

imported cigarettes and tobacco, and it is estimated that consumption is likely to rise by some 10 % per annum during the next decade²⁹⁾. In view of the difficulty of growing best quality leaf in Nigeria, it is doubtful if all leaf imports can be replaced by home production, but import replacement will certainly add to the demand for home-grown leaf; imports were halved between 1951 and 1959 and the promotion of brands with a higher proportion of home-produced leaf is helping to reduce requirements from abroad³⁰⁾.

The geography of leaf production is also likely to change. The acreage under tobacco in the existing areas will continue to rise and the Nigerian Tobacco Company envisages a doubling of production. But there will also be pressures to develop tobacco growing elsewhere to diversify the industrial structure of tobacco manufacture and to extend the benefits of a profitable crop. The Northern Region seems the most likely area for a considerable increase in production, for the Kwara Tobacco Company seems certain to promote leaf growing in the Region and there has also been surveys of likely areas for the growing of cigar tobacco³¹⁾. The fact that so much of the leaf from Northern Nigeria is sent to factories outside the Region is also likely to stimulate an increase in manufacturing capacity there and Sokoto has been suggested as a possible area for a factory; this in turn might lead to a further increase in tobacco growing³²⁾. The Government of the Eastern Region, where there were earlier abortive experiments at Umuahia and Obudu³²⁾, also wishes to encourage tobacco growing, although suitable land seem limited in extent³³⁾, and the Western Region Development Plan similarly envisages expansion of tobacco production, although no firm proposals are made³⁴⁾. Such expansion, particularly in Northern Nigeria, seems likely to lead to a further decline in the growing of native tobaccos, which have virtually disappeared from many areas where the Nigerian Tobacco Company has encouraged tobacco production. It must not, of course, be assumed that all areas where tobacco will grow are suitable, for the quality of the leaf produced is the important consideration; nevertheless, commercial production of tobacco seems likely to become more widespread.

Such expansion is to be welcomed on economic and agricultural grounds, for a profitable crop which has stimulated the development of mechanised cultivation,

²⁹⁾ United States Department of Agriculture, Economic Research Services, Foreign Agriculture Services, Determinants of Projected Levels of Supply, Demand and Imports of Farm Products in 1965 and 1975, Washington, 1962, 92; and Sir Alexander Gibb & c., op. cit., 107. Another report has suggested an increase of 20 % during the 1960s. Report on the Agricultural Survey of the Northern Region of Nigeria by the FAO/ICA team, Kaduna, 1960, 14.

³⁰⁾ United States Department of Agriculture, op. cit., 93.

³¹⁾ Ministry of Agriculture, Northern Nigeria, Triennial Report for the years 1959–62, Kaduna, 1963, 6.

³²⁾ United States Department of Agriculture, op. cit., 93.

³³⁾ Department of Agriculture, Eastern Region of Nigeria, Annual Report for the year 1955–56, Enugu, 1957, 12–13; and Eastern Nigeria Development Plan, Official Document 8 of 1962, Enugu, 23.

³⁴⁾ Western Nigeria Development Plan, Official Document 8 of 1962, Ibadan, 7.

promoted the consolidation of farmland into compact units (if only temporarily) and shown the benefits of co-operation in both buying and selling, has much to offer the Nigerian peasant farmer as a way of escape from his traditional subsistence agriculture into the scientific farming and market economy of the 20th century.

THE CHINESE IN SABAH (NORTH BORNEO) *)

With 4 figures

Y. L. LEE

Zusammenfassung: Die Chinesen in Sabah (Nordborneo).

Chinesische Beziehungen mit Nordborneo erstrecken sich über einen Zeitraum von über tausend Jahren. Die meisten der frühen Beziehungen waren in erster Linie dem Handel gewidmet, und auch die frühe Siedlungstätigkeit aus der Zeit vor dem 19. Jahrhundert hat im gegenwärtigen Landschaftsbild keine Spuren hinterlassen.

Erst im späten 19. Jahrhundert kamen chinesische Einwanderer in großer Zahl nach Sabah, um dort in den Tabakpflanzungen der Ostküste und am Bahnbau an der Westküste zu arbeiten; später kamen sie auch zur Arbeit in den Kautschukplantagen. Eine große Zahl weiterer Einwanderer kam im 20. Jahrhundert aus eigener Initiative als bäuerliche Siedler.

Die Zahl der Chinesen hat in den letzten vierzig Jahren rapide zugenommen, und ihre hohe Zuwachsrate läßt eine noch wesentlich größere Zahl für die Zukunft voraussehen. Der Anteil der Chinesen an der gesamten Bevölkerung hat ebenfalls ständig zugenommen; sie bilden heute mit 23 % die zweitstärkste ethnische Gruppe in Sabah. Die meisten der Chinesen sind in den Küstenbezirken konzentriert, fast die Hälfte von ihnen wohnt in den zwei Bezirken von Jesselton und Sandakan.

Obwohl viele Chinesen im sekundären und tertiären Sektor beschäftigt sind (11,5 bzw. 48,7 % der im Arbeitsprozeß stehenden Chinesen), so ist doch eine große Zahl von ihnen, nämlich 39,8 %, noch in der Primärproduktion beschäftigt. Die meisten dieser Beschäftigungen des tertiären und sekundären Sektors finden die günstigsten Standorte in den Küstenstädten von Sabah, in denen die Chinesen die bei weitem stärkste ethnische Gruppe bilden. Auf dem Lande bauen die chinesischen Bauern, deren Höfe meist nur klein sind, die einträglicheren Verkaufsprodukte, wie z. B. Kautschuk und Kokosnüsse, an. Obwohl Plantagen und andere kommerzielle Unternehmen auch neue Siedlungsformen ins Land gebracht haben, so stammt doch der größte Beitrag einer Bevölkerungsgruppe zur Veränderung der Siedlung von den Chinesen. Es wird auch angedeutet, daß die Chinesen infolge ihrer wirtschaftlichen Stärke, ihrer Überzahl in allen Städten und ihrer im Vergleich mit der einheimischen Bevölkerung besseren Bildung mit der Unabhängigkeit des Landes und der Bildung von Malaysia eine wichtige Rolle in der Politik des Landes spielen werden, wie es im Handel bereits jetzt der Fall ist.

