An Introduction to the MALAYAN ABORIGINES

by

P. D. R. WILLIAMS-HUNT

FRONTISPIECE.

Wa Sigulek, a young Semai Senoi lady from Sungei Gading, Tapah, Perak, fully dressed in red, white and gold beads.

August, 1951.

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with a Foreword by

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PLATES

FACING PAGE

With two exceptions all the photographs were taken with a Zeiss Super Ikonta 532/16 with a Compur Rapid shutter and a 1:2.8 Tessar lens mostly on Ansco Super Pan Press film or Kodak Super XX. A few exposures were on Verichrome. In nearly every case a yellow green filter was employed.

The photographs of the *Jehai* Negrito bowman and the *Ple* dart quivers in Plate 19 were taken on Kodak Plus X film with a 35 mm. Zeiss Tenax fitted with a Compur shutter and a Tessar 1:3.5 lens. No filter was employed.

The air photograph in Plate 1 was taken with a Fairchild K-20 air camera fitted with a 1.4.5 163 mm. Ilex Paragon Anastigmat lens on Kodak Super XX Aerographic film. The exposure was made from an Auster aircraft flying at 1,000 feet at a camera speed of 1/250 of a second and a deep red filter was employed.

I—Summary

The Deputy Director of Operations, General Sir Rob M. Lockhart, K.C.B., C.I.E., M.C., has suggested to me that this booklet may be a little too lengthy for the more active members of the Security Forces to read in detail. To aid those who are too busy (or perhaps too lazy !) to read the whole I summarise below the essential points made in each section and this should be read in conjunction with the Appendices on obtaining information and working with Aboriginal guides and carriers.

ENVIRONMENT.—Most Aborigines live in the jungles of the main range. Although the virgin jungle is relatively open most jungle paths run through secondary jungle or *belukar* which has grown up in areas felled in the past and the impression gained is that the jungle as a whole is much thicker than it actually is. This impression can be corrected by a flight in a light aircraft a few hundred feet above the jungle canopy. The jungle supplies much of the Aborigines requirements in foodstuffs and building materials but the recognition of edible materials calls for considerable experience. Other Aborigines live in the opened up areas under conditions quite like those of the kampong Malays. There are a few Aborigines in the coastal mangrove swamps living either as shifting boat dwelling populations or as fixed fishing villages.

NUMBERS AND DISTRIBUTION.—There are Aborigines everywhere except in the State of Perlis and in the Settlement of Penang and Province Wellesley. The largest concentrations are in the Perak-Kelantan-Pahang watershed area and in south central Pahang. The 1947 Census recorded some 34,000 Aborigines but this is now known to be a considerable undercount and various sources indicate that there is certainly twice this number and possibly as many as 100,000.

TYPES AND TRIBES; SOCIAL ORGANISATIONS.—The Aborigines are not of one type but can be divided racially into:

Negritos ...	...	... small Negroid people.
Senoi ...	...	... slimly built, wavy haired relatively fair skinned peoples.
Aboriginal Malays		... Malay like peoples, stoutly built, dark skinned and with straight or slightly wavy hair.

Sakai, used generally for Aborigines is a derogatory term which is disliked by most jungle dwellers who prefer to be called *Orang Darat*.

Each main racial division is divided into a series of distinct tribes or ethnic groups further sub-divided into communities. Each community has a hereditary headman who has complete authority and any approach to the community should always be made through him. Few ethnic groups are wholly contained within present day political boundaries.

There are no hostile Aborigines but jungle communities may appear somewhat sullen fearing bandit reprisals following Security Force visits.

LANGUAGE, MUSIC AND DANCING.—Only some of the Aborigines speak Malay as their normal language and in the deep jungle Malay may be unknown or only understood very imperfectly. There are a number of quite distinct Aboriginal languages and a man from one group may not be able to speak to one from another.

Whilst each ethnic group has its own particular songs and dances musical instruments of similar patterns are found widely spread.

HEALTH.—Although Aborigines suffer from various diseases in their own areas and infant mortality from Malaria is high they have their own cures for many minor ailments. Groups evacuated into the lowlands however rapidly pick up diseases to which they have little immunity and deaths in resettlement camps are often very heavy.

DRESS AND PERSONAL ORNAMENT.—At home Aborigines have their own distinctive forms of ornament and dress but usually adopt Malay forms of dress for wear in the towns. Some jungle groups tattoo or paint their faces in gay colours.

WAYS OF LIFE.—There are many ways of life ranging from wandering hunting communities to firmly fixed kampongs with fruit and rubber plantations. Most Aborigines run a system of shifting agriculture felling and planting a new jungle garden or *ladang* each year. These may be seen being burnt off in the period June-September. Few jungle dwellers are entirely self supporting and rely on exchange of jungle products for some of their needs.

MATERIAL CULTURE.—Aborigines make many of their own requirements but usually buy iron objects, salt and clothing. Their own objects are often beautifully decorated. Houses vary from rough lean-to rain shelters to elaborate communal houses holding as many as one hundred persons.

The darts used with the blowpipe are heavily poisoned and are dangerous to human life. A few Negrito communities still use bows and arrows.

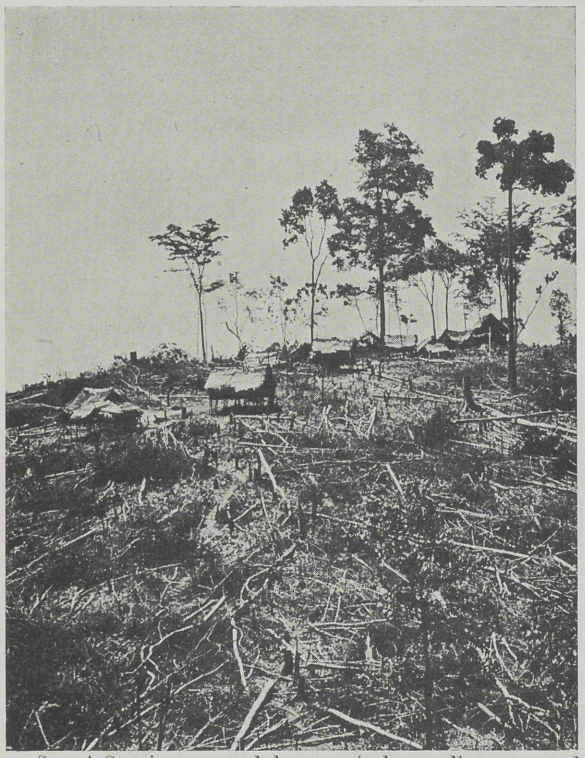
MAGIC AND RELIGION; CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS.—All Aboriginal communities have fixed customs and beliefs in respect of births, marriages and deaths. Sickness is often supposed to be caused by an

PLATE 1.

ABORIGINAL COUNTRY.

Semaq Semelai ladang seen from a light aircraft. Each house contains one family and the ladang is planted up with bananas, tapioca, sweet potatoes, sugar-cane and pumpkins.

July, 1950.



