays, Minangkabaus, Jawi Peranakans, and others--inhabited its own quarters, with its own leaders and community institutions. Immigrant groups evidently developed structures functional for adaptation. Boyanese, for example, organized themselves into pondoks, or houses in which people from the same village lived together and thus duplicated the social organization of the Bawean village. A pondok served at once as lodging house, hostel, mutual welfare institution, and socialization agent. The major peninsular Malay groups concentrated around the palaces, mosques, and markets constructed by their sultans and temonggongs, duplicating the social organization of their home regions.

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw some decline in the segmentation of the various groups and tentative steps toward the creation of the "Malay," although subgroup distinctions remained important. Kampungs began losing their identification with a particular subgroup. Many voluntary associations--sports, cultural, welfare, and study clubs and, later, political organizations--developed, with some based on subgroup affiliations and others pan-community in scope. The rise of Malay nationalism in the immediate pre-war period helped further to blur ethnic distinctions. After the Japanese occupation a more cohesive Malay community emerged, although it remained divided in many important respects, including the persistence of subgroup distinctions for groups like the Boyanese.[43]

Brunei town (Bandar Seri Begawan) would seem to constitute a wholly different pattern, for the settlement has existed for

many centuries as a Malay city, with only a small Chinese population. Furthermore, unlike Singapore and Kuala Lumpur, it was the headquarters for the sultan and his court. Brunei's oral and written tradition refers on numerous occasions to an input of Malayo-Muslim elements from outside, particularly Javanese, Sumatrans, and Peninsular Malays. Furthermore, Malays and other Muslims from nearby Sarawak and Sabah, as well as from other parts of Borneo and Sulu, probably settled in Brunei at various times in the past.

Yet for the most part, little evidence from either the nineteenth or twentieth centuries points to subgroup distinctions assuming much importance in Brunei. The various Malayo-Muslim kampungs of the city have not seemed to reflect ethnically prescribed divisions although they certainly were marked by class and occupational ones. Brown notes that one ward in the late 1960s largely contained people believed to have originally immigrated from Java. Some of the non-Brunei-Malay indigenous Muslims evidently did retain much of their identity, although those who settled in the town itself may have lost theirs.[44] In short, assimilation of migrants into the Brunei Malay group appears to have been a rapid process, ensuring that the Malay community has remained ethnically if not socially cohesive. One major reason would appear to be that immigrants probably came as individuals or in small groups over a long period of time rather than in large numbers, and they were thus more easily absorbed. Another reason was probably the presence of the sultan and his court, which had no parallel in Kuching, Singapore, or Kuala Lumpur; this may have motivated immigrants or migrants to gain status through assimilation.

The formation of urban Malay communities would therefore seem to have differed greatly, with Brunei and to a lesser extent Kuching as examples of ethnic cohesion while Kuala Lumpur and Singapore demonstrated more persistence of heterogeneity. The subgroup identity of kampungs did not last as long in Kuching and the importance of subgroup tended to fade rapidly after the first generation. Except for the recent Javanese immigrants no subgroup voluntary associations developed to perpetuate divisions and there was no institutional diversity. This contrasted with the situation in Malaya. On the other hand, subgroup distinctions remained apparently stronger than in Brunei. A major reason for the cohesiveness of Kuching can probably be traced to its origins as a Malay settlement, with a strong and already existing Malay political and social system. Also Malayo-Muslim immigrants may have come in fewer numbers, found communication with their home areas more difficult, and could be easily fitted into a Malay social system made flexible by a long history of incorporating Muslim elements of diverse background, including Dayak. No doubt the Brooke tendency to govern through major ethnic blocs and to discourage ethnic ambiguity contributed to the assimilation of immigrants, as did the Brooke alliance with the Malay datus, which enhanced the considerable prestige of the traditional ruling elite.

The Southeast Asian Town

The comparisons among the various urban centers suggest a pattern of considerable diversity. Clearly definitive conclusions about the social structure of the Southeast Asian city based on one case study are premature, since the comparative data presented above suggests widely different patterns of ethnic interaction, immigrant acculturation, ethnic group social structure, communal violence, urban administration, and scope of social and cultural pluralism. Because of the paucity of data concerning other towns comparable to Kuching in size, ethnic composition, function, and date of establishment, it remains difficult to determine whether or not Kuching might be typical of a certain type of urban settlement. Comprehensive studies of cities like Sandakan, Pontianak, Bandjarmasin, Seremban, Kuantan, Johor Baharu, Patani, and Medan are needed to determine whether the same sorts of social organization developed as in Kuching.

Yet it is also clear that certain aspects of Kuching's social history appear to have meaningful implications for an understanding of other Southeast Asian urban centers. One of the likely constants about Southeast Asian towns based on the Kuching situation is the evidence that subgroup distinctions were often as important as ethnicity in defining social structure. For example, Chinese in Southeast Asian towns should not be viewed as a unified and cohesive group, for subgroup divisions have prevented any coherent group action in many cases. In Kuching, Bangkok, and Phnom Penh these divisions were based on speech group while in the Javan towns the degree of acculturation to the indigenous society determined subgroup boundaries. The importance of these subgroup distinctions made possible formation of trans-ethnic political alliances in the post-colonial period, at least in Kuching and the Malayan towns, and these alliances helped to transcend communalism in the short run.

The well-established Malay urban culture which has existed in Kuching since the mid-nineteenth century suggests a proposition with particular relevance to West-Malaysian towns and cities--specifically, that Malays and other predominantly rural indigenous peoples have in certain circumstances adjusted rather easily to an urban environment. This adjustment was facilitated in Kuching by the existence of strong traditional Malay leadership in the town from its beginnings, and by a flexibility in the concept of Malay identity. It also seems clear that the city has not thus far subverted traditional modes of thought and culture; indeed, in contrast to the situation often ascribed to Western cities, little evidence in Kuching or elsewhere in Southeast Asia suggests that urbanization substantially alters the traditional ties of language, religion, and family, at least for indigenous peoples, which are so important in the rural Asian environment. For the urban Malays of Kuching or Brunei the kampung environment has allowed a transfer of rural social and cultural patterns to the urban situation. Studies of Ibans in Sibu, Filipinos in Philippine towns, and Toba Bataks in Medan confirm similar

tendencies.[45]

The ethnic heterogeneity of the Southeast Asian towns also led the various governments, from the Brookes to the French in Indochina, to adopt some form of indirect rule for urban administration, at least in the early stages. This development belied the concept of a "melting pot" and stood in marked contrast to the administrative systems that formed in American cities. Ethnic divisions were accepted as a "given" of the urban situation throughout Southeast Asia--indirect rule of one sort or another was both cause and effect of social and cultural pluralism. In some cases the administrations involved, like the Brookes, attempted to introduce municipal government as well, but elements of indirect rule were usually present to some extent before World War II.

Another conclusion to be drawn is that any model or definition of a plural society which includes a rigid separation of ethnic groups and institutional systems in all matters except commerce is not applicable to Kuching at any period in its history; social interaction occurred in Kuching in social and political as well as economic spheres. Based on the evidence of other towns and cities, it is possible that the same conclusion can be drawn for most Southeast Asian urban settlements--despite a general but not universal tendency for ethnicity to coincide with residence, occupation, religion, kinship, and social affiliation, interaction did take place at various levels. A considerable amount of cultural change occurred across ethnic boundaries.

The evidence presented for Southeast Asia would raise the question as to whether the model of a plural society formulated by Furnivall and his followers has relevance for the urban situation or whether it must be modified to encompass situations in which ethnic groups were segmented to a considerable extent but social and/or political interaction transcended ethnic boundaries in limited ways. The Furnivall model has been held to be applicable to some African cities; for example, Paden has recently argued that in the northern Nigerian city of Kano, the Kano urban area approximated the classic Furnivall model as late as 1965. During the latter part of the colonial era three distinct districts existed within the Kano urban area, including the traditional Hausa-Fulani walled city (Kano City), the "new town" populated by Ibo, Yoruba, and other immigrants, and the township where expatriates and civil servants were concentrated. Paden points out that even at the time of Nigerain independence Kano had no truly integrated decision-making institution and no mechanism for conflict resolution within the urban area as a whole, and that interaction was therefore confined to the economic sector. He believes that this situation was at least partly responsible for the violence which erupted between ethnic communities in Kano in 1953 and again in the 1960s.[46]

Although the evidence is still sparse, it does not appear that there were many Southeast Asian colonial cities as rigidly compartmentalized as Kano. Perhaps the situation in Kano

and similar West African cases can be explained by the fact that it was an old city, long pre-dating British control, and had a long-established and highly structured Islamic (Hausa-Fulani) core. Unfortunately, little information is available on the colonial politico-administrative structure of those Southeast Asian cities which were formed in pre-colonial times and survived into the colonial period, and which therefore might be comparable to Kano. It is likely that the most similar of such cases would be cities with a mixture of Muslim and non-Muslim peoples, such as Brunei, Malacca, and Bandjarmasin. Little information on municipal political structure is available on any of these, although one study of Brunei Sultanate does indicate that the Brunei urban area, like Kano, lacked an integrative political mechanism since the Brunei Town municipal board which appeared in 1920 had jurisdiction primarily over the bazaar area and did not include the wholly Malay Kampung Ayer (which might be called the "old town") within its jurisdiction.[47] More information on ethnic interaction within the Brunei urban area is needed before firm conclusions can be drawn as to whether Brunei thus constituted a closer approximation of the classic Furnivall model. But the existence in Kuching after 1921 of a municipal board which included Chinese, Malays, Indians, and Europeans within its jurisdiction may constitute a significant difference. Future studies of similar towns may help to determine which of these patterns was more widespread among Southeast Asian towns.

NOTES

Preface

1. Important historical studies of individual "primate cities" since the advent of colonialism include Pauline Milone, "Queen City: The Metamorphosis of a Colonial Capital," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1966 (about Batavia); William Roff, "The Malayo-Muslim World of Singapore at the Close of the Nineteenth Century," Journal of Asian Studies, 24/1 (November, 1964), 75-90; J.M. Gullick, "Kuala Lumpur, 1880-1895," Journal of Malayan Branch Royal Asiatic Society, 18/4 (August, 1955), 7-131; J.M. Gullick, The Story of Kuala Lumpur (1857-1939) (Singapore: Eastern Universities Press 1983; Manjit Singh Sidhu, Kuala Lumpur and its Population (Kuala Lumpur: Surinder Publications, 1978); C.M. Turnbull, A History of Singapore, 1819-1975 (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1977); James Cobban, "Geographic Notes on the First Two Centuries of Djakarta," Journal of Malaysia Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, 44/2 (December, 1971), 108-150. Important studies of a more general nature include T.G. McGee, The Southeast Asian City (New York: Praeger, 1967); Lim Heng Kow, The Evolution of the Urban System in Malaya (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya, 1978); Daniel Doeppers, "The Development of Philippine Cities Before 1900," Journal of Asian Studies, 31/4 (August, 1972), 769-92; Robert R. Reed, Hispanic Urbanism in the Philippines: A Study of the Impact of Church and State (Manila: University of the Philippines, 1967); ______, "The Colonial Origins of Manila and Batavia; Desultory Notes on Nascent Metropolitan Primacy and Urban Systems in Southeast Asia," Asian Studies, 5/3 (December, 1967), 543-62; ______, "The Primate City in Southeast Asia: Conceptual Definitions and Colonial Origins," Asian Studies, 10/3 (December, 1972), 283-320; Norton Ginsburg, "The Great City in South-East Asia," American Journal of Sociology, 60/5 (March, 1955), 455-62; Donald Fryer, "The Million City in Southeast Asia," Geographical Review, 43/4 (1953), 474-94. See also Y.M. Yeung and C.P. Lo, eds., Changing Southeast Asian Cities: Readings on Urbanization (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1976); Dilip K. Basu, ed., The Rise and Growth of the Colonial Port Cities in Asia (Berkeley: Center for South and Southeast Asia Studies, University of California, 1985).

2. See especially Clifford Geertz, The Social History of an Indonesian Town (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1965).

3. John Furnivall, Netherlands India (Cambridge: The University Press, 1939); ______, Colonial Policy and Practice (Cambridge: The University Press, 1948), esp. pp. 303-12.