Introduction

The population of Borneo has never received much attention from anybody except anthropologists¹⁾.

*) MR. TOM HARRISSON, Curator, Sarawak Museum, kindly read pp. 13–16 and made many helpful suggestions.

¹⁾ For an account of the population up to 1947/1951, see LEE, Y. L., 'The Population of British Borneo', Population Studies, Vol. 15, No. 3 (March, 1962) 226–243.

(b) LEE, Y. L., 'Historical aspects of settlement in British Borneo', Pacific Viewpoint, Vol. 2, No. 2 (Sept. 1961) 187–212.

And, until the publication of the last two or three censuses, 1947 (Sarawak and Brunei), 1951 (North Borneo), and 1960 (North Borneo, Brunei and Sarawak), knowledge of the Bornean populations structure was fragmentary. But recent events have suddenly pushed the Bornean territories into the limelight of international politics. All these events, particularly the formation of Malaysia, have focussed attention not only on the diverse tribal groups in Borneo but also the most literate and articulate section of the Bornean population – the Chinese.

Early History of the Chinese in Borneo

It is certain that Chinese contacts with Borneo occurred at least 1,500 years ago. Although the history of this period is still hazy, the excavations by the Sarawak Museum are providing new evidence which establish the veracity of such early contacts. Before Sung times (960–1279) there was already a degree of Chinese influence over what was then the kingdom of Brunei. In fact, between 600–1500 A.D. there are numerous references in Chinese dynastic histories to embassies from Borneo²⁾, but no large scale settlement activities are mentioned, although Sarawak Museum excavations in the south-west coastal zones of Sarawak since 1952 have revealed predominantly Chinese monsoonal occupation and trading during the early centuries of this millennium³⁾. This Chinese period overlaps in time with the Majapahit era (c. 1300–1500 A.D.) which was then followed by the coming of Islam.

Existing evidence does not make it possible to suggest anything more definite about Chinese influence in this part of the world prior to the fifteenth century. However, in the fifteenth century when there was much trading between China and Brunei, it was inevitable that some members of the trading expeditions should elect to stay in Borneo. There are records both in Brunei and Sulu annals that there was a Chinese colony on the Kinabatangan River in the fifteenth century commemorated perhaps by the name of the river⁴⁾. The second sultan of Brunei (c. 1435–1450) is said to have married the daughter (or sister) of one Ong Sum P'ing who is described in the Selesilah, or Book of Descent of the Rajahs of Brunei, as "the Chinese rajah of the Kinabatangan River"⁵⁾. Chinese records also mention the existence of Chinese states in Borneo, or at least of Chinese rulers during this period. Like the earlier Indian contacts, and notwithstanding the many Chinese legends and names associated with the country, these early Chinese contacts left little impression on the present day landscape. Not until the late nineteenth and early twentieth century did Chinese settle in some

numbers and effect a change in the pattern of settlement.

HARRISSON sums it up well when he says that "probably in the past, as now, the main Chinese influence has been secular, artistic and economic during the Chinese era. It is symbolic enough that one of the definitely Chinese legends in Borneo tells how the emperor's sons came to remove the jewel guarded by the dragon at Mount Kinabalu⁶⁾."

Early European Accounts of the Chinese in Borneo

For more definite information, it is necessary to turn to European accounts. The earliest European accounts overlap with the Ming Histories, and, although geographically they are remarkably accurate, they are just as vague as the Chinese texts concerning social and settlement aspects. For example, Pigafetta writing in 1521 did not refer to Chinese communities but only to Chinese silks, weights and coins, etc., which are, on the other hand, indications of Chinese influence⁷⁾. Hunt believed that when the Portuguese arrived in 1520 they found a large number of Chinese along the shores of Borneo⁸⁾, and St. John believed that in the early stages of European intercourse some Chinese "settled in Brunei and engaged in pursuing those branches of industry in which they peculiarly excel"⁹⁾. Although such statements are not always verifiable, it is nevertheless agreed by most writers that there was already a continuing trade between Brunei and the Chinese, a trade which was seen to be affected by the competition of the Europeans. Trade rivalry, however, between the Chinese and the Europeans, particularly the Dutch and English, continued into the 18th century. Even by 1776, trade between China and Brunei was considerable and there were always many junks in Brunei. The Chinese even built junks at Brunei itself, and many Chinese were settled there as pepper growers and shopkeepers.

From the late eighteenth century onwards much of the settlement activities of the Chinese in Borneo took place in the gold mining districts of South-west Borneo, i.e. in the present-day 'Chinese Districts' of Kalimantan (Indonesian Borneo). It was a flourishing Chinese area and it was reported at the time that "before the Dutch took possession of the West Coast of Borneo in 1823 about 3,000 Chinese arrived annually as settlers, but immigration has now almost totally ceased." It was estimated that there were 150,000 Chinese at that time, of whom 90,000 were in the gold districts¹⁰⁾.

²⁾ HARRISSON, TOM, 'Gold and Indian Influences in West Borneo', Journ. Roy. Asiatic Soc., Mal. Br., Vol. 22 (1949), p. 100.

³⁾ TIEN JU-K'ANG, 'The early history of the Chinese in Sarawak', Appendix I, p. 3 of TIEN'S *The Chinese of Sarawak: A study of social structure*, 2nd Im. (London, 1956).

⁴⁾ HUNT, J., 'A sketch of Borneo or Pulau Kalamantan' in Keppel's *The Expedition to Borneo of H. M. S. Dido*, Vol. 2, Appendix 5 (London, 1847), p. 387.

⁵⁾ ST. JOHN, HORACE, *The Indian Archipelago, its history and present State*, Vol. 1 (London, 1853), pp. 196, 199.