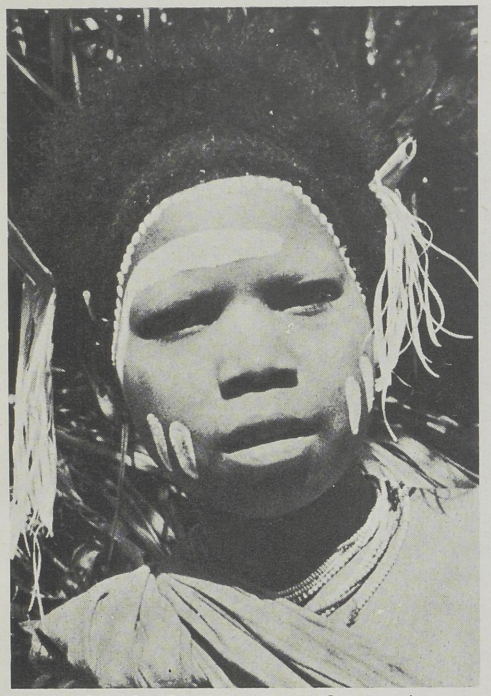
Semai Senoi communal houses of the smaller type and new jungle felling in North-west Pahang.

April, 1950.

Semaq Semelai wet padi with a house, tapioca patch and fruit orchard in the background. Negri Sembilan-Pahang boundary near Triang.

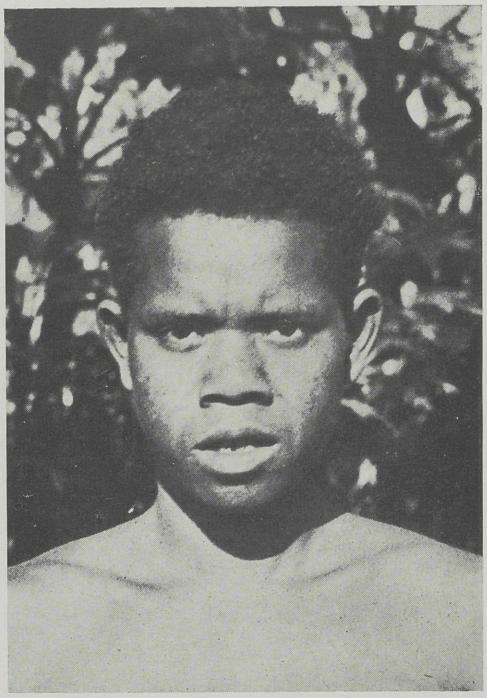
September, 1950.

PURE NEGRITOS.



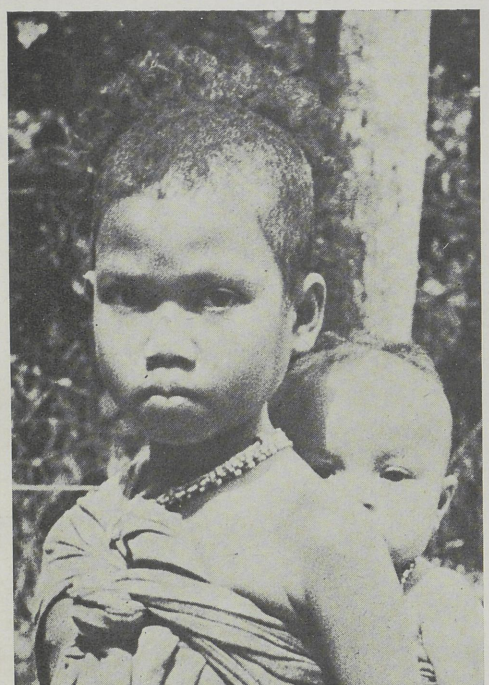
Teh, Lanoh Negrito from Ulu Jepai, near Lenggong, Upper Perak. The face paint is typical of both Lanoh and Jehai and the objects in her hair are shredded palm leaves.

September, 1950.



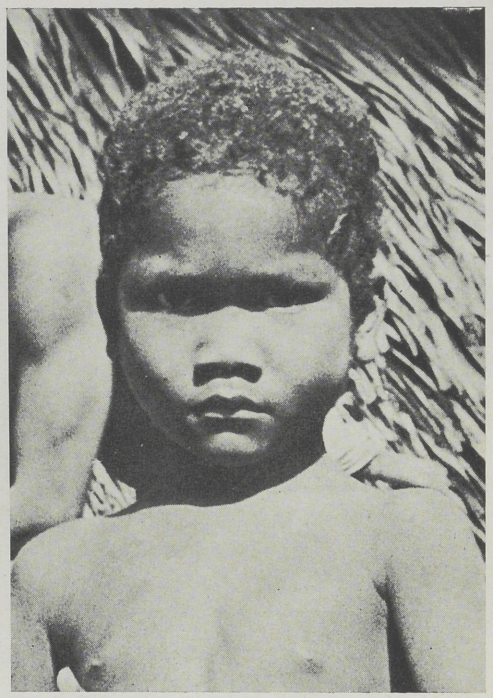
Giau, a typical Jehai Negrito from Mayor on the upper reaches of the Perak River. This is a good example of really curly hair.

March, 1952.



A small Lanoh girl from Malau, Upper Perak, with the characteristic top knot.

March, 1951.



A Lanoh boy aged about eight years. Lenggong, Perak.

August, 1951.

evil spirit and magical devices as well as herbal remedies are employed to drive it away. Many groups have a great fear of death and will burn the deceased persons house or move camp. Graves are often but not always avoided.

ABORIGINAL PROBLEMS AND PROPOSALS FOR ADVANCEMENT.—Aboriginal administration is the responsibility of the local State and Settlement Governments but there is a Federal Adviser on Aborigines to conduct technical research and advise on difficult problems. There is a definite Government policy for Aboriginal advancement and protection which aims at slowly settling communities down into a fixed way of life whilst retaining the better points of tribal social organisation but in the present emergency little can be done for the bulk of the Aborigines. There are Protectors of Aborigines in Perak, Kelantan and Pahang.

II—Introduction

In the Federation of Malaya there are many Aboriginal groups each differing in some way from any other. Few people are well informed about these Aborigines and there is a popular tendency to regard them as all of one type and to lump them together under the general heading of "*Sakai*". This is quite wrong since only some of the Aborigines are properly *Sakai* and those who are dislike the term thoroughly and often will not answer to it. But it is not surprising that misconceptions have arisen. The last comprehensive work on the Aborigines was published in 1906 and is long since out of print (1). Indeed since the early years of this century very little research work has been undertaken and we still do not know exactly who and what is in the country.

This little publication is a somewhat horrid child of necessity very hurriedly put together for the information of the Security Forces. In no way is it meant to be a technical textbook and I have attempted little more than a summary of the more essential details that the Security Forces should know. I have written in a personal manner and in what I hope is an informal style to emphasise that the statements given are my own. I have used my own observations as far as possible not to discredit previous workers but so as to give an up to date picture since my own researches commenced in 1947. In some cases however I have had to draw on earlier writers and then such sections are clearly marked. I regret that one or two sections have degenerated into rather dismal catalogues of facts but it has been difficult to compress the information in any other way.

There are at least sixty different Aboriginal sub-groups and it will be appreciated that here in this booklet there is only space to give the barest outline of the subject covered. An exhaustive publication covering all aspects of physical anthropology, language, arts and crafts and all the other data that should be recorded might rival the Encyclopedia Britannica in size. To the best of existing knowledge the facts as given here are perfectly accurate but for those who desire more scientific reading a select bibliography has been given at Appendix A. Unfortunately many of the works listed are not readily available.