4. See, e.g., M.G. Smith, The Plural Society in the British West Indies (Berkeley: University of California, 1965), pp. 10-91; Alvin Rabushka and Kenneth A. Shepsle, Politics in Plural Societies (Columbus: Charles A. Merrill, 1972), pp. 2-22.

5. Robert Maxwell Pringle, Rajahs and Rebels: The Ibans of Sarawak Under Brooke Rule, 1841-1941 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967).

6. Robert H.W. Reece, "The Cession of Sarawak to the British Crown in 1946," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Australian National University, 1977. This work has since been published as The Name of Brooke: The End of White Rajah Rule in Sarawak (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1982).

Chapter I

1. Some of the discussion in this section is based on material in James C. Jackson, Chinese in the West Borneo Goldfields: A Study in Cultural Geography (Hull: University of Hull, Occasional Papers in Geography, No. 15, 1970), chapters 2-3; and Pringle, Rajahs, chapters 1-2.

2. John Leyden, "Sketch of Borneo," in J.H. Moor, Notices of the Indian Archipelago and Adjacent Countries (London: Frank Cass and Co., 1837), p. 105.

3. Islam attracted converts because it had a universalistic and sophisticated theology, augmented by the attachment to an ancient and literate civilization. Ritual and restrictions were important but less complex than most Dayak religious practices. The tendency for some Dayak groups to embrace Islam and become absorbed into the Malay group has continued into the modern period, particularly along the coast of Sarawak's Third and Fourth divisions, where many Melanaus continue to adopt Islam and, in the process, move toward a Malay identity. The modern state of Sarawak is divided into five administrative divisions, generally organized around a major river system. The First Division, where Kuching is located, developed around the Sarawak River basin. The Second, Third, and Fourth divisions are centered on the Batang Lupar, Rejang, and Baram river systems respectively. The Fifth Division includes the districts of Lawas, Trusan, and Limbang.

4. Information on the Chinese taken from J.J.M. deGroot, Het Kongsiwezen van Borneo: Eene verhandeling over den Grondslag en den Aard der Chineesche Politieke Vereenigingen in de Kolonian (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1855), passim; Jackson, West Borneo, passim; Barbara Ward, "A Hakka Kongsi in Borneo," Journal of Oriental Studies 1 (July, 1954), 358-70; John Crawfurd, A Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands and Adjacent Countries (London: Bradbury and Evans, 1856), pp. 273, 482; "Memoir on the Residency of the North-West Coast of Borneo," in Moor, Notices, pp.8-9; W.J. Cator, The Economic Position of the Chinese in the Netherlands Indies (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936), p. 149; T'ien Ju-K'ang, "The Early History of the Chinese in Sarawak," Appendix I in T'ien Ju'K'ang, The Chinese in Sarawak: A Study of Social Structure (London School of Economics Monographs on Social Anthropology No. 12, 1956), p. 8.

5. Information on Pontianak taken from E. Doty and W.J. Pohlman, "Tour in Borneo, From Sambas Through Montrado to Pontianak, and the Adjacent Settlements of Chinese and Dayaks, During the Autumn of 1838," The Chinese Repository 7 (October, 1838); 308-10; Leyden, "Sketch," p. 105; "Residency," in Moor, Notices, p. 10; J.R. Logan, "The Geographical Group of Borneo," Journal of the Indian Archipelago and Eastern Asia 2 (June, 1848), 430; J. Hunt, "Sketch of Borneo, or Pulo Kalamantan," Appendix 4 in Henry Keppel, The Expedition to Borneo of H.M.S. Dido for the Suppression of Piracy, with Extracts from the Journal of James Brooke, Esq. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1846), pp. 400-01.

6. On Mampawa and Sambas see Hunt, "Sketch of Borneo," p. 402; Doty and Pohlman, "Tour in Borneo," pp. 284-85. Brunei seems to have deviated from the trading port pattern in some respects, for the Chinese accounted for less than five percent of the population of 18,000 in the early nineteenth century, and there seem to have been few Bugis, Javanese, or other immigrant Muslims; Hunt, "Sketch of Borneo," p. 404; "Borneo Proper," in Moor, Notices, p. 3; Donald E. Brown, Brunei: The Structure and History of a Bornean Malay Sultanate (Brunei: Monograph of the Brunei Museum Journal, 1970), pp. 3-10, 39-62.

7. On the Chinese mining towns see Doty and Pohlman, "Tour in Borneo," pp. 283-84, 301-07; Ward, "Hakka Kongsi," p. 367; Crawfurd, Dictionary, p. 289; George Windson Earl, The Eastern Seas or Voyages and Adventures in the Indian Archipelago in 1832-33-34 (London: William H. Allen and Co., 1837), pp. 210-11.

8. The Sarawak River basin was part of the district of Sarawak, which also included the Samarahan River basin to the east and the Lundu River basin to the west as far as Tangong Datu. The name Sarawak was only applied to the other territories of the present state as they were absorbed into the Brooke Raj between 1841 and 1905.

9. C.L. Blume, "Toetlichtigen aangaande de nasporinger op Borneo van G. Muller," De Indische Bij, (1843), 147-48.

10. Henry A. Keppel, A Visit to the Indian Archipelago in H.M. Ship Meander with Portions of the Private Journal of Sir James Brooke, K.C.B. (London: Richard Bentley, 1853), 1, 5.

11. See Mohammed Yusof Shibli, "The Descent of Some Kuching Malays," SMJ 5 (September, 1950); 262-64.

12. Sabine Baring-Gould and Charles A. Bampfylde, Sarawak Under its Two White Rajahs (London: Henry Sothern, 1909), p. 64; W.J. Chater, Sarawak Long Ago (Kuching: Borneo Literature Bureau, 1969), p. 53.

13. Malay-Dayak marauding should to some extent be understood within the traditional framework of control of the coastal shipping lanes by river-based Malayo-Muslim states as well as traditional Dayak inter-tribal warfare. See Pringle, Rajahs chapters 2-3.

14. See Hugh Low, Sarawak: Its Inhabitants and Productions (London: Frank Cass & Co., 1848), p. 17.

15. Crawfurd, Dictionary, p. 377.

16. See Baring-Gould and Bampfylde, White Rajahs, p. 64.

17. I. Gorrie, "The Location of Kuching," SG, July 31, 1966. An 1839 visitor noted the absence of an agricultural base for the settlement by reporting that there was no cultivation of rice or other foodstuffs anywhere in the vicinity, and that chicken and goats seemed to provide the only food alternatives to the small amounts of fish caught in the river. Keppel, Dido, p. 19.

18. Ibid., p. 169.

19. See John C. Templer, ed., The Private Letters of Sir James Brooke K.C.B., Raja of Sarawak (London: Richard Bentley, 1853), 1, 159-60; Rodney Mundy, Narrative of Events in Borneo and Celebes Down to the Occupation of Labuan: From the Journals of James Brooke, Esq. (London: John Murray, 1848), 1, 59.

20. On Lau see Richard Outram, "The Chinese," in Tom Harrisson, ed., The Peoples of Sarawak (Kuching: Sarawak Museum, 1959), p. 116.

21. Liew Nyan Foo, "A History of the Bau Kongsi," in Teochiu Association Centennial Volume (Kuching: Kuching Teochiu Association, 1965), p. 171 (text in Chinese).

22. Mundy, Narrative, 1, 118, and 11, 109; Keppel, Dido, p. 19; James C. St. John, Views in the Eastern Archipelago (London: Maclean, 1847), no page. A later writer put the figure at around 800, almost entirely Brunei Malays "with the exception of a few Chinese traders and other eastern foreigners." Baring-Gould and Bampfylde, White Rajahs, p. 64.

23. Keppel, Dido, p. 19.

24. Goatly, "Malays," in Harrisson, ed., Peoples, p. 106.

25. See Steven Runciman, The White Rajahs: A History of Sarawak from 1841-1846 (Cambridge: Univ. Press, 1960), pp. 56-92.

Chapter II

1. The following taken from Low, Sarawak, p. 112; Mundy, Narrative, 11, 76, 113; Templer, Letters, 1, 142, 217; Frank S. Marryat, Borneo and the Indian Archipelago with Drawings of Costume and Scenery (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1848), pp. 15-16; Goatly, "Malays," pp. 105-06.

2. Reported in Ludvig Helms, Pioneering in the Far East, and Journeys to California in 1849 and to the White Sea in 1878 (London: W.H. Allen, 1882), p. 240.

3. Mundy, Narrative, 1, 109.

4. Spenser St. John, Life in the Forests of the Far East (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1862), 11, 33, 346-47.

5. Ibid., 3531 Harriette McDougall, Letters from Sarawak Addressed to a Child (London: Grant and Griffin, 1854), p. 100.

6. Mundy, Narrative, 11, 275-76.

7. Templer, Letters, 111, 191.

8. Low, Sarawak, pp. 125, 135, 186-87.

9. Ibid., pp. 167-68. It is not known whether this longhouse still remained at Padungan in 1857, but it seems probable that it had moved from the town.

10. Templer, Letters, 1, 116.

11. On the datus, see Keppel, Dido, p. 283; Baring-Gould and Bampfylde, White Rajahs, p. 77; Chater, Sarawak, pp. 53-54.

12. Some of the material in this discussion is taken from Abang Yusuf Puteh, Some Aspects of the Marriage Customs Among the Sarawak Malays (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1966), pp. 10-16.

13. They reportedly merited an honored position on festive and state days in the early days of Brooke rule, and may have enjoyed a more eminent position than the perabangan, but this may not have been as true in Kuching as elsewhere in the state. See Low, Sarawak, p. 126.

14. They also comprised a highly mobile group who were popularly believed to have wives in their different ports of call. See Ibid., p. 136; Mundy, Narrative, 1, 189; Charles Brooke, Ten Years in Sarawak (London: Tinseley Brothers, 1866), 11, 318.

15. Low, Sarawak, p. 122.

16. See Ibid., p. 118; Keppel, Dido, p. 51; Brown, Brunei, p. 18.

17. Low, Sarawak, pp. 120-21.

18. Ibid., pp. 121, 147; Brooke, Ten Years, 11, 315; Keppel, Meander, 11, 12-13; Gertrude L. Jacob, The Raja of Sarawak (London: Macmillan and Co., 1876), 11, 230. The comparatively stable marital relationships reported for Kuching in this period would seem to contrast with some other Malay communities in the Malay Peninsula, Brunei, and elsewhere, but the reasons for the difference are not clear. In any case divorce seems to have become more common in later decades.

19. Low, Sarawak, pp. 44, 144.

20. McDougall, Letters, p. 77.

21. Brooke, Ten Years, 11, 318.

22. Jacob, Raja of Sarawak, 11, 211-17; Spenser St. John, The Life of Sir James Brooke (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1879), pp. 279-81.

23. Baring-Gould and Bampfylde, White Rajahs, pp. 78-79; Keppel, Meander, 11, 21-26.

24. Furthermore, the patinggi had been unhappy when the rajah attempted unsuccessfully to block the marriage of his daughter to a Rejang Malay distrusted by Brooke. On this affair see St. John, James Brooke, pp. 255-60; Jacob, Raja of Sarawak, 11, 114-16; Brooke, Ten Years, 1, 361-62; Pringle, Rajahs, pp. 97-134.

25. Pringle, Rajahs, p. 127.

26. Frederick Boyle, Adventures Among the Dayaks of Borneo (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1865), p. 148.

27. Outram, "Chinese," p. 116.

28. Marryat, Borneo, p. 98; Chater, Sarawak, pp. 71-75; Teochiu Association Centennial Volume (Kuching: Teochiu Association, 1965), p. 86 (text in Chinese).

29. Sarawak Tribune, February 28, 1953.

30. Keppel, Meander, p. 11, 127-130.

31. Speech group or dialect associations appear to have been stronger in Kuching than in Singapore where secret societies flourished, especially in the nineteenth century. See Maurice Freedman, "Immigrants and Associations: Chinese in Nineteenth Century Singapore," Comparative Studies in Society and History, 3/1 (October, 1960), 23-48.