¹⁰⁾ EARL, GEORGE WINDSOR, *The Eastern Seas* (London, 1837), p. 250.

²⁾ BRADDELL, R., 'Po-li in Borneo', Sarawak Museum Journal, Vol. 5 (1949), p. 5.

³⁾ HARRISSON, TOM, 'Indian Pioneers in Borneo: c. 500 on...', Sarawak Museum Journal, Vol. 6 (1955), p. 512.

⁴⁾ HUGHES-HALLET, H. R., 'A sketch of the history of Brunei', Journal Roy. Asiatic Soc., Mal. Br., Vol. 18 (1940), p. 27.

⁵⁾ LOW, HUGH, 'Selesilah, the Book of Descent of the Rajahs of Brunei', Jour. Roy. Asiatic Soc., St. Br., No. 5 (1880), pp. 1–35.

It was also reported in 1810 that there were Chinese pepper plantations in Brunei and North Borneo, and that when the colony of Labuan was established in 1848 there were already about one thousand Chinese in the First Division of Sarawak, and Chinese were also beginning to settle along the west coast of North Borneo around Papar¹¹⁾.

In Brunei, the large population of 40,000 with 30,000 Chinese pepper planters in the first two decades of the eighteenth century had dwindled to 15,000 in 1809. By 1847, there were only 12,000 people and the Chinese had entirely disappeared. From then onwards, Brunei stagnated and no Chinese was attracted to Brunei. In 1911 there were 736 Chinese; in 1921, 1,423; and in 1931 only 2,683. It was not until after the second world war that Chinese came in larger numbers to work in the oilfields.

Chinese migrations in the 19th century

Although the influx of the Chinese into Borneo after the 19th century was associated with the need for British colonial enterprise from the mid-1800s onwards for a larger and more willing labour force than could be found in the country, it should be noted that under the patriarchal rule of the Brookes, Sarawak was not opened either to large-scale immigration in the manner of Malaya or even of North Borneo. And, also, unlike the influx of Chinese into Malaya, the importation of Chinese into North Borneo was largely state-assisted at the beginning, there being no attractions in North Borneo similar to the tin and rubber industries in Malaya which were so important in stimulating the influx of Chinese labour there, or the gold in Bau which was responsible for the migration of Dutch Chinese into Sarawak in the late 1850s, or even as recently as the period between 1931 and today when the oil industry of Brunei drew in Chinese skilled and unskilled labour and doubled the population there.

The first large-scale immigration of the Chinese into Borneo was in the 1850s when a considerable migration of Chinese gold miners and refugee farmers from Dutch Borneo took place. They moved over the watershed into the Bau district and provided all the labour in the gold and antimony mines. The second large-scale immigration came later in the 1880s, sponsored by the tobacco companies and the Chartered Company in North Borneo. The newly opened tobacco plantations were almost entirely dependent on Chinese labour, and they were brought in through Chinese labour brokers in Singapore and Penang. But some planters who found the commission, transport and other charges heavy, imported their own labour direct from China.

The bulk of the other Chinese, besides the miners and tobacco plantation labourers, in the country at that time was composed mainly of traders and shopkeepers. Except for a few pepper plantations in Sarawak, very few of them were engaged in agriculture on their own account as the country was entirely covered with thick unfamiliar forests with which the Chinese were unable to cope without financial assistance. "Arrived in his strange new land

¹¹⁾ TREACHER, W. H., *British Borneo* (Singapore, 1891) p. 55.

the immigrant found himself facing strange new difficulties. Tropical climate, virgin jungle and head-hunting Dayaks: the Sinkheh (Fukien Chinese term meaning 'newly arrived immigrant') was used to none of them. Sickness contracted on the voyage was cured only slowly in the sticky climate where food was often so scarce that the Rajah's Government had to supply rations... A few rough atap houses were the only dwellings... That they were able to do all this is a tribute to their toughness, their tenacity and their powers of organization. Individuals alone could not have survived; but the Chinese immigrants were saved by their extraordinary capacity for mutual help¹²⁾."

Immigration of Chinese into Sabah

In North Borneo, the Chartered Company recognised early the desirability of importing Chinese labour, and W. H. Treacher, the first governor, wrote thus in 1881: "Experience in the Straits Settlements, and the Malay Peninsula, and Sarawak has shown that the people to cause rapid financial progress in Malayan countries are the hardworking, money loving Chinese, and these are the peoples whom the company should lay themselves out to attract so Borneo. Once get them to voluntarily migrate and the financial success of the Company would, in my opinion, be secured¹³⁾." Treacher's views have dominated the country's labour and immigration policy from his time down to the late 1930's. After the Second World War the policy was diametrically opposite to that of Treacher's. Political trends were such in South-east Asia that the colonial Government felt that it was inadvisable to allow aliens to enter the country, and hoped, in this way, to prevent the native from being overwhelmed numerically, economically and politically by aliens.

In the early days of the Company, however, there was all praise for the Chinese, and beginning from 1883 there was a flow of Chinese immigrant labour into the country, encouraged mainly by means of free passages and the reputation of the Commissioner of Chinese Immigration, Sir Walter Medhurst who was well-known in China. Unfortunately, the majority who came to try their fortune in this newly-opened country were shopkeepers, traders, artisans, tailors and other urban workers, who could not find a profitable outlet for their energies in the forest-clad country. These were deeply disappointed and very few remained to try their luck. Only the Hakkas took kindly to the country, and settled down to an agricultural life. And, today, they form the most stable and largest component of the Chinese population.

In 1886, the earliest immigrant settlers of 27 families arrived and were settled in the 'old' settlement at Kudat¹⁴⁾. Since these were state-aided immigrants, all their expenses were paid by government including subsistence, implements and free land. In 1889, another 13 families arrived and settled in the 'new'

¹²⁾ TIEN, JU-K'ANG, *The Chinese of Sarawak*, p. 5.