It will be noticed that a considerable portion of the material recorded comes from the *Semai Senoi* Aborigines in the central highlands. There are three reasons for this. One is that this tribe or ethnic group is by far the largest in the country with a probable membership of 12,000 to 15,000 individuals and appears typical of a

(1) Skeat, W. W., and Blagden, C. O., *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, Macmillan, London, 1906.

number of other similar hill Aborigines. Another is that with the limited staff available for research purposes in the Federation the *Semai* is the only group that can be selected for intensive study at the present time and the third is that being accepted as a member of this group myself I can and have attended ceremonies and have been in a position to ask questions that might have been forbidden to the casual observer.

A *Lanoh* Negrito portrait of the author. Charcoal on the limestone wall of a rock shelter. This is an excellent likeness.

III—Environment

Not every reader of this book will have the opportunity to enter the Malayan jungles or be able to enjoy floundering about in the mangrove swamps that are a characteristic feature of many of our main river estuaries nor, at the present time, are such activities calculated to contribute to longevity. A few words on the types of country in which the Aborigines are to be found will, therefore, not be out of place. Jungle veterans can skip this section.

Spencer Chapman has given an excellent description of the joys and sorrows of jungle life in company with the Communists during the late war and his book should be read by all interested in the present campaign (1).

Malaya is a long peninsula for the greater length of which runs a rugged granite backbone flanked on either side by strings of comparatively isolated and often lofty limestone outcrops. Batu Caves near Kuala Lumpur is the most southerly of these features on the western side and is perhaps the best known. Apart from Trengganu and parts of Pahang the land between the limestone hills and the coast is relatively flat and, except in Trengganu and parts of Pahang and Johore, opened up by the Malays and Chinese who form the bulk of the Federation's population and by extensive rubber estates largely the result of European enterprise. Some areas are marshy and covered with swamp jungle. Others particularly in Perak and Selangor have been turned into swampy wastes by tin mining operations. Most of the west coast is flanked by mangrove swamps of varying widths whilst on the east coast mangrove occurs but, apart from the Johore River in the south, very much more sparsely. Although the main Aboriginal concentrations are in the jungles of the main range and its outliers there are considerable numbers in the swamp jungle areas of the lowlands, some *Orang Laut*—sea folk—in the mangrove swamps and here and there in the opened up areas the odd Aboriginal village the inhabitants of which may follow a settled way of life not unlike their Malay neighbours. Indeed there is little doubt that many of the inland villages whose inhabitants are now regarded as Malays are in fact settled Aboriginal communities who in the past have become converts to the Muslim faith.

The untouched jungle of the main ranges is not the exciting place that many would have one believe. The bright flowers, the butterflies and the birds in gay plumage are certainly there but are away in the tops of the trees a hundred feet or more in the air and can be seen much

(1) Spencer Chapman, Lt.-Col. F., D.S.O., *The Jungle is Neutral*, Chatto and Windus, London, 1949.

more readily from an aeroplane than from below. A flight over the jungle in a light aircraft a few hundred feet above the tree tops is an exciting event, particularly if one gets into a sudden downdraught in a narrow valley, but gives the opportunity to see much that can never be observed from the ground. At first all seems an uneven sea of green with the odd jungle giant standing head and shoulders above its fellows but slowly a pattern emerges. Here there will be a tree with bright purple or light grey leaves, over there the flaming glory of an orange red creeper, away on the hillside to the left the brown scar of a landslip, to the right the haze of smoke arising from an Aboriginal jungle clearing or *ladang* and down below the sparkle of waters jumping from boulder to boulder in a little side stream.

On the ground it is a very different story. In untouched jungle row upon row of great tree trunks, many with enormous buttress roots, soar away into the canopy of green foliage far above. Contrary to popular belief the canopy is so dense that very little grows below. Here and there are bushy shrubs or the young tree, tall and straggling, starting on its upward journey. However the view of fifty yards or so avails one little for wild beasts are mostly nocturnal and the few that do venture out in the day time almost invariably vanish before sighted. I do not claim to be particularly observant but in five years on and off in the jungle, often many days march into the interior, I have only seen two tigers, one bear, a dozen snakes and fifty or so monkeys. This, of course, was whilst on the move. The animals will be found if one makes a point of looking for them but not on casual journeys. Those members of the animal kingdom that do make one's acquaintance are usually unwelcome. The blood-sucking leeches that seem to sense humans from afar and move posthaste to establish themselves in the more intimate and inconvenient parts of one's anatomy, the stinging bees and wasps that dart out in the most unexpected manner from holes in trees alongside paths and the little jungle cockroaches that get into every nook and cranny of one's baggage and food and defy all efforts to be evicted are unhappily the usual companions of a jungle trip.

Having exhausted all attempts at keeping these beasts out I now follow Aboriginal custom and wear as little as possible on jungle trips. True the leeches still arrive in force but at least they can be removed before they are established.

Swamp jungle is even less pleasant than virgin jungle. Here the trees are thin and straggling and rise in dense masses from a bush coated mud and root bed which is the home of a particularly offensive form of biting red ant. The beautiful green swards that appear from time to time are floating bogs and have to be circumvented and the air is dank and oppressive. Fortunately much of the movement through swamp jungle can be undertaken in an Aboriginal dugout boat but this in itself is quite a nerve racking adventure and generally ends in at least one upset.

But much of the primary jungle and in particular that along which the jungle paths run has been felled before and has formed secondary growth or *belukar*. So much is this so that a jungle trip of several weeks may never take one into the primary jungle. *Belukar* is nothing more than a dense mass of bushes, shrubs and small trees interposed with very spiky creepers. Any movement off a path has to be by slow cutting. There are no large tracts of bamboo forest as such in Malaya but areas of bamboo do occur.

In short the jungle can be sheer Hell or enormous fun according to temperament. For those who have a sense of humour it is an exciting place full of good things to provide every need. Those without a sense of humour are well advised to stay at home.

The Malay *kampong* is a long straggling affair and not a compact village. The main features are the terraced rice fields or *padi sawahs* and running along the sides the fruit orchards and the houses fifty or a hundred yards apart linked with a bridle-path which sooner or later opens out into a little area containing a simple mosque, a school and a shop or two often but not always Chinese run. On the hills behind will be rubber smallholdings and here and there the odd little clearing of tapioca or sweet potatoes.

The Chinese squatter areas with their chequer board pattern of market-gardens or tobacco plots interposed with pig-pens and out-houses have nearly all disappeared into resettlement camps but this pattern of life can still be seen on Singapore island.

Mangrove swamps are tidal mud flats covered with a dense growth of gnarled trees which, when left undisturbed, rise to a considerable height. But most mangrove areas are cut down for firewood or tanning purposes at intervals and untouched areas are rare. At low tide it is possible to walk about with some difficulty because of the many roots and " breathers " but unless one is hunting for crabs there is little to be gained by such activities. Here are the homes of the boat dwelling *Orang Laut*, Malay coastal fishing villages and Chinese, Malays and Aborigines engaged in the charcoal trade.