32. On the mission see Brian Taylor and Pamela M. Hayward, The Kuching Anglican Schools, 1848-1973 (Kuching, 1973); Peter D. Varney, "The Anglican Church in Sarawak from 1848 to 1852," Sarawak Museum Journal, 16/32-33 (1968), 384-92; McDougall, Letters, pp. 80-97; Harriet McDougall, Sketches of Our Life at Sarawak (London: Christian Knowledge Society, 1882), pp. 60, 80-82; St. John, Forests, 11, 394-95.

33. The passing of periodic examinations in religious knowledge merited great celebration in Malay families. Low, Sarawak, pp. 139-40.

34. See Marryat, Borneo, p. 99; S. St. John, Forests, 11, 393; McDougall, Letters,p. 31; Helms, Pioneering, p. 152; Low, Sarawak, p. 125; Chater, Sarawak, pp. 53-55; Masjid Negeri Sarawak: Pembukaan Resmi Masjid N.S. Oleh DYMM Seri Paduka Baginda Yang-di-Pertuan Agung Pada 20 hb. Sept., 1968 (Kuching: n.p., 1968), p. 12.

35. Low, Sarawak, pp. 117-18.

36. Ibid., p. 136.

37. Ibid., p. 116-17, 135; St. John, Forests, 11, 314; Templar, Letters, 11, 161.

38. Song Ong Siang, One Hundred Years' History of the Chinese in Singapore (Singapore: Craftsman Press Ltd., 1923), p. 172.

39. Keppel, Meander, 11, 43; St. John, Forests, 1, 149; Low, Sarawak, pp. 134-35; A.F. Porter, Land Administration in Sarawak (Kuching: Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 30.

40. McDougall, Sketches, p. 24.

41. Low, Sarawak, p. 140.

42. Brooke, Ten Years, 11, 320-31; McDougall, Sketches, p. 135; McDougall, Letters, p. 85.

43. Ibid., p. 21; Jacob, Raja of Sarawak, 1, 309.

44. Song, Hundred Years' History, p. 172.

45. Keppel, Meander, 11, 69.

46. S. St. John, Forests, 11, 353.

47. See Ibid., 11, 358-77; Runciman, White Rajahs, pp. 119-33; Helms, Pioneering, pp. 164-92; McDougall, Sketches, pp. 125-54.

48. McDougall, Sketches, 131.

49. See Ibid., 131; S. St. John, Forests, 11, 406; Helms, Pioneering, pp. 176-77.

50. McDougall, Sketches, p. 141.

51. Helms, Pioneering, p. 184.

52. Ibid., p. 190.

Chapter III

1. Cited in Helms, Pioneering, pp. 240-42.

2. On the land and immigration policies of Charles Brooke, see Craig A. Lockard, "Charles Brooke and the Foundations of the Modern Chinese Community in Sarawak, 1863-1917," Sarawak Museum Journal, 19/38-39 (1971), 77-108.

3. Gambier, a leaf used in dying and as a seasoning for Chinese food, produced a residue which also acted as a good fertilizer for pepper plants.

4. SG, October 10, 1876.

5. See Lockard, "Foundations," p. 93.

6. SG, March 1, 1889.

7. Baring-Gould and Bampfylde, White Rajahs, pp. 322-23.

8. SG, November 18, 1870; July 1, 1873; February 1, 1884.

9. I am indebted to the late Eliab Bay of Kuching for this account of the founding of Kampung Tabuan.

10. SG, March 1, 1889 and January 2, 1902.

11. W.J. Chater, "Pieces From the Brooke Past-vi: Band Days," SG, October 31, 1964; Baden Fletcher Smyth Baden-Powell, In Savage Isles and Settled Lands (London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1892), pp. 248-49.

12. My Life in Sarawak (London: Methuan, 1913), pp. 62-64.

13. SG, October 16, 1871.

14. See Ibid., November 1, 1879; September 1, 1894; June 1, 1895; C. Brooke, Ten Years, 11, 358; Boyle, Adventures, p. 11.

15. SG, February 1, 1884. See also Chater, Sarawak, pp. 36-40.

16. On Padungan see Baring-Gould and Bampfylde, White Rajahs, p. 399.

17. SG, October 1, 1887.

18. Ibid., March 2, 1900.

19. Ibid., June 24, 1878.

20. Porter, Land Administration, p. 36. The term towkay is Hokkien and, as used in Sarawak and many other parts of the archipelago and Malaya, refers to a merchant or shopkeeper.

21. The Colonial Directory of the Straits Settlements Including Sarawak, Labuan, Bangkok, and Saigon 1875 (Singapore: Mission Press, 1875), p. L5; SG, October 2, 1899.

22. The pioneer of the pepper and gambier industries was Kuching businessmen Law Kian Huat, a Teochiu immigrant whose company, Ghee Soon, also established the first sago factory. In the mid-1860s, Law's company planted gambier on an experimental farm just outside Kuching and in 1871 pepper was grown on another Law-owned estate. See The Colonial Directory of the Straits Settlements Including Sarawak, Labuan, Bangkok, and Saigon 1873 (Singapore: Mission Press, 1873), p. L5; Cuthbert Collingwood, Rambles of a Naturalist (London: John Murray, 1886), p. 210; SG, December 1, 1884 and May 1, 1885; Rajah's Agreement Book, 1 (1872-1893), 150.

23. See SG, May 1, 1883, for a discussion of Chinese-Malay competition in the Baram.

24. Ibid., May 1, 1886; July 4, 1894; November 1, 1895.

25. Ibid., January 22, 1878.

26. See eg., Ibid., June 1, 1900.

27. Borneo Diocesan Register, 1851-1925, p. 45.

28. The Society for the propogation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, Borneo (Westminster: 1923?), p. 30.

29. See Lockard, "Foundations," p. 93; Arthur Sharp, The Wings of the Morning (London: H.G. Greaves Ltd., 1953), pp. 81-73. The gradual growth of the Anglican mission came despite the reservations of a rajah who once wrote: "Personally, I think Bishops are a bit of a nuisance out here" because of their tendency to chastise the morality of Brooke officials and occupy the time of busy Chinese immigrants with proselytization. The quote is from Runciman, White Rajahs, p. 165.

30. SV, August 22, 1966.

31. SG, October 1, 1892; November 1, 1899; November 1, 1900; James Madison Seymour, "Education in Sarawak Under Brooke Rule, 1841-1941," unpublished Masters thesis, University of Hawaii, 1967, pp. 30-31; Taylor and Heyward, Kuching Anglican Schools, pp. 6-14, 65-67.

32. See, eg., SG, January 24, 1871; February 26, 1878; November 6, 1886.

33. See Ibid., January 3, 1876; Seymour, "Education in Sarawak," pp. 30-31; Sharp, Wings, p. 63.

34. SG, November 1, 1899.

35. Ibid., May 19, 1877. One of the European fears of Chinese "contamination" of the Dayaks probably included the belief that town-educated Dayaks would become divorced from their own culture and want to remain in Kuching rather than return to the longhouse to apply their education to rural problems.

36. Seymour, "Education in Sarawak," p. 39.

37. Ibid., p. 40; McDougall, Sketches, p. 203. Western influence also extended to adult converts; in 1870, for example, a class of ten Chinese met nightly at the mission to study English with the British headmaster of St. Thomas's. SG, December 17, 1879.

38. The First Division included the Sarawak, Sadong, Samarahan, and Lundu river systems; the inclusion of these districts in one unit helped to tie them even more closely to the economic, political, and social influences of the capital city.

39. For example, John E.A. Lewis, who held the post off and on between 1896 and 1909, served at various times as acting curator of the Sarawak Museum, acting chief judge of the Debtor's Court, inspector of government schools, acting part-time resident of Lundu, and editor of the Sarawak Gazette, among other duties. On Lewis and his career see Sarawak Civil Service List 1929 (Kuching: Government Printing Office, 1929), pp. 90-91; SG, June 16, 1909; Tom Harrisson, "Second to None!: Our First Curator (and Others)," SMJ, 10/17-18 (1961), 17-29.

40. Runciman, White Rajahs, pp. 219-20.

41. SG, August 1, 1890.

42. Ibid., May 3, 1873.

43. Outram, "Chinese," pp. 1170-19.

44. SG, December 1, 1877.

45. On the kapitan system in Kuching and Sarawak, see Outram, "Chinese," p. 123; Otto C. Doering III, "Government in Sarawak Under Charles Brooke," Journal of Malaysian Branch Royal Asiatic Society, 39/2 (December, 1966), 104-05; Robert G. Aikman, "Episodes in Sarawak History." Broadcast Talks Over Radio Sarawak, 1955, issued in typescript by the British Council, Kuching, Sarawak. Reproduced by the University of Hawaii Peace Corps Training Center, Hilo, Hawaii, December, 1964, p. 54.

46. SG, June 1, 1898. The Chinese burial ground controversy of 1893 provides a good example of the manner in which unofficial consultation got results. Law Kian Huat had established a Chinese cemetery many years earlier. By the 1890s the government needed some adjoining land for grazing purposes, but the Chinese burial plots had gradually encroached onto this ground, depriving the cattle of space. Brooke wanted to encourage Chinese to use smaller plots in the graveyard and he called a meeting in the resident's office, inviting four leading Malays (including the datu bandar) and representatives of six of the most important Chinese firms. All of the representatives were Hokkien, Teochiu, or Chaoann, including the kapitans of each of the three communities. The conferees agreed to restrict further burials to existing plots and undertook to requisition land from large existing plots if that became necessary. The rajah got his limitation on size while the Chinese preserved their rights to the burial ground. SG, February 1, 1893.

47. Ibid., June 30, 1880.

48. Letter from Charles Brooke to C. Daubeny, March 22, 1896.

49. M. Brooke, My Life, pp. 178-80.

50. SG, November 18, 1879; September 30, 1871; February 1, 1881; June 1, 1895; January 3, 1898; February 1, 1899.

51. SG, February 17, 1873; W.J. Chater, "Pieces from the Brooke Past-III: The First Sarawak Chamber of Commerce, 1873," SG, July 31, 1964.

52. Henry Longhurst, The Borneo Story: The History of the First 100 Years of Trading in the Far East by the Borneo Company Limited (London: Newman Neame Ltd., 1956), p. 106.

53. The foreman could be either a Malay or a Chinese. In important cases, and on all Supreme Court cases, a European--usually a Brooke official--was added to the jury. Information on jury composition taken from various issues of the SG, 1890-1900.

Chapter IV

1. SG, February 1, 1883.

2. Ibid., August 1, 1881.

3. Ibid., February 1, 1882.

4. Ibid., August 1, 1902; M. Brooke, My Life, p. 64; Rajah's Agreement Book, 1 (1872-1893), p. 188; Chinese and Native Employees Roll Book, passim. On the Jawi Peranakans in the Straits Settlements, see William Roff, The Origins of Malay Nationalism (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), pp. 48-49.

5. On Bua Hassan, see M. Brooke, My Life, xx-xxi; Baring-Gould and Bampfylde, White Rajahs, pp. 77-78, 420-22; Chater, Sarawak, pp. 54-55; SG, November 2, 1906.

6. Quoted in M. Brooke, My Life, pp. 158-59.

7. Ibid., p. 29.

8. Ibid., p. xxi.

9. Bua Hassan served as datu imam from 1854 until his elevation as bandar; his replacement, Haji Abdul Karim, was a relative and held the post until his death in 1877. A younger brother of Bua Hassan, Tuan Haji Metaim (Mohammed Taim), a former merchant, then succeeded to the post, serving until his death in 1898. Metaim's

son, Haji Mohammed Amin, succeeded his father, serving as imam until his death in 1907. The office of hakim also came to be held by a member of Bua Hassan's immediate family. Haji Abdulrahman, a highly respected Arabic scholar, received appointment to that position in 1886. Upon his death in 1890 he was replaced by Abang Haji Mohammed Ali, the bandar's fifth son and a specialist on Malay adat. SG, November 1, 1877; May 1, 1890; December 1, 1898; October 3, 1906; April 1, 1925; Baring-Gould and Bampfylde, White Rajahs, pp. 78, 421-23; Chater, Sarawak, pp. 55-56.

10. The original temonggong, Mersal, served in that office until his death in 1863, when he was replaced by his second son, Abang Mohammed Hassan (Matasan), a progressive-minded aristocrat--the first to publicly liberate his slaves--and close friend of European officials. He died while on a pilgrimage to Mecca in 1883. For reasons that are unclear, the office of temonggong remained unfilled until 1909. SG, December 1, 1883; Baring-Gould and Bampfylde, White Rajahs, pp. 78, 422-23.