¹³⁾ GEORGE MCT. KAHIN, 'The State of North Borneo, 1881-1946', F. E. Q., Vol. 7, (1947), p. 63.

¹⁴⁾ *North Borneo: A Report on the Census of Population*, 1921. (London 1922), p. 8.

settlement at Kudat¹⁵). Today, Kudat is one of the largest Chinese centres in Sabah.

At the turn of the century attention was directed to the west coast where railway construction had commenced, and in 1902, a shipment of immigrant labour arrived, followed by another in 1903, a total of 1,500 immigrants¹⁶). Large numbers were allotted work along the railway, and these immigrants assisted in forming the nucleus of a Chinese population along the railway line.

Large numbers of these early immigrants became absorbed into the general population. Intermarriage was common and gave rise to a class of people known as the Sino-Dusuns.

Another ten years elapsed before immigrants were brought in again under a state-aided immigration programme. And in 1913–14, the Basel Mission with government aid brought in 63 families (244 persons) and settled them on Basel Mission terms in Pinang, Temalang, Bamboo and Buk Buk settlements in Kudat¹⁷). In 1913, too, there were also 26 families (111 persons) who were settled in Inanam, 33 families (167 persons) at Menggatal, 30 families (105 persons) at Telipok – all along the west coast between Jesselton and Turaran¹⁸). All these early nuclei are thriving Chinese settlements today.

A new departure was set in December, 1913, when 107 families of northern Chinese (430 persons) arrived in Jesselton and were settled on land behind the town¹⁹). This northern Chinese settlement whose people come from Chihli Province is unique in the Chinese settlement of South-east Asia, a region whose immigrants have been largely from South China. On arrival in Jesselton, these northern people were given rent-free land for two years, and today they are still in Jesselton earning a living as rubber small-holders, and though from Chihli Province are known locally as Shantung, after the name of their settlement. Many have taken Dusun wives, and the expansion of the community is seen in the opening of another Shantung settlement in Papar recently.

The next stage of immigration came with the introduction of a new scheme of Chinese immigration in 1920, which provided for the grant of free passages from Hongkong to any relatives of friends of existing settlers who might desire to make a home in Sabah and the allocation of small-holdings on easy terms²⁰). Under this scheme the following numbers of state-assisted Chinese immigrants came into the country:

Year:	Number of New Chinese Arrivals	
	State Assisted:	Unassisted:
1927	866	
1928	1,278	2,724
1929	1,067	2,967
1930	1,157	2,882
1931	395	1,519
1932	92	1,086
1933	187	2,315
1934	643	3,307
1935	667	3,837
1936	395	4,577
1937	493	7,912
1938	345	3,342
1939	263	1,992

(Source: North Borneo Annual Reports, 1928–39)

So successful was this new immigration scheme in bringing Chinese into Sabah that the government Handbook of 1929 reported that “the Chinese are proving in North Borneo, as in Malaya, a most important factor in the industrial evolution of the State, and the contribution which the Chinese peasant settler in particular, is making towards the agricultural development of the country is substantial²¹).” A further proof of the success of state-assisted immigration was the increase in Chinese females that occurred during the period of the Scheme. The increase shown by the 1931 Census Report over that for 1921 was just over 27 % for males while the increase in Chinese females was over 72 %. This not only justified state-aided immigration but also showed that the immigrants had settled down contentedly to a normal family life. But this satisfaction at the success of Chinese immigration turned to mounting apprehension in the late thirties. For together with the state-assisted immigrants, came large numbers of unassisted Chinese immigrants who in 1937 amounted to 7,912 arrivals, many more than the labour market required. In 1936 the Government, therefore, empowered the Protector of Labour and government labour officers to deport Chinese on grounds of health, unsuitability for the work for which they had been engaged, and on other minor grounds²²). Further restrictions were imposed the following year and because of this restriction there was a drop to 3,342 immigrants in 1938, but this was still a large number. There was a further drop to 1,992 just before the outbreak of the Second World War.

Today, the rate of growth of the Chinese population is such that if further immigration is allowed the indigenous peoples may be swamped by them. This, together with current political trends in South-east Asia, have compelled the government to refuse entry to Chinese except for skilled workers who are allowed in for limited periods. It would appear that the attitude towards the Chinese here in Borneo and elsewhere in South-east Asia can be likened to the farmer who praises his loyal faithful horse for its industry when development and work is at hand, but throws it into the glue factory when work is completed.

Population numbers and growth

Thus in historic times the Chinese started coming into Sabah to settle in numbers only in the 1880's. Today there is a Chinese settlement in every district. Except for those in the Penampang district, the Chinese do not assimilate will, keeping to their own customs and language to a marked extent. The latter is symbolized by the ubiquitous Chinese school.

However, during the early immigration years when there were few Chinese women in the country, there was a certain amount of inter-marriage be-

¹⁵–¹⁹) *Census of Population, 1921*, pp. 8–10.

²⁰) *Handbook of the State of North Borneo*. (London, 1890), p. 32.

²¹) *Handbook of the State of North Borneo, 1929*. (London 1929), p. 32.

²²) VICTOR PURCELL, *The Chinese in South-east Asia*. (London, 1951), p. 435.

tween the Chinese and the indigenes, evidence of which is seen in the 8,000 Sino-Dusuns in Sabah today. In Sabah, so common did inter-marriage become that even as late as 1922, EVANS stated that "should Borneo ever become largely occupied by the Chinese, it is not unlikely that a mixed race between these people and the natives of the interior would quickly arise. The Chinese bring but a few women with them from their country, and those members of the race who are settled in outstations at the present day have very largely married native²³." Like the Babas in Malaya, it was thought that perhaps they would form a sort of half-way house in a cultural as well as ethnic sense.

Such a state of affairs did not, however, last long for with the turn of the century Chinese women came in numbers, and their rate of increase rose to such a large extent that it even outstripped that of the males. The Chinese sex ratio steadily climbed from 365 (1921) to 565 (1931) to 795 (1951) and finally to 881 in 1960. With this improving sex ratio, inter-marriage became infrequent and by the 1930's had virtually cease altogether.