IV—Numbers and Distribution

In the Federation of Malaya at the present day there are Aborigines in the Settlement of Malacca and in every State except Perlis. As far as we now know the last Aborigines, who appear to have been Negritos, left Perlis about fifty or sixty years ago and the last Aborigine was seen in Province Wellesley about the same time although in Crawfurd's day (1820-30) there were Negritos along the sea coast. On Singapore Island the earliest arrivals still surviving—the *Orang Selat* or the people of the Straits—still regard themselves as Aborigines although long since converts to Islam and still retain some elements of an Aboriginal social organisation. To the casual observer however they would pass as Malays. Other Aborigines from Singapore have remained pagans and have in recent years removed to the mainland of Johore. The *Orang Selat* are also found on the British and Indonesian islands to the south of Singapore whilst on the east coast islands off the mainland the inhabitants although nominally Malays are probably of *Orang Laut* descent as they are reported in some instances as still having Aboriginal social organisations. In the north the Negritos extend over the border into Thailand and isolated pockets are found well into the Kra Isthmus.

Unfortunately we have no really reliable figure to indicate exactly how many Aborigines there actually are. The last Census that of 1947 aimed largely at recording " nomadic " Aborigines with the result that very many settled Aborigines were recorded as Malays whilst in view of the enormous difficulties confronting the very limited number of enumerators attempting to contact the wilder groups very considerable numbers must have been missed.

The 1947 Census Report devotes a whole chapter to the Aboriginal enumeration and the difficulties involved (1).

The Census returns record a total of 34,737 Aborigines of whom 29,648 were regarded as " nomads " and 5,089 as part of the "general population "—that is, on estates, in towns and fixed communities.

It is somewhat unfortunate that the term nomadic rather suggesting wandering over a wide area was employed as it will become apparent further on that most of Malaya's Aborigines do not move about nearly as much as might be supposed.

Now it is difficult in many cases to say when a community can be regarded as ceasing to be Aboriginal especially when its members become converts to Islam. The Perak Aboriginal Tribes Enactment

(1) del Tufo, M. V., M.A., *A Report on the 1947 Census of Population.* Crown Agents, London, 1949.

of 1939 defines " Aboriginal " as meaning a person whose parents were members of an aboriginal tribe and includes a descendant through males of such persons. On the other hand in the Federation Agreement—

"The word Malay means a person who :

(i) habitually speaks the Malay language; and

(ii) professes the Muslim religion; and

(iii) conforms to Malay custom."

It is obvious that no anthropologist drew up these rules since any person irrespective of race provided he or she conforms to the three rules can be a Malay if this definition is followed. And this is actually the case. There are thousands of Chinese children adopted by Malays who are regarded as Malays, there are Malays from Java, from Sumatra, from the Celebes and a hundred other places all differing slightly in their customs but all placed together under the heading Malay.

The term is thus a social or religious distinction and not a racial one. Many Malays are of direct Aboriginal descent and from the earliest stock in the country. The problem then is which of the Aboriginal Malays who are converts to Islam are to be regarded as Malays and which are Aborigines. No one seems to agree on this point and in the 1947 Census some local authorities recorded them as Malays including Aboriginal Malays who were not Muslims whilst other local authorities recorded them as Aborigines. My own view is that any community of Aboriginal descent which is converted but which retain any elements of Aboriginal social organisation should be regarded as Aboriginal until all traces of its Aboriginal origin has disappeared. It is only fair to do this in order that the original inhabitants of an area may receive preferential treatment under any Enactments that may be passed. If we accept this definition there are very many more Aborigines in the country than were recorded in the 1947 Census and in the following tables I have given the Census figures and also what may be the actual total number. In arriving at this total number I have taken into account Aborigines who were missed in the Census and who have since been contacted and other rougher estimates based on air survey work. The whole therefore is a very general approximation and not hard and fast figures.

I have worked out these figures by dividing the Aborigines into:

(i) The wild tribes who move their habitations from time to time.

(ii) The settled pagan Aborigines.

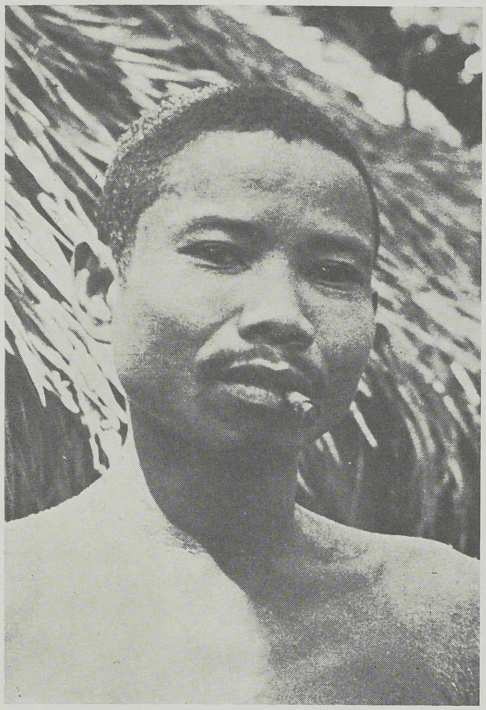
(iii) The settled Muslim Aborigines who have not yet lost traces of their Aboriginal origin.

The Census deficiencies known are:

Wild tribes who were not contacted because of the difficulty of reaching them, e.g., in parts of Pahang, Kelantan, Perak and probably

PLATE 3.

MIXED NEGRITO—SENOI TYPES.



Penghulu Buloh, headman of a Mendraq Negrito group at Bertam, Kelantan. Mixed Mendraq—Temiar.

June, 1951.

Harun, Jehai Negrito, Bersia, Upper Perak. Mixed Jehai—Ple Senoi.

September, 1951.

Ami, Lanoh Negrito, Kampong Ulu Jepai, Lenggong, Upper Perak. Mixed Lanoh—Ple Senoi.

August, 1951.

Abogn, Jehai Negrito, Bersia, Upper Perak. Mixed Jehai—Ple.

September, 1951.

PLATE 4.

TEMER OR TEMIAR SENOI.

Andah, Teh and Ngah, three young Temer ladies from Ulu Sungei Kinta, Perak.

August, 1950.

A young lady from Ulu Nenggiri, Kelantan. Students of physical anthropology are asked to observe the interesting necklace with its combination of beads, monkey teeth and shells. The short hair style is typically Temiar.

June, 1951.

Penghulu Ladang, a senior Temer headman from the Perak Sungei Plus.

August, 1950.

Trengganu where many unrecorded groups have since been spotted from the air or contacted by the Security Forces, or because there were insufficient enumerators to deal with them.

Settled pagan groups who were probably recorded as Malays such as the *Jakun* in the Rompin river area of Pahang.

Muslim Aborigines who were recorded as Malays such as the recently converted *Desin Dolaq* along the west coast of Johore who still speak their distinctive non-Malay tongue and retain their Aboriginal social organisation (2).

I have given my reasons for these changed figures in some detail because I consider it important that the Security Forces realise that there are very many more Aborigines in the country than is generally supposed.

I am usually accused of wildly exaggerating my figures but invariably a check shows that these too are inclined to be an underestimate.

These then are the figures by States and Districts with my estimated additions shown in round figures in brackets. In several cases where we have since discovered a mistake in the Census recording of the racial group to which the Aborigines belong I have transferred the figures to the appropriate column.