11. Doering, "Government," pp. 104-05; SG, April 1, 1893.

12. Ibid., January 9, 1871 and September 1, 1875; Baring-Gould and Bampfylde, White Rajahs, pp. 144-45.

13. M. Brooke, My Life, pp. 160-63. On the Hikayat Penglima Nikosa, see R.H.W. Reece and P. Thomas, "Early Malay Writing in Sarawak: The Hikayat Penglima Nikosa," SG, March 1982. Sawal died around 1910.

14. On Bakar see Ibid., pp. 164-65; Goatly, "Malays," pp. 105-16; SG, Jan. 2, 1929. Bakar never adopted Malay dress and always wore the Sumatran batik cloth and a headcloth rather than a Malay cap (songkok). He died in 1928.

15. On the Kampung Jawa School, see SG, May 1 and July 2, 1883; Nov. 1, 1888; Aug. 1, 1889; Feb. 1, 1829; M. Brooke, My Life, pp. 162-63.

16. SG, Aug. 1, 1894 and July 1, 1915.

17. Ibid., Aug. 1, 1894.

18. Ibid., July 1, 1897.

19. Ibid., Dec. 1, 1894.

20. Information obtained from various issues of SG, 1870-1910, especially Aug. 1, 1894; Colonial Directory 1873, pp. L5-6.

21. Teochiu Association Centennial, pp. 86-90, 248-49.

22. SG, Jan. 3, 1876; Sept. 1, 1888; Aug. 1, 1890; Aug. 1, 1894; letter from Charles Brooke to Messrs. Donaldson and Burkinshaw, Solicitors, Singapore, June 2, 1896.

23. SG, May 1, 1897.

24. The Penang Chamber did not appear until 1902, and the Singapore Chamber until 1906, while similar organizations were not formed in the Dutch East Indies until 1902, in Bangkok until 1905, or the Philippines until 1906. Song, Hundred Years' History, p. 387; Donald E. Willmott, The Chinese of Semarang (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1960), p. 27; G. William Skinner, Chinese Society in Thailand: An Analytical History (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1957), p. 170; Edgar Wickberg, The Chinese in Philippine Life, 1850-1898 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), p. 205.

25. Because of the importance of Chinese secret or triad societies in many other parts of Southeast Asia, including Singapore, their general absence in Kuching during this period seems significant. Participation in secret societies (huis) in Sarawak was subject to the death penalty after 1871; the Brookes sometimes executed convicted triad leaders. The main centers for secret society formation in Sarawak were Upper Sarawak and, after 1900, the Third Division and Miri. Evidently no hui ever maintained its headquarters in Kuching. Hakkas, Foochows, and Luichews constituted the three speech groups most prone to triad membership. Anti-triad hostility in Kuching apparently resulted from intense government vigilance; the bitter memories of 1857 for Chinese and Europeans alike; Hokkien-Teochiu-Cantonese hostility to Hakkas and, later, Foochows; early development of dialect associations; lack of serious urban antagonism to the Brooke regime; and general satisfaction of the Chinese elite with the status quo.

26. SG, May 1, 1897; Letter from Percy Cunynghame to Charles Brooke, Sept. 25, 1905; Letter from Charles Brooke to C.C. Robison, Postmaster-General, May 8, 1913; Letter from Charles Vyner Brooke to Resident, Matu, Mar. 9, 1909 and Mar. 10, 1909.

27. Boyle, Adventures, p. 148.

28. Feb. 1, 1893.

29. This information was obtained from C.P. Law, a grandson of Law Kian Huat.

30. On Teochiu dissatisfaction with the Steamship Co., see, e.g., SG, Jan. 4, 1897; Sept. 1, 1899; and Nov. 1, 1899.

31. These and other leaders, as well as patterns of Chinese leadership in Sarawak generally, are discussed in more detail in Craig A. Lockard, "Leadership and Power Within the Chinese Community of Sarawak: An Historical Survey," Journal of Southeast Asian Studies, 2/2 (Sept., 1971), 195-217.

32. The main documentary sources on Law are SG, Mar. 2, 1883; Outram, "Chinese," pp. 118-19; Teochiu Association Centennial. C.P. Law provided me with much useful information about his grandfather.

33. For Ong see Song, Hundred Years' History, pp. 171-73; SG, Jan. 1, 1890 and Jan. 2, 1900; Outram, "Chinese," pp. 117-19; W.J. Chater, The Story of Street and Road Names in Sarawak (Kuching: Kuching Literature Bureau, 1964), pp. 12-13.

34. For Chan see Outram, "Chinese," p. 118; SG, Oct. 1, 1895.

35. Second-rank leaders included the Hokkiens Chua Moh Choon and Ee Hap Swee, the Teochius Sim Ah Nio and Teo Siang Kow, the Chaoann Sim Ah Choon, the Cantonese Lau Ah Chek, and the Hakka Liew Syn Tet.

36. For Ong Tiang Swee see SG, Oct. 1, 1936 and Nov. 10, 1950; Malcolm McDonald, Borneo People (London: Jonathan Cape, 1956), pp. 335-44; Sharp, Wings, II, 52-53; A.M. Cooper, Men of Sarawak (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 59-64; Sarawak Commercial Year Book (Kuching: Kuching Chinese General Chamber of Commerce, 1969), p. 9 (text in Chinese). I am also indebted to Ong Kwan Hin for information about his father.

37. The Court Interpreter Lim Chiu Lian, a native of the Straits Settlements, typified this group. Lim worked for the government in Kuching between 1880 and 1902 and seems to have promoted literary and cultural activities among Chinese. For example, in 1893 he invited "such Chinese as fancy their literary attainments to come to his house...when he will examine them and award prizes to those who he considers merit reward." SG, Mar. 1, 1893. See also Ibid., Mar. 2, 1905.

38. Ibid., Apr. 24, 1878 and Oct. 1, 1920. In 1879, the Sarawak dollar was the equivalent of four British shillings. "Sarawak Chronology," The Sarawak Gazette Almanac, 1971 (Kuching: Government Printing Office, 1970), no page given.

39. Orders hich have not been canceled, issued by H.H. the Rajah of Sarawak or with his sanction from 1893 to 1895, inclusive (Kucing, 1896), p. 14; Orders which have not been canceled....1899 to 1900, p. 13; SG, June 1, 1895. The working hours were 5:00-7:00 a.m., 7:15-11:00 a.m., and 1:00-5:00 p.m. Some laws contained provisions to arrest "malingerers" and "absconders."

40. SG, Dec. 1, 1870; Jan. 3, 1876; Mar. 15, 1877.

41. Mar. 13, 1871.

42. Of 136 Chinese employees Hokkiens numbered 50 and Hakkas 46. Among 83 Chinese employees credited with a local mission school education, Hokkiens accounted for 26, and Hakkas for 37. Chinese and Native Employee's Rollbook, 1880-1927.

43. McDougall, Sketches, p. 226.

44. SG, June 1, 1898, lists some of the different practices.

45. On Kuching's Chinese temples see Sarawak Annual Report 1962 (Kuching: Government Printing Office, 1963), p. 355; Teochiu Association Centennial, pp. 86-90, 248-49; ST, May 1, 1966; Ong Kwan Hin, "The Lim Hua San Temple," SG, May 31, 1962; ____, "The Chinese Temple at Wayang Street, Kuching," SMJ, 8/11 (June, 1958), 363-65; C.P. Law, "Chinese Temples in Kuching-11," SMJ, 9/13-14 (1959), 47-48; Peter Goulart, River of the White Lily: Life in Sarawak (London: John Murray, 1965), pp. 12-14; SG, June 30, 1959, and May 1, 1963; Jong Kiam Chum, "Tua Pek Kong Temple of Kuching," SG, December, 1981.

46. On Moplah economic activities see SG, May 23, 1879; Sept. 1, 1893; Aug. 1, 1904; July 1, 1895.

47. Ibid., Feb. 1, 1891.

48. Ibid., Apr. 6, 1875. "Tambi" was a title generally used by Muslim Indians in the nineteenth-century archipelago world.

49. The term compradore refers to an Asian employed by European interests who served as a local contact man because of his knowledge of local languages, customs, and market conditions. The compradore functioned as advisor and intermediary, and often coordinated local sales operations. Some were already wealthy but they usually received lucrative commissions and salaries from the company as well. For more on Abdullah, who died in 1877, see Rajah's Agreement Book, 1, 15, 52, 90; SG, Feb. 2, 1874 and Mar. 15, 1877.

50. See e.g., the example of Singaram Pillai. SG, Sept. 1, 1926.

51. Ibid., Jan. 3, 1876. See also Ibid., Mar. 15, 1877.

52. Robert Nicholl, "Three Wise Men," SG, Nov. 30, 1960.

53. Quoted in SG, Sept. 16, 1875.

54. Ibid., Jan. 24, 1871.

55. On the Sarawak Club see A.B. Ward, Rajah's Servant, Cornell University Southeast Asia Program, Data Paper No. 61 (Ithaca, New York: 1966), p. 17; Alfred C. Haddon, Head-hunters: Black, White and Brown (London: Methuan & Co., 1901); SG, Nov. 3, 1875; May 20, 1876; Apr. 1, 1893.

56. Ibid., July 1, 1896.

57. Ranee Margaret Brooke, Good Morning and Good Night (London: Constable, 1934), p. 52.

58. SG, May 12, 1871.

59. Rajahs, pp. 295-301.

60. See Loh Chee Yin, "Pieces from the Brooke Past--XIII: Prostitution," SG, May 31, 1965.

61. See, e.g., SG, June 22, 1877.

62. See, e.g., Ibid., May 17, 1872 and June 22, 1877; M. Brooke, My Life, especially pp. 23-25, 158.

63. SG, Jan. 2, 1891 and May 2, 1892.

64. See, e.g., M. Brooke, My Life, p. 164.

65. SG, Apr. 6, 1875; Aug. 1, 1890; Sept. 1, 1891; Sept. 1, 1893; Oct. 1, 1898.

66. For example, an unpublished archival source refers to the establishment of a "Union Club Ltd." in 1880, whose stated intention was to lease certain property for the purposes of entertainment. The twelve partners listed in the memo included four Chinese (all leading traders), two Malays (one a trader, the other 'Che Bakar), one Indian (a Moplah shopkeeper), one Eurasian (a civil servant), and four Europeans (all government officers). Rajah's Agreement Book, 1, 117. The Rajah's Arms Hotel, a popular European gathering place in the early 1870s, was a joint operation by Law Kian Huat and a European. SG, Dec. 14, 1876.

67. See Ibid., Dec. 1, 1891; Apr. 2, 1892; May 2, 1892.

68. On the Sarawak Union Club see Ibid., Nov. 1, 1899; Feb. 1, 1900; Oct. 1, 1914; Nov. 1, 1940; ST, Oct. 8, 1946 and Dec. 31, 1947.

69. Indisch (Indies) culture contained a mixture of indigenous and Dutch cultural values and life-styles; it influenced indigenous, European and particularly Eurasian inhabitants of Batavia and some other Javan cities, particularly before 1900. See Milone, "Queen City," especially Chapter 10.

Chapter V

1. Lee Yong Leng, Population and Settlement in Sarawak (Singapore: Asia Pacific Press, 1970), p. 110. The influx of Chinese also contributed to the growth of other towns. Sibu, for example, grew from a small outstation bazaar in the late nineteenth century to a town of 8,456 in 1939. Miri, little more than a minor Malay village in 1900, had a 1939 population of 11,071, mainly due to development of the oil industry in the region and in nearby Brunei. L.W. Jones, Sarawak: Report on the Census of Population Taken on 15th June, 1960 (Kuching: Government Printing Office, 1962), pp. 32-33. The development of Sibu and other Rejang towns such as Sarikei and Binatang made them secondary urban settlements of major importance and rivals to Kuching for economic control of Sarawak.

2. Kampong Bintawa, for example, was settled largely by Malays from the Third Division who came to Kuching during the rubber boom. A. Zainal Abidin and Abdullah Salleh, "A Geographical Study of Kuching Malay Kampongs," unpublished academic exercise, University of Malaya, Singapore, Oct. 1956, p. 65.