Today, the Chinese, numbering 104,542 make up 23.0 % of the total population. They therefore form not only the largest immigrant community but also the second largest ethnic group in the country. Their increasing numbers have been due to immigration in the early years and now to a high rate of natural increase.

Growth of the Chinese Population

Year:	Numbers:	Percentage Increase:	Percentage of Total Population:
1871	7,156		
1901	13,897		
1911	27,801		
1921	39,256	41.2	15.0
1931	50,056	27.5	18.0
1951	74,374	48.6	22.3
1960	104,542	40.6	23.0

Between 1951 and 1960, the proportion of the total indigenous population to the total population decreased, whereas the proportion of the Chinese increased from 22 to 23 %. Although this is a very small increase as compared to the increases in Sarawak and Brunei, it should be noted that over the last fifty years the proportion of the indigenous peoples has been gradually decreasing whereas that of the Chinese has been increasing steadily.

During the last inter-censal period the Chinese population increased by 41 %, an increase larger than the total average increase for the whole country (36.0 %). The indigenous population have on the other

²³) EVANS, I. H. N., *Among Primitive Peoples in North Borneo* (London, 1922), p. 34.

hand increased by less than the national average (26.1 %).

Population Increase 1951-1960

Chinese	40,6 %
Indigenes	26,1 %
Total	36,0 %

The fertility ratios of the various groups also provide some indication of future growth. The Chinese ratio of 855.9 is very much higher than the Sabah average of 788.3 whereas except for the 'Other Indigenous' and the Bajaus the indigenous groups have ratios below the national average. The ratio for the total indigenous population is 756.2 and that for the Murut is only 553.9.

The age-pyramids also reveal that just under half (47 %) of the Chinese are under 15 years old. Although, like the other communities, there is a very large proportion of young people, the Chinese have a very much larger proportion than the other groups of children aged 5-14. In addition, the mortality rate of Chinese children is low. By the age of 29 Chinese mothers lose 3.8 % of their children while indigenous mothers lose about 25 %. All this, of course, suggest a high current rate of increase for the Chinese community.

Districts	Index of change 1960/1951	% Increase 1951-1960	Density p. sq. mile
Sabah	140	40.6	4.6
Tawau	134	33.8	5.4
Lahad Datu	139	39.0	1.3
Semporna			
Kinabatangan *	146	46.2	1
Sandakan	149	49.4	30.6
Labuk *	117	17.5	1
Kudat	118	18.0	4.7
Ranau *	525	425.0	1
Kota Belud *	165	64.9	1.2
Tuaran	142	42.4	9.3
Jesselton	151	50.9	65.7
Papar	125	24.6	9.5
Beaufort	115	15.1	6.0
Kuala Penyu *	-0.55	-0.45	2.2
Sipitang *	116	15.6	1
Tenom	151	51.2	7.5
Pensiangan *	-0.8	-0.2	1
Keningau	269	169.0	1.6
Tambunan *	128	27.9	1
Labuan	152	52.2	3.7