	Negritos.	*Senoi.*	*Aboriginal Malays.*	
JOHORE.—				
Kluang	—	—	581	
Kota Tinggi	—	—	—	(250)
Muar	—	—	41	(200)
Pontian	—	—	106	(500)
Segamat	—	—	—	(300)
Batu Pahat	—	—	—	(400)
Census total				728
Additional estimated population not including Muslim islanders off east coast who are almost certainly *Orang Selat*				1,650
Grand total about				2,400
KEDAH.—				
Sik	17	—	—	
Baling	132 (250)	—	—	
Census total				149
Almost certainly an undercount as there are wandering Negritos in this State. Actual total quite unknown.				

(2) Collings, H. D., B.A., *Aboriginal Notes, XVI, A Desin Dolaq Word List, Bulletin of the Raffles Museum, Series B, No. 4, 1949.*

	Negritos.	*Senoi.*	*Aboriginal Malays.*	
KELANTAN.—				
Ulu Kelantan	382	4,161	—	
Census total				4,543
Although the Kelantan Government consider this figure to be accurate there must be a considerable undercount as the two enumerators concerned abandoned the Census owing to the extreme difficulties of travelling in the hill region. Two previously known groups, the *Jehai* Negritos and the *Ple Senoi*, were not reported in the Census and from the air I have seen what appears to be many more *Temer Senoi* communities than the 4,161 represents. There is every indication in my opinion that the actual total is nearer				10,000
MALACCA.—				
Alor Gajah	—	—	(80)	
Jasin	—	—	91	
Census total				91
Additional estimated total ...				80
Grand total probably about ...				200
NEGRI SEMBILAN.—				
Jelebu	—	—	150	(250)
Kuala Pilah	—	—	—	(700)
Rembau	—	—	54	
Seremban	—	—	—	(200)
Port Dickson ...	—	—	—	(50) Uncertain.
Census total				204
Estimated additional total ...				1,200
Grand total (probable underestimate)				1,400
PAHANG.—				
Raub	127	82	716	
Bentong	—	—	154	? 382 Uncertain race probably Aboriginal Malays.
Lipis	559	3,912	425	—
Temerloh	—	68	1,399	? 1,230
Pekan	—	254	1,491	? 1,735
Kuantan	103	—	—	
Census total				12,643
This is undoubtedly a tremendous undercount. Pahang is an extremely difficult State to move				

	Negritos.	*Senoi.*	*Aboriginal Malays.*	
PAHANG—(*cont.*)				
about and the actual total is certainly twice this figure and probably nearer 50,000. Two whole tribes were not enumerated and many *Jakun* reported as Malays. The newly appointed Protector of Aborigines in Pahang estimates the Aboriginal population as being in the region of 24,000 to 25,000 but has not yet flown over his area nor visited all communities on the ground. The probable total is undoubtedly nearer				50,000
PERAK.—				
Ipoh	—	815 (200)	—	
Kampar	—	1,300 (200)	—	
Lower Perak	—	743 (300)	—	
Batang Padang ...	—	1,702 (1,500)	—	(Probably more)
Tanjong Malim ...	—	639 (250)	—	,,
Kroh	75	—	—	
Lenggong	178 (150)	— (200)	—	
Grik	360 (1,200)	151 (2,000)	—? 98	
Kuala Kangsar ...	—	2,384 (1,500)	—	
Census total				8,531
Estimated additional population ...				5,950
Probable grand total				15,000
SELANGOR.—				
Ulu Selangor ...	—	59	588	
Langat	—	—	638 (200)	
Klang	—	—	300	
Kuala Langat... ...	—	—	760	
Kuala Lumpur ...	—	—	— (100)	
Census total				2,598
Estimated additional population ...				300
Probable grand total				3,000
TRENGGANU.—				
Kemaman	161	—	—	
Census total				161
Probably an underestimate. Actual total unknown.				
COLONY OF SINGAPORE...	—	—	— (1,000)	
Census total including fixed population				34,737
Probable total suggested by Adviser on Aborigines (round figures) ...				81,000
Actual total possibly				100,000

V—*Types and Tribes; Social Organisations*

Our Aborigines are not all of one race but represent many different types. Unfortunately anthropologists, including many who have never been to Malaya, have invented a horrible jargon for describing these types and, in addition to confusing the lay reader, frequently dispute amongst themselves as to what they really mean. I am now going to add my theories to confuse the issue still further.

There are various ways of dividing groups of mankind, by physical characteristics, that is race although strictly speaking there are only three races of man and whether you like it or not you are either a mongoloid or a negro or a caucasian or perhaps a mixture of all three, by language, by geographical or political boundaries, by religion, by way of life or by various other ways.

Now in Malaya there are fairly clear Aboriginal divisions by physical type and sub-divisions by language, social organisation and material culture and although my distinguished predecessors, Mr. I. H. N. Evans and Mr. H. D. Noone have disputed at length as to whether way of life or racial characteristics should form the basis of classification I am persuaded that to achieve satisfactory results a combination of factors must be taken into account. Evans incidently gives a classic example of the acrimonious anthropological disputes which arise in these cases (1).

Most anthropologists agree and I also agree that in broad terms the Malayan Aborigines can be divided into three main groups. The point on which no one seems to agree is what to call these three main groups. I myself am employing the following terms and have only decided on these after a considerable amount of thought.

Negritos	... ...	(Malay, *Semang* and *Pangan*).
Senoi	... ...	(Malay, *Sakai*).
Aboriginal Malays		(Malay, *Jakun*).

Some anthropologists are still using the term *Semang*. This is not entirely satisfactory. Firstly no Negrito will answer to the term, secondly, Evans and Schebesta have well established the use of Negrito and thirdly, there is at least one and I believe another Aboriginal Malay tribe who call themselves *Semang* and as a result have appeared under the Negrito heading in the 1947 Census. Moreover, although not all of these people are pygmies, Negrito (that is little Negro) is a fairly accurate description of their appearance.

(1) Evans, I. H. N., M.A., F.R.A.I., *The Negritos of Malaya*, Cambridge University Press, 1937, pp 309-13.

Sakai means a serf or an inferior person a description that is rightly resented by the hill Aborigines who are the most independant of our wild men. In using *Senoi* I am following Noone (2) by employing their own word for man in the language of the three main groups of this category although to be perfectly accurate it should be noted that the south eastern element of this main division but by far the smallest part in number use *Jah* for Aboriginal mankind. Nevertheless *Senoi* seems the obvious choice.

It has been common practice to call the third division *Jakun*. But whilst this is a generalised Malay term many groups under this heading have their own distinctive names and deny they are *Jakun*. Indeed one group whose name was said to be *Yakin*—which sounds remarkably like a corruption of *Jakun* to my ear—were most indignant when it was suggested that they were *Jakun*. *Jakun*, they said, were wild hairy men with blue tongues and tails and were the ancestors of the Malays! The *Yakin* were nice friendly people and had nothing to do with such monsters. Now there are *Jakun* who call themselves as such in parts of Pahang but they do not form the greater part of the division as a whole and obviously the term cannot be used. Nor is Proto-Malay satisfactory as some anthropologists have applied it to vastly different peoples outside Malaya and we can not now call them pagan Malays as formerly since many are now Muslims. I think Aboriginal Malays is by far the best of a bunch of bad terms.