3. SAR for 1930, p. 5; SAR for 1931, p. 14; SG, Dec. 1, 1933; Lee, Population and Settlement, p. 103.

4. SGG, Nov. 16, 1928.

5. Jones, Census of Population...1960, pp. 32, 325.

6. These figures are taken from Allied Geographical Survey of Kuching (Prepared for Allied Forces, Southwest Pacific Area, no publication information available), pp. 77-78. These figures add up to an "others" total of 1,655, fourteen more than reported in the census.

7. The 1917 figure comes from An Official Guide to Eastern Asia, V. (East Indies), (Tokyo: Imperial Government Railways of Japan, 1917), p. 330.

8. Quoted in SGG, Apr. 16, 1926.

9. Ibid., Nov. 7, 1924.

10. SG, Oct. 2, 1939.

11. John Beville Archer ("Optimistic Fiddler"), "Many Years Ago," SG, Apr. 1, 1948.

12. SGG, Oct. 7, 1921; Lo Suan Hian, "A Matter of Translation," SG, Oct. 31, 1961.

13. Abiden and Salleh, "Malay Kampongs," p. 18.

14. SG, Jan. 16, 1913.

15. Chinese and Native Employees Rollbook. Dayaks comprised seventeen percent, Indians two percent, and members of other ethnic groups three percent.

16. SGG, Feb. 16, 1920.

17. Ibid., May 16, 1918.

18. For example, Wee Hock Kee, a St. Thomas's-educated Hokkien immigrant, served for forty-two years in the government, rising to the post of chief cashier in the treasury. Although having little wealth he arranged the marriage of one of his sons, also a government clerk, to a daughter of Ong Tiang Swee. SG, Mar. 16, 1912 and Dec. 1, 1917.

19. Local physicians in 1925, for example, included four Europeans, three Chinese, two Indians, and one Japanese. SGG, Mar. 2, 1925.

20. Ibid., Feb. 1, 1940. The Chinese dentists may have included those engaged in the fashionable practice of tooth artistry, the insertion of gold or silver fillings for cosmetic rather than medical reasons.

21. Jones, Census of Population...1960, pp. 95-96.

22. The Chronicle: A Quarterly Report on the Borneo Mission Association, 3/4 (Nov., 1912), 38-39.

23. Annual Report for Diocese of Labuan and Sarawak, 1922, p. 11; Ibid., 1928 p. 10; Ibid., 1933, p. 10; Ibid., 1934, p. 5; Sharp, Wings of the Morning, p. 76; SG, Dec. 1, 1919 and Feb. 1, 1924.

24. Annual Report for Diocese...1933, p. 9.

25. Ibid., 1922, p. 11; Ibid., p. 3.

26. SG, June 4, 1928; The Chronicle, 27/2 (Sept., 1942), 12. Several other schools were also established in and around Kuching by the Anglican, Roman Catholic and Seventh Day Adventist missionaries in the late Brooke period.

27. The Chronicle, 27/2 (Sept., 1942), p. 12.

28. Information extracted from Who's Who in Sarawak (Kuching: Goverment Printing Office, 1966).

29. The Chronicle, 27/2 (Sept., 1942), 12; SG, July 16, 1920. The great majority of day students and a sizeable number of boarders apparently came from the town; local families not uncommonly boarded their children at the school. The difficulty of finding suitable or spacious housing in the bazaar prompted some families to board their children unless they were needed to help in the family business. See Chong Ah Onn, "Life Among the Primitive People of Borneo and the Occupation Period," unpublished manuscript, Kuching, 1960, pp. 31, 47-48.

30. SG, May 1, 1919.

31. Ibid., Oct. 1, 1920.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid., Nov. 1, 1929.

34. Ibid., Oct. 1, 1910.

35. Lo Suan Hian ("Orang Utan"), "A Matter of Names," SG, Nov. 30, 1959.

36. Puteh, Marriage Customs, p. 15. Some of the orang kerani were products of the Malay-medium schools.

37. The Chronicle, 19/4 (May, 1928), 2; Ibid., 20/6 (May, 1930), 5; Ibid., 23/2 (Aug., 1934), 34; Ibid., 26/3 (Dec., 1940), 33.

38. S.H. Lawrence, quoted in SG, Apr. 3, 1923.

39. See, e.g., Ibid., Aug. 3, 1925 and Nov. 2, 1936. The three datus who graduated from St. Thomas's were the patinggi, amar, and pahlawan.

40. On the resident and his duties see Ward, Rajah's Servant, pp. 165-69.

41. SG Supplement, May 1, 1937.

42. SGG, Apr. 1, 1940.

43. Reece, "The Cession," pp. 72-74. The rajah, who had no son, apparently wanted his eldest daughter rather than his nephew, Anthony Brooke, to succeed him; the bandar opposed a female succession. The plan was never accepted.

44. Quoted in SG, Apr. 17, 1911.

45. Ibid., June 16, 1911.

46. Two of the Hokkien magistrates were not, in fact, Hokkiens; one, Chan Kee Ong, was a Chaoann and the other, Wee Cheng Hew, a Foochow. However, both men maintained very close relations with the Hokkien community and constituted part of the Hokkien elite.

47. Hakkas predominated among the Chinese outside of Kuching, particularly in the rural areas, constituting a majority of all Chinese in the First, Second, and Fourth divisions; Foochows comprised the largest group in the Third Division. Kuching was the only major center under Hokkien control although they became the second most powerful group in Sibu. But the Foochows had numerical dominance in Sibu, while Hakkas and Cantonese controlled Miri, Teochius controlled Simanggang, and Sarikei was Foochow and Cantonese.

48. SG, June 1, 1911; Nov. 1, 1923; Oct. 1, 1931; SGG, Nov. 16, 1911 and Aug. 16, 1920; Sarawak Supreme Court Reports 1928-1941 (Kuching: Government Printing Office, 1955), esp. pp. 60-63.

49. See, e.g., SG, Nov. 1, 1923; Apr. 1, 1925; June 4, 1925; SGG, Feb. 16, 1925.

50. Mui Tsai were usually brough to Kuching from China at an early age and sold to a Chinese family, where they performed household tasks and were considered part of the family. They generally received little education and their treatment depended on the character of the family in which they were placed. For secretariat-sponsored laws for the protection of these women, see SGG, Jan. 2, 1931. The secretariat set up a committee of local Chinese women to look after the interests of women and children in Kuching. See SAR for 1930, p. 51.

51. On some activities of the secretariat see SAR for 1929, pp. 55-57; SAR for 1930, p. 50; SAR for 1938, p. 37.

52. SGG, Jan. 21, 1924; Mar. 3, 1924; May 1, 1924; Nov. 16, 1927; SG, June 16, 1924; July 1, 1924; Dec. 1, 1926.

53. SG, Dec. 1, 1921.

54. On the KSMAB see especially Ibid., Mar. 1, 1920 and Jan. 3, 1922.

55. Dec. 1, 1921.

56. See, e.g., SGG, June 1, 1925; June 16, 1925; July 1, 1925; June 1, 1926.

57. Ibid., June 1, 1925.

58. Quoted in Ibid., Nov. 3, 1942.

Chapter VI

1. J.L. Noakes, Sarawak and Brunei: A Report on the 1947 Population Census (Kuching: Government Printing Office, 1950), p. 87.

2. The size of Kuching's effective hinterland gradually declined throughout the late Brooke period under the impetus of Foochow competition and the development of Sibu and Miri as rival trading ports and collection and distribution centers. The Sibu Foochows provided stiff competition to Kuching Hokkiens for economic leadership in Sarawak. In 1900 Kuching had effective control over most of the state but, by the 1930s, Kuching's economic and social control was largely confined to the First and Second divisions and the Sago Coast.

3. SG, Jan. 2, 1913.

4. Hakkas and Teochius between them accounted for well over half of the total in 1911, 1913, and 1922, with the Hakkas being substantially higher by 1922. Luichews, a very small group constituting less than one percent of the whole Chinese population, accounted for between nine and seventeen percent of all the inmates. SGG, Mar. 16, 1911; May 1, 1913; April 18, 1922.

5. See T'ien, Chinese of Sarawak, pp. 45-58.

6. John E.A. Lewis (Acting Resident of First Division) to Charles Brooke, Jan. 22, 1906.

7. On the Kwong Lee Bank see SG, Aug. 2, 1909 and Aug. 16, 1911.

8. See SG, Apr. 16, 1919; K.G. Tregonning, Home Port Singapore (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1967), pp. 123-35.

9. Sarawak: Annual Report 1962, p. 356.

10. SG, Jan. 16, 1911 and Feb. 1, 1912.

11. On the Wangkang Festival see Ibid., June 16 and July 1, 1908; Sept. 16, Oct. 1, and Oct. 16, 1918; Nov. 1, 1928; April 1, 1937; Sept. 30, 1954; The Chronicle (Feb. 1934), pp. 6-9. Malacca is the only other town in Southeast Asia to reportedly hold a Wangkang.

12. Information on voluntary associations, and on the KCCC, taken from various issues of SG, 1870-1915, and SGG, 1915-1941.

13. See, e.g., ST, Sept. 27, 1950.

14. SG, Mar. 1, 1930.

15. The information that follows on the Teochiu Association is taken from Teochiu Association Centennial, pp. 86-90, 248-49.

16. Taipoo Association Fortieth Anniversary Book (Kuching: Taipoo Association, 1960), pp. 9-10, 21, 115 (text in Chinese).

17. T'ien, Chinese of Sarawak, p. 5.

18. SG, Apr. 2, 1917 and July 16, 1918; Teochiu Association Centennial, p. 86; Kho Chong Soo, The British Borneo Year Book, 1 (Kuching: 1952), 12 (text in Chinese).

19. William Chew Hon Fatt, "Report (dated 18th June, 1952) on Kuching Wharf Laborers' Union," SG, Oct. 31, 1952; SG, Jan. 16, 1918.

20. Charles Brooke, Queries: Past, Present and Future (London: The Planet, 1907), p. 4.

21. Paraphrase of rajah's speech, quoted in SG, July 1, 1910.

22. Ibid.,

23. Ibid., Jan. 2, 1903. The government recruited a Tamil master from Madras, a Malay master from Singapore, and a Chinese master with a Mandarin background from China, deliberately selected because he was not a member of any of the speech groups already in Kuching and therefore presumably impartial in inter-dialect disputes. Furthermore, Brooke officials felt that this appointment would "prevent jealousy or prejudice on the part of fathers against their sons to be taught by a member of a rival speech group." Ibid.

24. Ibid., July 1, 1904; May 1, 1906; July 2, 1906; July 1, 1910; July 1, 1911; Sept. 16, 1912; July 1, 1915; July 1, 1916.

25. In 1917 considerable discussion occurred in government and among Chinese as to whether Mandarin should be taught at all, with opinion very much divided. One English-educated Chinese summed up the controversy in a letter to the Gazette of Aug. 16, 1917:

> I would say both sides are right. What benefit will Mandarin confer on a person who lives in Sarawak where it is no use either as a commercial language or for daily intercourse. But even to Chinese who intend to make Sarawak their permanent home, who care not for their fatherland, it may be said that the study of Kuan Hua [Mandarin] is not a worthless undertaking or labor lost, for it is always a good mental exercise and is an easy introduction to Chinese.

26. Ibid., Aug. 2, 1904; July 1, 1911; Jan. 16, 1918. For more on the GLS see Ibid., July 30, 1961 and Nov. 30, 1962.

27. On the HFS see Ibid., Aug. 16, 1912; Feb. 1 and June 2, 1913; June 1, 1917; Nov. 1, 1929.

28. R.W. Hammond, "Report on Education in Sarawak," (Kuching: June 2, 1937), typescript, p. 91; Taipoo Association Anniversary, p. 10; James F. Hwang, "The Chinese in Sarawak," The China Critic, 29/6 (May 9, 1940), 88; Teochiu Association Centennial, p. 89; SAR 1937 p. 27.

29. SAR 1929, p. 46. Ming Teck School enrolled 128. For some reason the HFS, probably the largest Chinese school, was not included in the report.