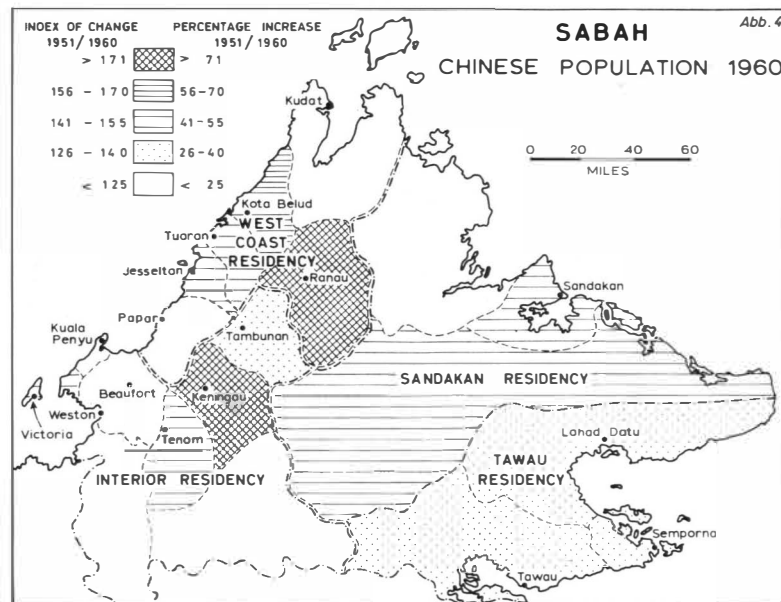
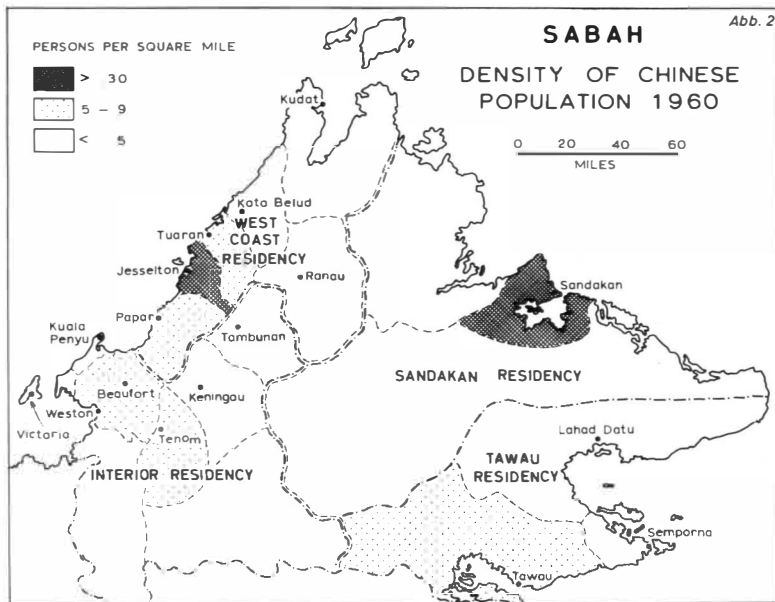
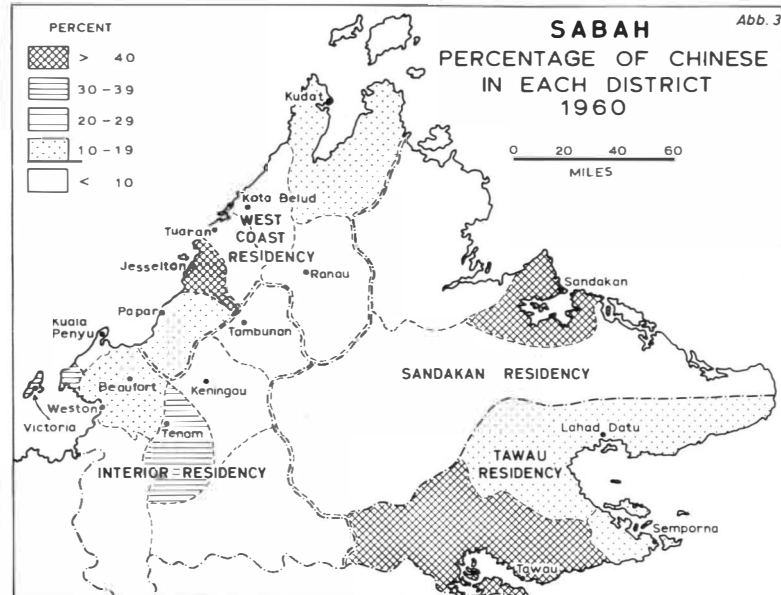
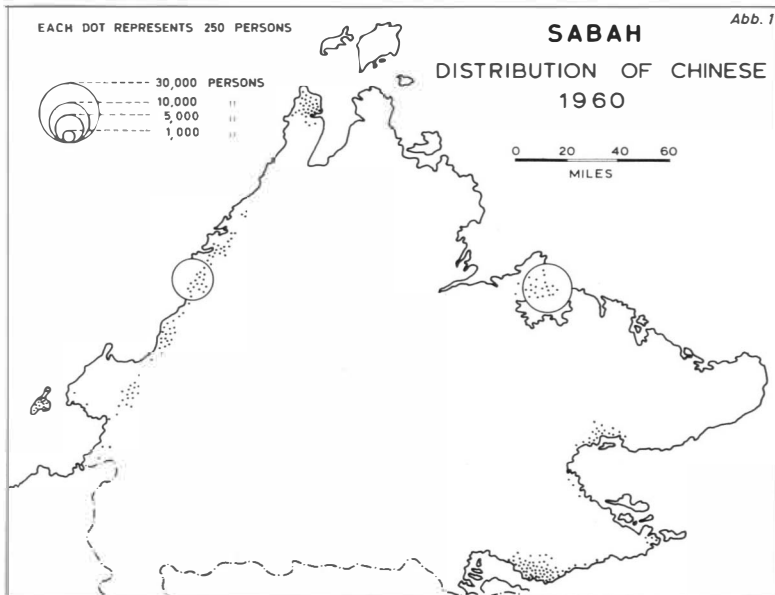
* Chinese numbers not significant

Between 1951 and 1960 the Chinese population increased by 41 %, more than the national average of 36 %. Except for a few rural areas, the Chinese have increased in most districts of the country. But

²⁴) JONES, L. W., *North Borneo. Report on the Census of Population, 1960* (Kuching, 1962).

Sabah

	1921		1931		1951		1960	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Indigenous	203,041	77.1	205,009	74.0	243,009	72.7	306,498	67.5
Chinese	39,256	15.0	50,056	18.0	74,374	22.3	104,542	23.0
Others	20,955	7.9	22,202	8.0	16,758	5.0	43,381	9.5
Total	263,252	100.0	277,467	100.0	334,141	100.0	454,421	100.0



the largest increases have taken place in the districts with large towns. Labuan, Jesselton, Tenom Sandakan and Tuaran districts have all had greater than average increases in population and together account for as much as 71 % of the total Chinese increase between 1951 and 1960. Other significant increases have taken place mainly in the coastal and accessible districts of the country, and very few Chinese live in the interior districts. Tenom and Keningau are two interior districts which have shown significant increases, largely because land has been available and communications are reasonably good. The large estates in Tenom proved attractive to the Chinese and during the Second World War many urban Chinese flocked into Tenom to escape the Japanese and to grow more food. It is now a thriving Chinese settlement. Recently, the establishment of settlement schemes in Keningau has attracted some Chinese farmers.

Distribution (see fig. 1-4)

The Chinese are not evenly distributed, and almost half of the Sabah Chinese reside in the two districts of Jesselton and Sandakan.

An outstanding fact about the distribution of the Chinese is their preference for the towns and their environs. They control many of the smaller scale commercial enterprises and also supply many of the skilled artisans. This urban characteristic is brought out by the fact that about 65 % of the total Chinese population is concentrated in and around the four main ports and urban centres of the country. Jesselton, Kudat, Sandakan and Tawau. Sandakan is the largest town in Sabah and also the chief point of contact with Hongkong. 74 % of the urban population of both Sandakan and Kudat are Chinese. This high Chinese concentration in these two places is partly explained by the fact that Kudat and Sandakan were the ports of entry of the early Chinese immigrants and were also the first two capitals of the country. Jesselton (67 %), Tawau (69 %) and Labuan (63 %) have also large Chinese populations.

However, this urban predilection of the Chinese in Sabah must not be exaggerated. Using a statistical criterion of 3,000 persons to define a town, the percentage of Chinese living in such urban areas is only 46 %. Large numbers are engaged in agriculture; many of these live near and around the towns and are owners of rubber small-holdings or are engaged in homestead farming.