With the usual slackness with which an easy word is picked up *Sakai* has come into use as a general word for the Aborigines. For reasons given above this causes pain to both anthropologists and Aborigines and I propose to use Aborigines—or "Ab-bour-ridge-jines" as most locals seem to want to pronounce it—in English and *Orang Darat*, or *Orang Laut* for the sea people, in Malay.

Now nowhere in the world can be found a group so racially pure that all its members look alike in spite of the popular misconceptions held by some.

There is no such thing as a typical Negrito, a typical *Senoi* or a typical *Jakun* any more than one can say that a fair haired Englishman is more typical than a dark haired. Nevertheless in each group there will be a number of individuals who approximate in appearance and here I will attempt to describe and illustrate some of the types more commonly seen.

The Negritos appear rather less mixed in racial characteristics than the *Senoi* or the Aboriginal Malays and many of them as their name suggests are below average height. On the other hand the *Jehai* Negritos seem to be above average height, individuals of five feet seven or so not being rare, so it is dangerous to generalise. Most writers start off by saying that the Negritos have curly hair but it seems that not

(2) Noone, H. D., M.A., F.R.A.I., *Report on the Settlements and Welfare of the Ple-Temiar Senoi, Journal of the F.M.S. Museums*, Vol. XIX, 1936., p. 1.

many people know what curly hair actually is. To be curly hair must curl completely on itself like the ringlets of childhood and in nearly one hundred hair samples collected in August and September, 1951, I could only find three true curly bits. The rest were all medium and deep waves. I find that this simple statement of fact always seems to cause great amusement to non-anthropologists. Apart from the head, hair elsewhere is sparse. An odd man will have a slight moustache and beard, most men have hair on their legs but body hair and hair in the armpits are uncommon. The Negritos are jolly people with rather round faces, flat noses and wide lips. Eyes are on the small side and are sometimes deepset. The body tends to be squat and the limbs on the long side. Women are much the same shape as the men but tend to lose their shape at an early age and develop ugly hanging breasts. I once saw a lady feed the baby on her back by the simple expedient of passing her breast under her armpit but it must be admitted that this was rather exceptional. Negrito babies are born pink like most other babies and do not start to put on a negroid appearance until three or four years old. Adults are a dark chocolate brown in skin colour but never black; eyes are dark brown black and head hair in adults is always black but may have a ginger tinge in childhood possibly due to vitamin deficiency.

Those Negrito communities who are in touch with the hill tribes—mostly the *Ple*—have intermarried to a certain extent and this results in longer wavy hair, lighter skin colour and added stature. Recent research by the University of Malaya has shown that the Negritos have a distinctive blood type with a large percentage of group o.

Negritos are cheerful souls and are quick to laugh at the most adverse circumstances. In fact at a funeral of a popular member of one tribe which I attended there was continuous laughter. Many individuals are excellent climbers and those along the main rivers are skilful raft builders and navigators and even quite small children can dog paddle in the water. I have the impression that Negrito women are less skilled with their hands than their *Senoi* sisters but there is little doubt that the men are better than the *Senoi* in such tasks as decorating bamboo hair combs. I cannot support the evidence of earlier writers that the Negritos seldom wash. In my experience they wash very frequently but are not particularly clean about their shelters.

When we come to the *Senoi* we can find all sorts of types and it is sometimes difficult to describe them in terms that can be readily understood. Anthropologists have been misunderstood both by lay readers and by others who should know better, because they have sometimes labelled these types by names of races found outside Malaya. Thus when I speak of an Australoid type I do not mean that the individual is an Australian Aborigine, related to the Australian Aborigines or that the Australian Aborigines have passed through the country leaving some of their stock behind. I merely mean that the

individual looks, for want of a better description, like an Australian Aborigine. Nor do you when you describe your friend as having ears like an elephant mean to suggest seriously that he is more closely related to that beast than to human stock. In either case blood-grouping would catch us out.

Now there are so many types of *Senoi* that it is difficult to describe any particular type as being predominant. They are taller and more slimly built than the Negritos although " dumpy " women are found. They are decidedly fairer in skin and less wavy in hair. Their eyes are browner, further apart and tend often to have the " mongoloid slit "—a fold of skin across the inner aspect of the eyelid which is rare with the Negritos. Some have straight hair. Some who are mixed with the Negritos almost curly hair. Face and body hair is very rare but fully bearded types do sometimes occur.

There are *Senoi* who look like Malays. There are *Senoi* who look like Chinese. There are *Senoi* with long heads and there are *Senoi* with round heads. It would take pages of dull description to mention them all and in lieu, I have given a fairly full selection of faces in the illustrations.

The *Senoi* women are very skilled bag makers and there is no one to equal them in the country. The men are also quite clever with their hands but not, in my opinion, as good as the Negritos. Again there are excellent raftsmen and tree climbers. Small boys are adept model makers and in my own home *ladang* (*Semai*) I have seen all the youths appear with rifles and shotguns of a most realistic nature following a visit by the Security Forces.

The Aboriginal Malays also have many different types and again I turn to the illustrations rather than to description. In general terms hair is straight, body colour is darker than that of the *Senoi* but lighter than the Negritos and body build is rather heavier than either. Some of the *Orang Laut* children have light brown hair but this is a characteristic that they keep to themselves and is probably the bleaching effect of salt water and hot sun. My friend Collings of the Raffles Museum once described a particularly sourfaced type of woman found in Pahang as the " seaside landlady type " and I do not think the description can be bettered. She appears in the Bulletin of the Raffles Museum ([3]) although not under that name.

The Aboriginal Malays are far less skilled with their hands than the other groups and with the possible exception of the *Semelai* tribe turn out some pretty horrible pieces of material culture.

A delightful characteristic that is shared by all Aborigines who are untouched by so called civilisation is their frank open manner and ready hospitality to visitors. A caller is immediately made welcome in every

([3]) Collings, H. D., B.A., *A Temoq Word List and Notes, Bulletin of the Raffles Museum, Series B., No. 4, 1949.* The " seaside landlady " appears on Plate XV.

home, he is given presents of food and tobacco which he may not refuse and on no account must attempt to pay for but he may give presents in return. In most groups women are equal with the men and take an equal part in any conversation. On jungle trips women and children walk first—never behind—so that the men can regulate their pace to a rate at which none tire, a consideration very obviously lacking with other races in Malaya. Then again women are usually given a free hand in deciding their marriage partner.

Alas in touch with civilisation these characteristics soon disappear. I once made the mistake of employing some " civilised " *Jakun* in my Research Station. They interfered with the wives of other staff members, they stole from my house and they refused to pay their shop bills. I was very glad to see them go.

Aborigines are strictly non-alcoholic drinkers although avid consumers of coffee, tea and soft drinks. I have only seen Aborigines drunk on three occasions, twice at the instigation of Chinese towkays and once in a community headed by an Iban from Sarawak who had imported some of his groups more undesirable customs with him.

In former days it was not uncommon to find Chinese giving Aborigines opium to get a hold on them but no cases have been reported in recent years.

On the other hand tobacco is very freely consumed by all ages. More than once I have seen a child of three or four years being suckled one moment and smoking the next. The *Oragn Kanaq* children in my garden all smoke pipes starting at the age of five or six.