30. The Chinese and Malay-medium schools of the Brooke period offered only primary level education. The mission schools were also primary schools until late in the Brooke period, when they began offering limited secondary-level work.

31. Archer, "Many Years Ago,"

32. SG, Nov. 1, 1929.

33. Ibid., Dec. 1, 1916; Dec. 16, 1918; Apr. 1, 1939; SGG, Apr. 16, 117; Oct. 1, 1924; Dec. 1, 1925; Teochiu Association Centennial, p. 89.

34. The situation in Bangkok resulted primarily from a tendency of successful Chinese and their descendants to be absorbed into the dominant Thai group, thereby leaving a leadership vacuum to be filled by immigrants. See G. William Skinner, Leadership and Power in the Chinese Community of Thailand (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1958), pp. 7-9, 33.

35. For sources on Ong see fn. 38, Chapter IV.

36. On Kuching' s Chinese leaders see Lockard, "Leadership and Power," pp. 202-10.

37. Based on the number of powerful institutions in which they held power, Ong Tiang Swee, Wee Kheng Chiang, Lau Ngee Siang, and Lim Tee Chiew would appear to have been the most influential leaders in the late Brooke period.

38. On the Institute see SG, Apr. 1, 1907; S.P.G., Borneo, p. 42.

39. SG, Nov. 16, 1911.

40. Ibid., Jan. 16, 1913; Reginald Douglas to Charles Brooke, Feb. 5, 1912.

41. Ibid., Sept. 13 and Oct. 16, 1913; Charles Brooke to Bishop Mounsey, Oct. 2 and 12 and June 30, 1913; Charles Brooke to Superintendent of Police Henry A. Adams, Oct. 3, 1913; Sharp, Wings, pp. 75-76.

42. The first English-language daily, the Sarawak Times, begun in 1941 under a Chinese editor from Chungking, aimed largely at the English-educated Chinese. Liu Tzu-Cheng, "Chinese Publishing Activities in Sarawak," Journal of South Seas Society, 20/1-2 (1965), 1-12 (text in Chinese); See also the recent book by John Chin, The Sarasak Chinese (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press 1981), pp. 106-107.

43. SAR 1935, p. 25; SAR 1937, p. 27.

44. SG, Feb. 1, 1922.

45. Ibid., Sept. 1, 1930.

46. SAR 1932, p. 14; SAR 1937, p. 35; SG, Nov. 2, 1936; Oct. 1, 1938; Oct. 1, 1939; Nov. 1, 1941; Hwang, "Chinese in Sarawak," p. 88.

47. SAR 1933, p. 15; SAR 1936, p. 27; SAR 1938, p. 35; SG, Mar. 1, 1940; Francis Starner, "Communism in Singapore and Malaysia: A Multifront Struggle," in Robert Scalapino, ed., The Communist Revolution in Asia (Englewood cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1965), p. 240.

48. SG, Aug. 1, 1894 and Dec. 1, 1921. 1915 showed the highest enrollments, with 226 in the three schools, including 103 at Kampung Jawa School. Ibid., July 1, 1915.

49. Ibid., Dec. 2, 1929; Aug. 1, 1930; June 3, 1933.

50. Ibid., Mar. 2 and July 1, 1931; Jan. 3, 1933.

51. Ibid., Nov. 1, 1935; Mar. 1, 1937; Feb. 1, 1938.

52. On Mat Kassim see Ibid., Aug. 1, 1921; M. Brooke, My Life, pp. 262-63; Baring-Gould and Bampfylde, White Rajahs, p. 421; Ward, Rajah's Servant, p. 199.

53. On Abdillah see SG, Nov. 3, 1924; May 1, 1937; Dec. 2, 1946; ST, Sept. 28 and Nov. 23, 1946.

54. Reece, "Cession of Sarawak," pp. 72-74.

55. SG, July 1, 1931.

56. Ibid., Oct. 1, 1931.

57. Ibid., Sept. 1, 1931.

58. Ibid., Oct. 1, 1936. Nonetheless, the veil and other aspects of female subjugation did not really disappear until the Japanese occupation, especially among aristocratic Malay women.

59. Ibid., Apr. 1, 1934.

60. Ibid., June 1, 1935.

61. Reece, "Cession of Sarawak," pp. 205-07. For more on the Fajar, which published in Jawi (and of which only a few issues survive), see William Roff, Bibliography of Malay and Arabic Periodicals Published in the Straits Settlements and Peninsular Malay States, 1876-1941 (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 44; Philip L. Thomas, "The Dawn of Sarawak Verse," SG, Nov. 30, 1977, 181-83; Phillip L. Thomas, ed., Fajar Sarawak (Petaling Jaya: Penerbit Fajar Bakti, 1984); R.H.W Reece, "First Malay Newspaper in Sarawak," SG, April, 1981; Robert Reece, "Political Pioneers," in Adenan Haji Satem, ed., Our Sarawak (Kuching: Persatuan Kesusasteraan Sarawak, 1983), 18-19. The editor and driving force of Fajar was Mohammed Rakawi Yusoff, who also wrote the first true Malay novel in Sarawak--Melati Sarawak ("The Jasmine of Sarawak")--and the first Malay-language history of the state--Hikayat Sarawak. A former civil servant and member of the KSMAB of Minangkabau origin. Rakawi led a group of chiefly non-aristocratic intellectuals, products of the growing education system, who would later provide leadership to Malay nationalist political and sociocultural movements. Rakawi's death in 1936 brought an end to his activity but not his intellectual influence among educated Kuching Malays. See Reece, "Cession," pp. 205-07; Philip L. Thomas, "The First Sarawak Novel: Melati Sarawak," SMJ, 24/45 (1976), 317-22. Muhammed Rakawi Yusuf, Melati Sarawak (Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1980).

62. Roff, Malay Nationalism, pp. 212-21; SG, Feb. 1, 1936 and Apr. 1, 1939.

63. Roff, Malay Nationalism, pp. 190-246; SG, Apr. 1, 1939; Feb. 1, 1940; July 1, 1941.

64. Roff, Malay Nationalism, pp. 244-46; SG, May 1 and July 1, 1939; Aug. 1, 1940; July 1, 1941.

65. On Krishna see SG, Dec. 3, 1923; Jan. 2 and Nov. 2, 1925; Dec. 1, 1926; June 1, 1940; ST, Dec. 16, 1946.

66. SG, Nov. 2, 1925.

67. Ibid., Oct. 1, 1937.

68. In the late Brooke period Malay hajis offered religious instruction to Malay children, usually in their homes or in the suraus (prayer houses), but there were only a few children, usually from the same kampong, in each of these informal schools.

69. SG, May 1, 1950; ST, Dec. 1, 1951.

70. SG, Oct. 1, 1937.

71. Ibid., Oct. 1 and Nov. 1937; Oct. 1, 1938.

72. Ibid., Nov. 1, 1902.

73. Charles Brooke to Bishop Mounsey, May 18, 1913.

74. SGG, Apr. 16, 1940.

75. SG, Aug. 1, 1912.

76. On some of these Japanese activities see Ibid., Nov. 16, 1914; Nov. 16, 1915; Nov. 1, 1917; Oct. 2, 1923; Oct. 1, 1940.

77. Ibid., May 2, 1927.

78. Ibid., Apr. 1, 1921.

79. See especially Eric Mjoberg, Borneo: L'Île des Chasseurs de Têtes (Paris: Librarie Plon, 1934), pp. 126-28.

80. See, e.g., SG, Apr. 1, 1921.

81. Sept. 1, 1931.

82. Ibid., July 1, 1922.

83. See Ibid., Sept. 2, 1929.

84. Malays generally shared the European opinion of Chinese, while both Malays and Chinese held low opinions of the Tamil laborers. The Chinese were often accused of holding other ethnic groups in contempt; one European writer to the Gazette reported that the local Chinese term for Malays, roughly translated as "little foreigners," carried connotation of reproach and disdain. The same was supposedly true of the Chinese terms for Dayaks and Tamils. Ibid., Aug. 1, 1929.

85. Ibid., Sept. 1, 1908.

86. Ibid., Nov. 1, 1920.

87. Aug. 1, 1935.

88. Ibid., Feb. 1, 1938.

89. Ibid., Aug. 1, 1936 and Aug. 1, 1938.

90. See, e.g., Ibid., July 1 and Aug. 1, 1908; June 16, 1914; July 16, 1918; Nov. 1 and Dec. 1, 1923; Aug. 3, 1925; May 1 and Aug. 1, 1940.

91. Ibid., June 1, 1912; June 16, 1915; Apr. 1, 1926; June 1 and Nov. 1, 1935; Jan. 2, 1940; May 1, 1941.

92. An amateur orchestra called the Sarawak Peranakan Orchestra, appeared in 1909; it included ten Chinese (mostly mission-educated civil servants and towdays), one European, and four Malays and Dayaks under a Filipino bandmaster. The orchestra evidently played Western classical and popular music although it is difficult to imagine Dayaks (or even Chinese) of that day having much interest in Western music. But it certainly seems to have been more than a band, for the instruments consisted of violins, violas, violoncellos, bassos, flutes, clarinets, and trombones. Ibid., May 1, 1911.

93. Quoted in Ibid., Apr. 1, 1939.

94. Ibid., May 1, 1939; Mar. 1 and Aug. 1, 1940.

95. On the SUC see Ibid., Nov. 1, 1899; Oct. 1, 1914; Nov. 1, 1949; ST, Oct. 8, 1946 and Dec. 31, 1947.

96. See Maurice Freedman, "The Growth of the Plural Society in Malaya," Pacific Affairs, 33/2 (June, 1960), p. 167.

Chapter VII

1. Liew Yung Tzu, Sarawak Under the Japanese (Sibu: Hua Ping Press, 1956), pp. 22, 44 (text in Chinese); ST, Jan. 8 and 19, 1946; Jan. 21, 1950; Dec. 13, 1970; Reece, "Cession of Sarawak," pp. 222-31.

2. Liew, Japanese, p. 27; ST, Mar. 8, 1946.

3. On the European internment camps, see Agnes Keith, Three Came Home (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1947); Michael O'Connor, The More Fool I (Dublin: Moynihan, 1954). On Chinese help to the internees see SG, Oct. 1, 1946; Jan. 7 and Aug. 1, 1950.

4. See SG, Feb. 1, 1947.

5. Liew, Japanese, p. 30; SG, Oct. 1, 1946; Reece, "Cession of Sarawak," pp. 237-38.

6. Reece, "Cession of Sarawak," pp. 232-43.

7. In 1947 Miri, then the second largest town, had a population of 10,989 while Sibu had 9,983. However, Sibu was located in the fertile and increasingly important Rejang River basin; in the 1950s Sibu grew at a much faster rate than Kuching and demographic specialists suggested that, by the 1970s, it would have a larger population than the capital. See Noakes, 1947 Population Census, pp. 82-83; SG, Oct. 31, 1960.

8. SG, Oct. 10, 1950. Most of the Javanese and Shanghainese forced laborers were repatriated.

9. The minor ethnic groups included 167 Eurasians, 154 Europeans, 84 Javanese, 34 Filipinos, 13 Ceylonese, and 63 "others." The Dayak group included 614 Ibans, 227 Land Dayaks, 49 Melanaus, 7 Dusuns (from British North Borneo), and one Sarawak Murut.

10. One percent of the Chinese were listed as "others." Noakes, 1947 Population Census, p. 102.

11. ST, Sept. 9, 1949.

12. Sept. 1, 1947.

13. The introduction of Malaysian rule in 1963 brought the awarding of the honorific title dato (Penglima Negara Bintang Sarawak), bestowed by the state governor on prominent citizens of any ethnic group. The title carried no powers or duties and was similar to a British knighthood.

14. The tua kampungs regularly advised the secretary for Native Affairs (the Malay equivalent to the secretary for Chinese Affairs) on Malay matters, handled minor kampung problems and elected the Malay representatives to the municipal council before the introduction of direct elections.

15. On the kapitans and CAB see Kho, British Borneo Year Book, 1, 20; SGG, Mar. 15, 1950; Norton Ginsberg, (ed.), British Borneo (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1955), p. 86. In the post-war period the secretariat for Chinese Affairs dealt with immigration-emigration procedures, employer-employee disputes, production of Chinese language textbooks, registration of voluntary associations, and protection of labor and of women and girls, among other duties.