Chinese Linguistic Groups

As is common with Chinese settlers in most South-east Asian countries, the diversifying factor in their population is the number of dialect or linguistic groups. In Southeast Asia, 85 % of all Chinese originating mainly from the maritime provinces of southern China are Hokkien, Cantonese Tiedhiu and Hakka. In Sabah, these four groups and the Hainanese form 91 % of the Chinese. The various dialect groups have become identified with particular occupations, and these affect their distributions and patterns of settlement. The numbers of the various dialect groups are as follows:

Chinese Linguistic Groups

	1951	% of Chinese Community	1960	% of Chinese Community
1. Hakka	44,505	59.9	57,338	54.8
2. Cantonese	11,833	16.0	15,251	14.6
3. Hokkien	7,336	9.8	11,924	11.4
4. Tiedhiu	3,948	5.3	5,991	5.7
5. Hainanese	3,571	4.8	5,270	5.0
6. Other Chinese	3,181	4.2	8,768	8.5
Total	74,373	100.0	104,542	100.0

The striking feature as shown in the above table is the overwhelming majority of the Hakkas. Their predominance is explained by the fact that the country is largely agricultural and that the rurally-inclined Hakkas were the only Chinese who took kindly to the country in the early immigration days. The early schemes to encourage the immigration of Chinese agriculturists also helped increase their numbers, so that they are now in a considerable majority, their steady increase being partly due to their more stable form of work, and, therefore, settlement, and to the fact that their sex ratio is much nearer normal than the other groups. They predominate in all districts of Sabah, more so in the rural areas. Such a situation is unique in Southeast Asia where the Chinese are more often associated with urban characteristics than with rural ones. So overwhelming are their numbers compared to the other groups that the Hakka dialect is the lingua franca among the Chinese in the country.

The Cantonese who come a poor second are found mainly in Sandakan town, Jesselton town, Tuaran and Tawau. They, together with the Hokkiens and Tiedhius, are the town dwellers and are largely businessmen and shopkeepers. These three groups form the backbone of the Chinese commercial population, although a considerable number of Cantonese are employed in the estates of Sabah too. The small Hainanese group, like their brethren elsewhere, are engaged in the catering business, operators of eating houses and coffee shops in towns. The unique Shantung settlement in Jesselton has a small population of northern Chinese, all of whom are rubber small-holders.

Occupational Structure

According to the 1960 Census 32,563 out of a total of 55,558 persons over 15 years of age were economically active. This proportion (58.6 %) of economically active among the Chinese is relatively low when compared to the average for all the communities (68.8 %) or the average for most of the indigenous peoples. There are three significant factors which have been responsible for this low proportion of economically active Chinese: the larger numbers of Chinese over 15 years who are attending school, the smaller number of Chinese women who work and the larger proportion of old people in the Chinese community. Except for the Muslim groups (Bajaus and 'Other Indigenous'), the indigenous groups have a very high proportion of economically active persons because in their predominantly agricultural and rural economies most women (except Muslim women) and young people over 15 work in

Economically Active Population – Distribution by Community within Industries

Community	All Industrial Groups	Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing	Services	Commerce	Manufacturing	Transport, Communication	Building, Construction	Other Industries
(Total Number)	176,626	142,113	10,077	7,734	6,737	4,657	4,488	820
Indigenous	69.3	79.3	32.8	10.9	33.5	37.5	29.3	39.5
Chinese	18.5	9.0	50.6	81.6	55.7	41.7	52.3	29.6
Others	12.2	11.7	16.6	7.5	10.8	20.3	18.4	30.9
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Economically Active Population – Distribution by Community and Industries

Community	All Industrial Groups	Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing	Mining & Quarrying	Manufacturing	Building, Construction	Elect. etc.	Commerce	Transport Communication	Services
Chinese	100	39.5	0.3	11.5	7.2	0.4	19.4	6.0	15.7
Indigenous	100	92.0	0.2	1.8	1.1	0.1	0.7	1.4	2.7
Others	100	76.7	1.0	3.4	3.8	0.2	2.7	4.5	7.7
All Communities	100	80.5	0.3	3.8	2.5	0.2	4.4	2.6	5.7

the fields and also because there is no set retirement age for farming peoples who work for as long as they have the strength to do so.

Although there are large numbers of Chinese in the secondary (11.5%) and tertiary (48.7%) industries, a large proportion is still in the primary industry (39.8%). In comparison, the indigenous peoples have less than 8% in the non-primary industries and are almost wholly agricultural in character. Commerce is, numerically, almost a Chinese province and in most other non-agricultural industries the Chinese provide 50% or more of the workers. Most of these tertiary and secondary industries are best carried out in the towns of Sabah where the Chinese so clearly outnumber the other ethnic groups.

The occupational structure of the 39.8% Chinese engaged in primary production differs from that of the indigenous peoples. Whereas 68% of the indigenous peoples engaged in the primary industries are padi growers, only 3.9% of the Chinese in this sector cultivate padi. The Chinese cultivate the more remunerative cash crops such as rubber and coconut which are mostly grown in smallholdings. For example, 36% of the Chinese in this sector are engaged in rubber cultivation and another 43% grow other kinds of cash crops in smallholdings. Most of these Chinese smallholding areas are located in the districts of the west coast, in Tenom district, and around the towns of the east coast: Sandakan, Lahad Datu, and Tawau.

*Changes in Agricultural Land Use and rural settlement*²⁶⁾

The coming of the Chinese into Sabah introduced many changes on the landscape. The first large-scale movement of Chinese into Sabah in the 1880's was sponsored by the tobacco companies and the Char-

tered Company. As a result of this influx, many parts of the forested east coast of Sabah were turned into tobacco plantations. However, there are no statistics to show how many immigrants came into the country then, and much of this early land-scape has disappeared. It should be noted that large-scale immigration of Chinese began only after the development of commercial crops and the discovery of minerals. The movement in the late 19th century was continued in the 1920's and 1930's and large numbers of Chinese poured into Kudat and Sandakan and also along the railway line into the interior. Today most of these areas form the nuclei of large Chinese settlements.