Aboriginal children are rarely reproved or chastised and generally behave very well although this is not to claim that bouts of bad temper do not occur. But these are more common with the grown ups and not long ago I had the opportunity of witnessing a young married *Semai* girl in a paddy. She wanted to be taken to the cinema and her husband didn't want to go, in fact couldn't go as he hadn't got any money. So young Wa Kebep stamped her feet in rage and burst into tears. Her husband was a *sor* (cockroach) and a *taju* (snake), she shouted, and she was going off to find another husband who would treat her better and always take her to the pictures when she wished to go. This admirable European style outburst having no effect she proceeded to break up her jewellery, tear her clothes and throw things about. I had to intervene rather hurriedly at this stage as Wa Kebep was not very discriminate in her choice of articles and my photographic equipment was becoming involved. $2 to her husband to take both to the pictures and she recovered immediately. The whole performance was typically feminine but at a five-year old level.

Against this sort of furore it is a novel sight to observe, as one cannot infrequently, a divorced wife with her new husband entertaining her former husband with his new wife. One can hardly imagine a similar party being a roaring success in England.

PLATE 5.

SEMAI SENOI.

Penghulu Senalaie and his family. A thin bearded face of this type is rather uncommon. His wife has the characteristic skin scaling of tinea imbricata.

November, 1949.

A young married woman from North-west Pahang. Note the large silvary glands on either side of the face. Slight Mongoloid eye fold. Eyebrows have been partly shaved off.

November, 1949.

Bah Oh, son of Rajah Tom the principal Semai headman in Pahang.

March, 1950.

PLATE 6.

SENOI TYPES.

The full bearded stoutly built "Australoid" type sometimes found with the Semai and Temer or Temiar Senoi. This particular individual is a Semai from Pahang.

July, 1950.

A fairly common type of hill Senoi. Semai Senoi, Pahang.

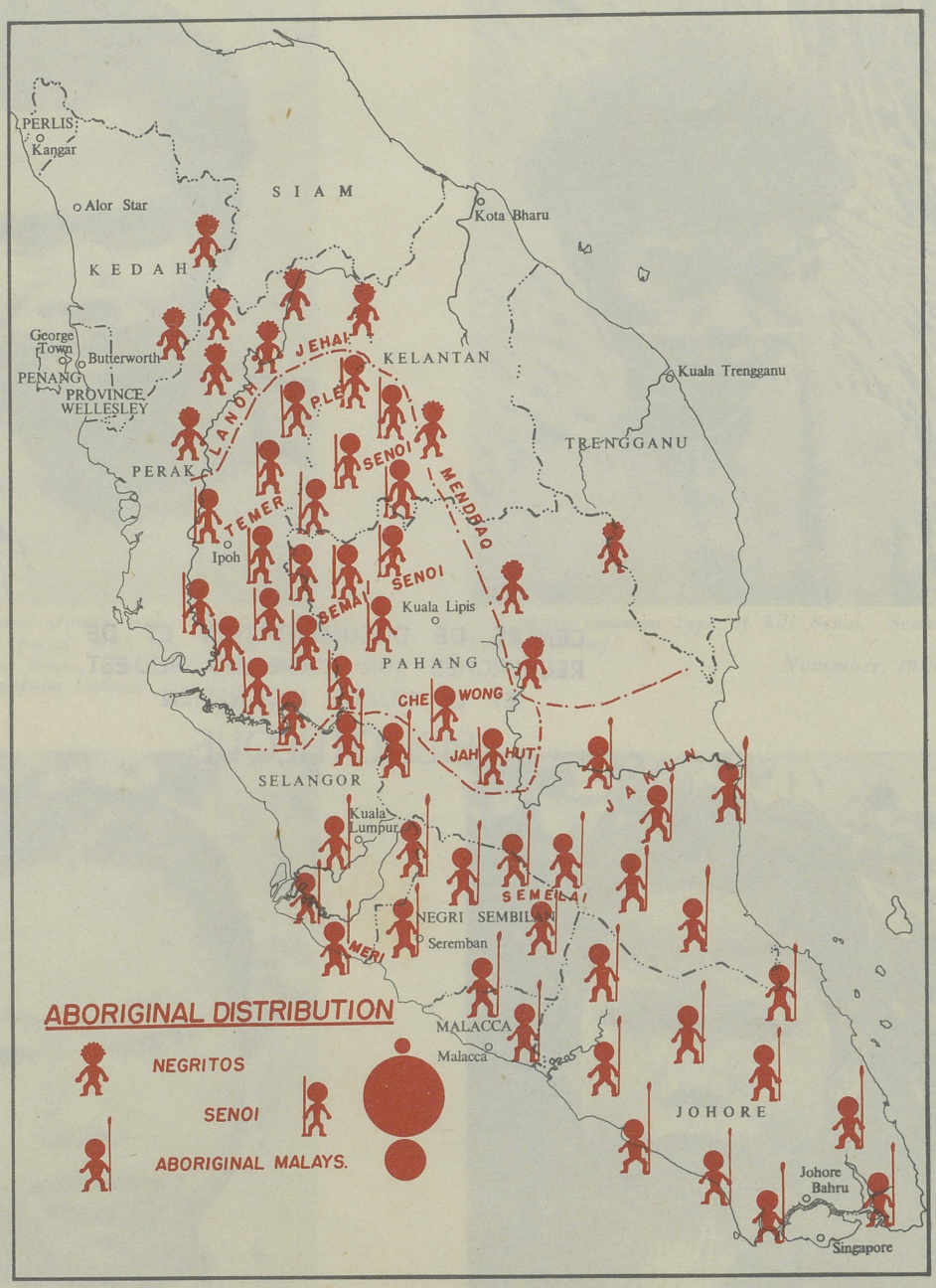
November, 1949.

A rather uncommon Mongoloid type. Note the earrings and the cigarette tucked through the lobe of the left ear. Anjang, Temer Senoi, Ulu Sungei Plus, Perak.

August, 1950.

A young lady of mixed blood. Chinese father and Semai Senoi mother. Characteristic Chinese hair and eyes. The eyebrows have been half shaved. Note the sea shells on the necklace. Bukit Betong, Pahang.

April, 1950.



Each of these three main racial divisions can be divided into a series of ethnic groups or tribes each distinct in its details. Some ethnic groups are very large—the *Semai Senoi* must number at least 12,000 and probably more—some are very small—the *Oragn Kanaq*, for example, only total thirty-four. Some, probably all, ethnic groups have distinctive names for themselves but here, as Evans has pointed out, complications arise (4). A group may have three names, one used by itself, one by which it is called by the Malays and one or more by which it is known to adjacent Aboriginal groups. Furthermore many tribes will conceal their group name to outsiders. As far as I can now discover group names can be divided into:

(i) Names that have no meaning or whose meaning has been lost.

(ii) Names that are the Aboriginal word for mankind followed by a placename.

(iii) Names that are merely the Aboriginal rendering for jungle folk.

I am not going to list all the ethnic group names by categories because I am not yet satisfied we know the answers to many of these names but I give some examples for the sake of completeness.

In the first category we have such groups as the *Jehai*, *Semai* and *Temer* or *Temiar*; in the second, *Semaq Belum*—people of the Perak or Belum river, *Orang Seletar*, people from the Seletar river, *Orang Selat* —people of the Straits and in the third *Jah Hut*, *Ple*—hill people, *Desin Dolaq*, sea people and *Orang Ulu*, jungle people.