16. The discussion which follows on the cession controversy owes much to the excellent analysis by Bob Reece in his thesis, "Cession of Sarawak," especially chapters 7-8. Other important studies include Reece, "Political Pioneers," in Adenan, ed., Our Sarawak, pp. 21-23; Sanab Said, "Anti-Cession Movement, 1946-1951: The Birth of Nationalism in Sarawak" (graduation exercise,

University of Malaya, 1975-1976); Yusuf P. Heaton, "The Anti-Cession Movement in Sarawak," SG, July 31, 1972, 127-30 and Aug. 31, 1972, 145-49; S.H. Alattas, Kenapa Rosli Dhoby dan Tiga Hero Sarawak dihukum Bunuh? (Johor Bahru: Alattas Enterprise, 1975); Runciman, White Rajahs, pp. 257-67; MacDonald, Borneo People, pp. 347-57. A study with much relevant material has just been published: Sanib said, Malay Politics in Sarawak 1946-1966 (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1985).

17. SG, Mar. 17, 1947; US, Apr. 12, 1951, and Feb. 15, 1956. Chegu Lily Eberwein, then Kuching-born Muslim daughter of a Eurasian father and Malay mother, had a Malay husband and was considered a member of the Malay community. She worked most of her life as a teacher. See ST, Feb. 6, 1971.

18. See US, Sept. 9, 1958; Haji Ahmad Zaidell Tahir, "The History of Sekolah Rakyat Jalan Haji Bolhassan," Journal of the Malaysian Historical Society, Sarawak Branch (1982), 14-26.

19. On the bandar see Adenan Haji Satem, "Dau Bandar: A Belated Appreciation," SG, Feb. 28, 1965; K.C. Jong, "Living Names" in Adenan, ed., Our Sarawak, pp. 56-58.

20. ST, Feb. 18, 1952; Mar. 18 and 23, 1953; Apr. 12, 1955; SG Supplement, Nov. 28, 1952.

21. ST, Apr. 7, 1953.

22. See Hasbie Suleiman, "Prophet Mohammad's Birthday Celebrations in Sarawak, 1964 and Before," SG, Aug. 31, 1964.

23. SG, Dec. 3, 1954 and Aug. 31, 1956; US, Aug, 11, 1956; ST, Dec. 6, 1954; SGG, Dec. 17, 1954 and May 2, 1955. On Datu Openg see Jong, Living Names, pp. 55-56.

24. See especially Kesedaran, 4 (May, 1952), 8-13; 5 (June, 1952), 17-22; ST, Mar. 3, 1952.

25. On the KMT see T'ien, Chinese, p. 86; ST, Aug. 28, 1947 and June 27, 1946.

26. On the development of communism in Sarawak see Sarawak Information Service, The Danger Within (Kuching: Government Printing Office, 1965), pp. 2-4; Justus M. Van Der Kroef, "Communism and Chinese Communalism in Sarawak," The China Quarterly, 20 (October-December, 1964), 38-66; SG, Aug. 30, 1952.

27. On the Consul see ST, Jan. 8, 19, and 26, 1948; Mar. 9, 1948; SG, Apr. 1, 1948.

28. ST, Sept. 15 and 27, 1950; Sept. 27, 1951; Oct. 3, 1953.

29. G. William Skinner, Report on the Chinese in Southeast Asia (Ithaca: Cornell University Program in Southeast Asian Studies, 1950), p. 57; Liu Tzu Cheng, "Chinese Publishing Activities in Sarawak," Journal of South Seas Society, 20/1-2 (1965), 1-12 (text in Chinese); P. Lim Pui Huen, Newspapers Published in the Malaysian Area, Occasional Paper No. 2 (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, April, 1970), pp. 191-96; Sarawak Annual Report, 1947-1962. See also Chin, Sarawak Chinese, pp. 106-109.

30. Cheng Tze Yu, "The Unified Management of Chinese Education in Kuching," Journal of South Seas Society, 6/2 (1954), 49-50 (text in Chinese); SV Aug. 4 and 6, 1954; ST, May 31, 1947.

31. For detailed discussion of these problems see Michael B. Leigh, The Rising Moon: Political Change in Sarawak (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1974), pp. 8-15; SG, Jan. 31, 1959; Tristram, "Some Problems Affecting the Chinese in Sarawak," SG, May 31, 1955.

32. ST, Aug. 26, 1947 and July 11, 1951; SV, Mar. 23, Apr. 23 and 30, 1955.

33. Precise figures on Chinese Christian membership are unavailable. The 1960 census found that nearly one-fourth of the Sarawak Chinese considered themselves Christians and the figures for Kuching must have been similar. Jones, Census of Population... 1960, p. 96.

34. CDN, Jan. 29, 1946; ST, Sept. 24 and Oct. 7, 1946; Sept. 25, 1947; Mar. 9 and 18, 1948. See also Chin, Sarawak Chinese, pp. 112-113.

35. Ibid., Sept. 30, 1947; July 6 and 18, 1949; US, Mar. 16, 1951.

36. CDN, Apr. 7, 1948; Chew, Kuching Wharf Laborers' Union"; SG, Sept. 12, 1951.

37. ST, Aug. 23, 1946.

38. See ST, SV, and CDN, Dec. 1954 and Jan. 1955; Leigh, Rising Moon, p. 12.

39. Information of KCCC leadership taken from Kuching Commercial Year Book of 1955 (Kuching: Chinese Chamber of Commerce, 1956), pp. 291-92; Kuching Commercial Year Book of 1965 (Kuching: Chinese Chamber of Commerce, 1966), pp. 65-66.

40. These two groups generally occupied at least three of the four top offices. But a Teochiu grocer and kapitan, Tan Bak Lim, served as chairman from 1947 to 1955 after succeeding Wee Kheng Chiang in that position. He was in turn succeeded by the Chaoann

Tan Kui Choon, the son of one-time KCCC president Tan Sum Guan. The close relations between the Hokkien and Chaoann elite that were so marked in the Brooke period continued after the occupation. In 1950, for example, three of the thirteen officers of the Hokkien Association were actually Chaoanns, two of whom served concurrently as chairman and general secretary of the Chaoann Association. ST, Dec. 23 and 29, 1950.

41. ST, Feb. 5, 7, and 9, 1949; Oct. 5, 1949; CDN, May 4 and Oct. 5, 1949.

42. ST, Feb. 18 and 21, 1949; May 6, 1952; Jan. 24, 1953; Apr. 10, 13, and 15, 1953; July 14, 1953.

43. One of the most influential towkays in the late 1940s had reportedly been a wharf laborer before the occupation. E.R. Leach, Social Science Research in Sarawak (London: H.M.S.O., 1950), p. 31.

44. Unless otherwise cited information on Chinese leaders is taken from Commercial Year Book 1955, pp. 17-29; Commercial Year Book 1965, pp. 13-22 (text in Chinese); Commercial Year Book 1968, (text in Chinese); Teochiu Association Centennial, pp. 22-39; Lock Kek Beng, ed., A History of the Hokkien Clan Establishment: The Outline History of Asia-Pacific (Singapore: Hokkien Association of Malaysia and Singapore, 1970) (text in Chinese); Victor Morais), Who's Who in Malaysia and Singapore, 1967 (Kuala Lumpur: V. Morais, 1968); Sarawak Who's Who (Kuching: Malaysian Information Service, Oct. 11, 1966), mimeographed; and from personal interviews in Kuching. See also Lockard, "Leadership and Power," 202-16.

45. SG, Apr. 7, 1949; ST, Sept. 23, 1953.

46. ST, Feb. 6, Nov. 22 and 25, 1946; Feb. 17, 1947.

47. ST, Dec. 10, 1951 and Sept. 23, 1953.

48. On Dr. Sockalingam see Council Negri Centenary: 1867-1967 (Kuching: Borneo Literature Bureau, 1967), p. xi.

49. See, e.g., SG, Jan. 7, 1950.

50. The only recorded inter-ethnic clash was a fight after a contested football match in 1948 between a wholly Chinese St. Thomas's team and a wholly Malay Constabulary team. SG, Aug. 2, 1948.

51. In 1947 the state population included 145,158 Chinese and 97,469 Malays. The various Dayak groups combined were much the largest category, with a total of 297,948; Ibans, the most numerous group, comprised 190,326 of that total. Noakes, 1947

Population Census, pp. 82-83.

52. The information that follows is taken from Ibid., pp. 222-25. The figures are for the First Division in general, not just Kuching, but the capital city contained the great bulk of those engaged in urban-type occupations.

53. ST, Apr. 20, 1948 and Apr. 25, 1955. The government may have promoted the club as a mechanism for keeping Chinese youth away from pro-communist activities.

54. Ibid., Nov. 30 and Dec. 4, 1951.

Chapter VIII

1. According to the 1960 census Chinese and Ibans constituted the largest groups in Sarawak, with 30.8 and 31.0 percent respectively of the total population of 744,520. All of the Dayak groups together (excluding the Melanaus) totaled 44.7 percent. Malays accounted for 17.4 percent with Europeans and others at 1.1 percent. Jones, Census of Population...1960, p. 59. The proportions of the various ethnic groups meant that no one group could dominate the state politically and that alliances between groups or subgroups were necessary to insure political control.

2. Officially the transfer resulted from differing land zoning on the two banks. As an additional incentive, the combining of the north bank kampungs with the Kuching Rural District allowed Malays and Dayaks to dominate the district both numerically and politically, preventing the leftist-oriented Chinese from winning control. See also Lee, Population and Settlement, p. 229.

3. See James C. Jackson, Sarawak: A Geographical Survey of a Developing State (London: University of London Press, 1968), pp. 68-69; Sarawak Annual Report 1962, p. 69.

4. Jackson, Sarawak, pp. 68-69. Kuching remained the largest urban center in Sarawak. Sibu was second, with 29,630.

5. Jones, Census of Population...1960, pp. 6-7.

6. Report on the Kuching Municipal Council Elections Held on 4th November, 1956, compiled by J.C.B. Fisher (Kuching: Government Printing Office, 1957), pp. 3-4.

7. SGG, Nov. 16, 1956.

8. Ibid., Dec. 11, 1959.

9. The formation and growth of political parties, as well as subsequent political developments in Sarawak, has been discussed in detail elsewhere. See especially Leigh, "Political Organization"; Michael Leigh, "Party Formation in Sarawak," Indonesia, 9 (April, 1970), 189-224; Leigh, Rising Moon; Margaret C. Roff, The Politics of Belonging: Political Change in Sabah and Sarawak (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1974); James P. Ongkili, Modernization in East Malaysia 1960-1970 (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1972); R.S. Milne and K.J. Ratnam, Malaysia: New States in a New Nation (London: Frank Cass, 1974); Craig A. Lockard, "Parties, Personalities, and Crisis Politics in Sarawak," Journal of Southeast Asian History, 8/1 (March, 1967), 111-21; John A. McDougall, "Shared Burdens: A Study of Communal Discrimination by Political Parties in Malaysia and Singapore," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1968.

10. SA'ATI (Organ of the Sarawak United Peoples Party), Apr. 9, 1961.

11. Ta Chung Daily News, Nov. 1, 1962; US, Nov. 8, 1962.

12. Unless otherwise cited, information on Chinese and Malay leaders in the late colonial and early Malaysian periods was taken from "Who's Who in Sarawak"; Morais, ed., Who's Who in Malaysia...1969; Commercial Year Book 1955; Commercial Year Book 1965; Lock, History of the Hokkien Clan Establishment; Leigh, Rising Moon; Teochiu Association Centennial; personal interviews.

13. Michael Leigh, The Chinese Community of Sarawak, Singapore Studies on Malaysia No. 6 (Singapore: Department of History, University of Singapore, 1964), pp. 46-47.

14. SGG, July 5, 1963.

15. Leigh, Chinese, p. 48; Commercial Year Book 1965, pp. 65-67.

16. US, Nov. 27, 1962.

17. See Ta Chung Daily News, Nov. 13, 1962; Sin Wen Pau, Nov. 28, 1961.

18. ST, July 6, 1963. On the alliance between SUPP and PANAS see Leigh, Rising Moon, pp. 72-80.

19. SG, Apr. 30, 1958. Eight members of the Chinese gangs were brought to court.

20. The following census material is taken from R. Chander, ed., 1970 Population and Housing Census of Malaysia: Community Groups (Kuala Lumpur: Jabatan Perangkaan Malaysia, 1972), p. 282; Michael Leigh, "An Ethnographic Survey of the First Division of Sarawak, SG, Jan. 31, 1976, 9, 19.