The coming of the Chinese has led to certain changes in land use, especially on the coastal plain areas which are the zones of contact between the Chinese and the indigenous peoples. One of the more obvious changes is the appearance of towns in this contact zone. All are Chinese in character and act as important collecting centres for the produce of the surrounding areas. In the rural areas the Chinese have introduced new crops together with their homestead type of settlement. Their smallholdings of rubber, coconut, 'catch' crops and orchards and their dispersed houses form a distinctive pattern all along the

²⁵⁾ Ibid.

²⁶⁾ (a) LEE, Y. L., 'Some factors in the planning and development of land use in British Borneo', *Journal of Tropical Geography*, Vol. 15 (June, 1961), 66-81.

(b) -, 'Rural settlements in British Borneo', *Tidsch. Econ. en Soc. Geog.* Vol. 54 (Jan. 1963), 12-21.

(c) -, 'The Development of resources in British Borneo and its impact on settlement', *Sarawak Museum Journal*, (July-Dec. 1962), pp. 563-589.

(d) -, 'Land Settlement for Agriculture in North Borneo', *Tijd. Econ. en Soc. Geog.*, V. 52 (Jul. 1961), 183-191.

west coast districts, in Tenom, Sandakan and other east coast areas. Since the majority of the Chinese settlements are located either between the coastal Muslim peoples and the inland peoples or amongst them there is much contact with both these groups, and the juxtaposition of Chinese and indigenous settlements is common. In such instances such contacts have led to the introduction of new commercial crops by indigenous farmers, resulting in new land-use patterns within the indigenous smallholdings.

Chinese rural settlements are mainly associated with the cultivation of some cash crop such as rubber and cocount. Settlements are seldom nucleated, but houses are dispersed over a general area defined as the settlement. This difference from the indigenous form is, in some cases, due to the more individualistic temperament of the Chinese, but more often it is due to the conditions of land tenure. Government grants of land to Chinese for settlement in the past were never planned in such a way as to allocate a central area for the common village site with agricultural land surrounding it; rather has the policy been that of granting different-sized plots of land to individuals, so that within each plot the owner's house is built, the distance of each house from the other depending on the size of the various holdings.

In Sabah, except for urban units, Chinese settlement patterns will continue to be dispersed. Such a view regarding future Chinese settlement patterns seems inevitable, not only because of the innate individualistic traits of the Chinese but also because the new government Chinese settlement schemes have continued to follow the old pattern. In most of these new settlement schemes, the farmer is granted one lot within which the house is built, resulting in agriculture on a homestead principle and the dispersion of houses.

However, it is interesting to note that because the Chinese have come into the country later than the indigenous groups, at a stage when road development was taking place, most Chinese rural settlements are not tied as closely to the rivers as the indigenous villages, but, instead follow very closely road development in the country. Holdings, are strung along both sides of the roads and examples can be seen along most of the west coast roads, the Tenom-Kemabong earth road in the interior, or the Tawau-Aspas in the east coast.

Since the coming of the Chinese, the ecumene of the country has definitely expanded outwards from the initial centres of settlements. From the 19th century until before the Second World War, this extension of settlement by the Chinese peasant pioneer into the forested interior was done mainly on his own initiative. After the war, the Government has lent a hand in this matter with the introduction of settlement schemes all over the country.

Conclusion

Chinese contacts with Borneo stretch over a period of more than a thousand years. Most of these early contacts, however, were primarily for trade and although there is evidence, too, of early settlement

activities, such activities did not leave any imprint on the present day landscape.

Large-scale immigration of Chinese did not begin until the development of commercial crops. Large numbers of Chinese worked in the east coast tobacco plantations during the 1880's and many others worked on the west coast railway in the last decade of the 19th century and the first of the 20th century. All these early Chinese immigrants entered Sabah via Kudat and Sandakan which are two thriving Chinese settlements today. Beginning from the 1920's many Chinese were induced to come, and later came on their own initiative, to work on the land as farmers. Although plantation and commercial enterprises have introduced new settlement forms, the largest contribution by a single people to settlement change has come from the Chinese. Wherever they have gone, their settlements and smallholdings have appeared on the scene. Often they form the vanguard of pioneering forces within the country.

The Chinese have increased rapidly over the last 40 years and their healthy rate of growth is an indication of even greater numbers in the future. The Chinese proportion of the total population has also been increasing steadily and they now form the second largest ethnic group in Sabah. And because of their economic strength, their predominance in all the towns and their superior organization and education as compared to the indigenous peoples, the Chinese, with independence and Malaysia, will definitely, in the coming years, have a big part to play in the politics, as they do now in the commerce, of the country.

„IS LEIGEN FÜNFF PERG IN WELSCHEN LANDT“

Eine Topographie der Pilgerwege von Deutschland nach Santiago in Spanien aus dem 15. Jahrhundert

Mit 1 Abbildung

GERHARD HARD

Summary: A fifteenth century topography of the pilgrims' ways from Germany to Santiago, Spain.

A German pilgrims' hymn ("von sant Jacob") embodies a corrupted and in part nearly unrecognizable description of the pilgrims' ways to Santiago in Galicia. The paper attempts firstly to outline the value of the *via Jacobitanae* for the historical geography of Middle and Western Europe and secondly, with the aid of a more comprehensive source material, to analyse the topographical and historical geographical contents of the hymn. Such an analysis seems particularly rewarding as one may assume that until modern times the geographical concept of Western Europe was amongst the populace of Middle Europe on the whole derived from the Jacob's pilgrimage and the holy routeways used by it. Some places on these routes even assumed symbolic importance. The analysis *inter alia* shows that in this hymn several different routes have become linked and mixed up. The routes which it contains and which can be reconstructed present partly different historical stages of the Jacob's pilgrims' ways. It can furthermore be shown that the German pilgrims coined their own German place names which differed equally from the local names as from the toponymy used in the itineraria of the English pilgrims and Romance peoples.