21. The Indian traders also formed their first chamber of commerce in the mid-1960s.

22. Kuching Municipal Council Annual Report 1970, p. 10.

23. See, e.g., SG, May 31, 1965. Both divorce and polygamy had greatly declined after the Japanese Occupation. Tom H. Harrisson, The Malays of Southwest Sarawak Before Malaysia (London: Macmillan, 1968), p. 193.

24. Commercial Year Book 1968, pp. 109-10.

25. See Tien Ju-K'ang, "The Chinese of Sarawak: Thirty Years of Change," Southeast Asian Studies, 21/3 (December, 1983), 275-287.

26. Two small multi-ethnic parties also developed strength in Kuching in the mid-1960s. MACHINDA, a moderate coalition of Chinese, Iban, and Malay intellectuals from Kuching, lasted only two years due to factionalization. The predominantly Iban SNAP formed a Kuching branch, with membership mostly drawn from among the Chinese intelligentsia and moderate businessmen. The multi-ethnic orientation of these parties may have resulted from a feeling that politics were becoming too politicized along communal lines. Since most of the leaders represented the mission-educated intelligentsia, they may also have resulted from an attempt to institutionalize cooperation based on an English-medium educational background and a Westernized cultural orientation. Perhaps the transfer of power from European to Malay hands threatened the role of the mission-educated bi-cultural brokers as intermediaries.

27. On this conflict see SV, Jan. 25 and 26, 1966.

28. Leigh, Rising Moon, pp. 138-139. Cheng later embraced Islam and lost much of his Chinese support.

29. 'Che Ajibah died in 1976 while serving as Minister of Welfare Services in the State government. For more on her career see Jong, "Living Names," pp. 58-61.

30. Ibid., pp. 127-41. See the same source for more on the 1970 elections and subsequent developments. See also Peter Searle, Plitics in Sarawak 1970-1976: The Iban Perspective (Singapore: Oxford University, 1983).

Chapter IX

1. The Peranakan pattern is not strictly an urban one for Peranakan communities were also found in the small towns and rural areas of Java. Peranakan communities have also been reported in eastern Indonesia and in the West Sumatra city of Padang. On the Peranakan pattern see Giok-Lan Tan, The Chinese of Sukabumi: A Study in Social and Cultural Accommodation (Ithaca: Cornell University Modern Indonesia Project, 1963); Willmott, The Chinese of Semarang; G. William Skinner, "The Chinese Minority," in Ruth McVey, ed., Indonesia (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1963), 97-117; J.A.C. Mackie, The Chinese in Indonesia: Five Essays (Hong Kong: Heinemann, 1976). On the Babas see especially John Clammer, The Straits Chinese Community of Malaysia (London: Social Science Research Council, 1975); ______, Straits Chinese Society (Singapore: Singapore University, 1980); Felix Chia, The Babas (Singapore: Times Books International, 1980); ______, Ala Sayang (Singapore: Eastern Universities Press, 1983); Victor Puracell, The Chinese in Malaya (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University, 1967).

2. On the Chinese Mestizos see Edgar Wickberg, The Chinese in Philippine Life.

3. See Roff, Malay Nationalism; Judith Nagata, "Tale of Two Cities: The Role of Non-Urban Factors in Community Life in Two Malaysian Towns," Urban Anthropology, 3/1 (Spring, 1974), 1-26.

4. On Eurasians see especially Paul Van Der Veur, "Introduction to a Socio-Political Study of the Eurasians of Indonesia" (unpublished Ph.D dissertation, Cornell University, 1955); Pauline Milone, "'Indisch' Culture and Its Relationship to Urban Life," Comparative Studies in Society and History, 9/4 (1967), 407-26.

5. See Lance Castles, "The Ethnic Profile of Djakarta," Indonesia, 1 (April, 1967), 153-68. See also Milone, "Queen City."

6. On the Straits Chinese see Png Poh-Seng, "The Straits Chinese of Singapore: A Case of Local Identity and Socio-Cultural Accommodation," Journal of Southeast Asian History, 10/1 (March, 1969), 95-114.

7. Castles, "Ethnic Profile," 204.

8. Some explanation for the emergence of acculturated immigrant groups elsewhere in Southeast Asia are offered in Craig A. Lockard, "Patterns of Social Development in Modern Southeast Asian Cities," Journal of Urban History, 5/1 (Nov., 1978), 41-68.

9. Philippine cities appear to have been the least segregated residentially in the twentieth century. See Daniel Doeppers, "Ethnicity and Class in the Structure of Philippine Cities" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Syracuse University, 1971); ___, "'Ethnic Urbanism' and Philippine Cities," Annals of the Association of American Geographers, 64/4 (Dec., 1974), 549-59.

10. Geertz, Indonesian Town, pp.5-6.

11. Tan, Sukabumi.

12. Willmott, Semarang.

13. Information taken from Skinner, Chinese Society; Skinner, Leadership and Power; Richard J. Coughlin, Double Identity: The Chinese in Modern Thailand (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1960); J.M. Halpern, "The Role of the Chinese in Lao Society," paper prepared for Rand Corporation. Santa Monica, Calif., Dec. 15, 1960.

14. Robert L. Winzeler, "Ethnic Complexity and Ethnic Relations in an East-Coast Malay Town," Southeast Asian Journal of Social Science, 2/1-2 (1974), 45-62.

15. Edward Bruner, "Urbanization and Ethnic Identity in North Sumatra," American Anthropologist, 63/3 (June, 1961), 508-21; ___, "The Expression of Ethnicity in Indonesia," in Abner Cohen, ed., Urban Ethnicity (London: Tavistock, 1974), pp. 251-79.

16. Bruner, "Expression of Ethnicity," 253-54.

17. Clark Cunningham, "South Sulawesi: Aspects of Identity" (unpublished paper, July, 1976).

18. Doeppers, "Ethnicity and Class," especially Chapter IV.

19. G. William Skinner, "Change and Persistence in Chinese Culture Overseas: A Comparison of Thailand and Java," Journal of South Seas Society, 18/1-2 (1960), 86-100.

20. Coughlin, Double Identity, p. 86; Skinner, Chinese Society, p. 279.

21. The Siaw Giap, "Group Conflict in a Plural Society," Revue du Sud-est Asiatique, 1 (1966), 19-31; Markie, Chinese in Indonesia, 77-138.

22. Michael Leifer, "Communal Violence in Singapore," Asian Survey, 4/10 (Dec., 1964), 1115-21; Nancy Snider, "What Happened in Penang," Asian Survey, 8/12 (Dec., 1968), 960-75; Winzeler, "Ethnic Complexity," 55; K.O.L. Burridge, "Racial Relations in

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23. On the anti-Indian riots see esp. Nalini Ranjan Chakravarti, *The Indian Minority in Burma* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), 132-33, 157-60.

24. Ivin Rabushka, "Integration in Urban Malaya: Ethnic Attitudes Among Malays and Chinese," *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 6/2 (April, 1971), 91-107.

25. On Kuala Lumpur see Gullick, "Kuala Lumpur, 1880-1895," pp. 37-38, 86-89, 96-98; Ronald Provencher, *Two Malay Worlds: Interaction in Urban and Rural Settings*, University of California Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Research Monograph No. 4 (Berkeley: 1971), pp. 12, 106-07; Wilfred Blythe, *The Impact of Chinese Secret Societies in Malaya: A Historical Analysis* (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), pp. 41-42, 290-91.

26. On Singapore see C.S. Wong, *A Gallery of Chinese Kapitans* (Singapore: Ministry of Culture, 1963), pp. 27-37; Freedman, "Immigrants and Associations," pp. 25-48; Song, *Chinese in Singapore*, pp. 484-85; Roff, Malay Nationalism; Blythe, *Societies*, p. 166, 233-34; Victor Purcell, *The Chinese in Southeast Asia* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), pp. 270-71; Yong Ching Fatt, "A Preliminary Study of Chinese Leadership in Singapore, 1900-1941," *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 9/2 (Sept., 1968), 258-85; Norton Ginsburg and Chester F. Roberts, *Malaya* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1958), pp. 452-53.

27. William E. Willmott, *The Political Structure of the Chinese Community in Cambodia* (London: Athlone Press, 1970), pp. 9-70; Halpern, "Chinese in Lao Society," pp. 6-8.

28. On Java see D. Willmott, *Semarang*, pp. 147-68; Tan, *Sukabumi*, pp. 1-21, 234-35; James L. Cobban, "The City in Java: An Essay in Historical Geography" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, 1970), pp. 112-17; J.S. Furnivall, *Colonial Policy*, pp. 248-51, 266, 451.

29. The Kuching evidence does not substantiate Skinner's contention, based on the Bangkok case, that the weakest speech groups would be most likely to organize themselves first, and the stronger last. In Kuching the opposite occurred, with the influential Hokkiens, Teochius, and Cantonese organizing associations some decades earlier than the less powerful Hainanese and Hakkas. Skinner, *Chinese Society*, pp. 155-71.

30. *Ibid.*, pp. 313-22.

31. Edwin Lee, "The Emergence of Towkay Leaders in Party Politics in Sabah," Journal of Southeast Asian History, 9/2 (Sept., 1968), 322-24; ______, The Towkays of Sabah (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1976); Sin-Fong Han, "A Study of the Occupational Patterns and Social Interaction of Overseas Chinese in Sabah, Malaysia" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1971).

32. Wan Ming Sing, "The History of the Organizations of the Chinese Community in Selangor with Particular Reference to Problems of Leadership, 1857-1962" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Malaya, 1967).

33. W. Willmott, Chinese Community in Cambodia, pp. 9-21, 65-69, 111-26.

34. Willmott, Semarang, 101-02; Tan, Sukabumi, 250-51.

35. Skinner, Chinese Society, pp. 168-69, 319, 365-72.

36. George Henry Weightman, "Community Organization of Chinese Living in Manila," Philippine Social Sciences and Humanities Review, 14/1 (March, 1964), 34-37; Doeppers, "Ethnicity and Social Class," Chapter III.

37. Willmott, Chinese Community in Cambodia, pp. 74-78.

38. See Song, Hundred Years' History; Li, "Leadership Structure in a Malayan Town," p. 43; Wan, "Chinese Community in Selangor."

39. Han, "Occupational Patterns," pp. 218-19.

40. Willmott, Chinese Community in Cambodia, pp. 83-84; Li, "Leadership Structure in a Malayan Town," pp. 43-44; Doeppers, "Ethnicity and Social Class," pp. 121-32; D. Willmott, Semarang, pp. 25-27, 135-43. See also Tan, Sukabumi, p. 15; Lea Williams, Overseas Chinese Nationalism (Glencoe: Free Press, 1960); Mackie, Chinese in Indonesia.

41. Tan, Sukabumi, pp. 234-50; Lee, "Towkay," pp. 314-24; Mackie, Chinese in Indonesia.

42. Gullick, "Kuala Lumpur, 1880-1895," p. 18; Provencher, Two Malay Worlds, pp. 92-99; ______, "National Culture and Ethnicity in Kuala Lumpur" (unpublished paper, Mar. 1977), 1-35; Roff, Malay Nationalism, pp. 184-88.

43. Ibid., pp. 32-37, -78-81; see J. Vredenbregt, "Bawean Migrations: Some Preliminary Notes," Bijdragen Tot de Taal-Land-, en Volkenkunde, 120 (1964), 109-37.

44. Brown, Brunei, pp. x, 39-62.

45. Vinson H. Sutlive, "From Longhouse to Pasar: Urbanization in Sarawak, East Malaysia" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Univerity of Pittsburgh, 1972); Doeppers, "Ethnicity and Social Class," esp. Chap. V; Bruner, "Urbanization and Ethnic Identity," 508-21.

46. John N. Paden, Religion and Political Culture in Kano (Berkeley: University of California, 1973), p. 317.

47. Brown, Brunei, p. 61.

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