So far we have not yet got a complete list of all the ethnic group names and in fact we are not yet sure we have got all the ethnic groups for certain but on the distribution map I have shown the main distribution of racial types by little men with the names of the more important peoples. Not all the ethnic group names are there. Moreover a false impression may be got by the numbers of little men. The Negritos are thin on the ground but scattered and so more Negrito men appear than *Senoi*. Very roughly the actual proportions are in the order:

Negritos	... ...	10% of the total population.
Senoi	... ...	60%
Aboriginal Malays		30%

That is in the relation shown by the circles.

Each tribe differs in its details of social organisation both as regards its headmen and as regards other details of daily life. Some tribes have the very sensible custom of mother-in-law avoidance. In others your mother-in-law moves in on you in true European fashion. We will relegate these more interesting customs to a later chapter and

(4) Evans, I. H. N., *Man*, Article 40, 1928. This *Man* is published by the Anthropological Institute and is not the popular Australian periodical.

deal with headmen and other hereditary callings here. Perhaps the most convenient way is to produce a table as follows:

(i) Groups with no headman but a council of elders.	These have been reported in the past with the Negritos but I have yet to meet a Negrito group without a headman although sometimes these headmen are from the hill tribes and are exploiting their followers to the Malays or Chinese.
(ii) Groups with elected headmen.	Uncertain.
(iii) Groups with hereditary headmen.	Nearly all the *Senoi* groups. Headmen on a *ladang* basis all the members being more or less related and the headman the head of an extended family group.
(iv) Hereditary headmen with hereditary titles.	As for group (iii). Many of the headmen in group (iii) are the direct descendants of headmen with hereditary titles that have lapsed. Titled headmen often control a number of family groups and minor headmen.
(v) Aboriginal Malay organisation.	The Aboriginal Malays as shown on the distribution map have an elaborate organisation in which the following ranks are found: Batin. Mentĕri. Jinang. Jukera. Panglima. Penghulu Dagang. Penghulu Balai. Manku or Permangku. The order of precedence varies with groups but the Batin is the most senior and there may be a Batin in each community and an overall Batin for the whole group. These ranks are beginning to appear with some of the *Senoi*.

Within his group the headman has complete authority and is universally respected. He is responsible for such features as the arranging and approving of marriages, supervision of burials and the fining of individuals who break tribal tabus. Usually the fine does not go into his own pocket but is spent on some communal project or passed to the aggrieved person. Some headmen give decisions on their own but by far the greater number act as chairman to a general conference in which anyone may state their views before a final decision is reached.

In most communities there will be one or more midwives who are usually hereditary and who may be men or women. It is a moot point as to which is the more efficient but the only community in which I have seen a whole series of children with hernias had a male midwife.

The positions of *pawang* and *bomoh* are also usually hereditary and not necessarily held by the headman. Some of these *pawangs* are very effective and have a following amongst the Malays, Indians and Chinese as well as with their own people.

Also found but less common are hereditary craftsmen—blacksmiths, blowpipe makers and boat builders and wood carvers. In one *Semelai* group the wood carver was also the male midwife. He was the one who dropped his babies.

On a broader basis social organisations vary with different groups. The Negritos tend to work individually for their simple needs and only work communally for such features as dances, funeral ceremonies and the like. The hill *Senoi* are mostly extended families and work much more closely together. Many communities live in communal long houses with a central working and dancing floor and sleeping booths around the sides. More settled groups and the Aboriginal Malays go in more for single family houses. In all cases property is individually owned but always readily lent.

The question is frequently asked where do the Aborigines come from. No Aboriginal groups have satisfactory accounts of their origins and the question is one that can only be answered by archaeological research work insufficient of which has been yet undertaken to supply the answer. In the few Neolithic sites that have been excavated the remains found that were undoubtedly of that period seemed not to be of types now found in the country. There is archaeological evidence that there were Negritos here upwards of fifteen hundred years ago but relatively speaking that is only yesterday.

VI—Language, Music and Dancing

There is a popular misconception that all Aborigines can speak Malay. It is perfectly true that some ethnic groups speak Malay, usually in an archaic form, as their normal tongue but by far the greater number of Aborigines have their own distinctive languages in which they converse amongst themselves. These Aboriginal languages are adapted to the daily needs of Aboriginal life and the inhabitants of communities speaking these languages often have difficulty in expressing themselves in Malay. As far as I know there are only two Aborigines in the whole of the country who are able to speak English but I am prepared to be corrected on this point.

When we come to consider Aboriginal languages we are on rather shaky ground. The last general comparative studies were made in 1906 when W. W. Skeat made a magnificent showing on remarkably scanty evidence(1) and apart from the collection of odd word lists very little has taken place since. We badly need the services of an expert philogist but unfortunately these specialists appear to prefer work elsewhere. On the other hand quite a lot seems to have happened to the Aboriginal languages since 1906. For instance groups in touch with the Malays are picking up many words of Malay. In some cases this is an advantage. A *Semai* girl can't love you, she can only want you since the *Semai* have no word for love. But against such admirable improvements there are other words that disappear.

Gesuk, rock, sounds much more of the thing that you stub your toe against than the Malay *batu*, whilst *bei da dat* of the *Semelai* or *ah eng* of the *Semai* convey an expression of negativeness that cannot be approached in Malay. Odd things happen, too, to Malay words. The *Semai* of the Tapah region will not use the Malay *elok*, handsome, fine, because of its closeness to their own word for a rather intimate part of the male anatomy. Instead it becomes *eloie* and now *eloie* is replacing *borbi* their own equivalent word. The *Semai* and other Aborigines for that matter also rather nicely twist many Malay words. *Kuching*, cat, becomes *kuchik* or *kuchign*, *gunting*, scissors, *guntik* and so on. I always feel that the Malay *gunting* gives a definite sound impression of scissors cutting cloth whilst the Aboriginal scissors are obviously blunt and their owners experiencing difficulty!

But not all Aboriginal groups are picking up Malay. Those in the interior seem to pick up the language of the larger or more advanced groups adjacent to them so that gradually the number of distinct tongues is lessening.

(1) Skeat, W. W., *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, Volume II, Part IV, Macmillan, London, 1906.

I am often asked if I can speak an Aboriginal language as it has been represented that it is impossible for a European to pick up a dialect and that even if he did it would avail him little as the dialect varies from one river valley to another. There are certainly variations in dialect but I do not think that they are serious as has been supposed. One of my staff, Che Puteh bin Awang, appears as readily understood in the Plus river of Perak as he does on the Kelantan Nenggiri some fifty miles away when speaking Northern Senoi and my own smattering of Central Senoi carries me over most of Southern Perak and North-western Pahang without undue difficulty. But it should not be thought that Aboriginal languages are easy. Variations in terminal stops, *CHO'*, dog, *CHOg*, rotan and *CHOk*, a variety of grasshopper, are examples of difficulties whilst *nynoi*, which is very rude and *nynnoi*, which is not, are rather too close in pronounciation for comfort. In recent years there have certainly been two Europeans, the late H. D. Noone and H. D. Collings, who were fluent speakers of Aboriginal languages and there is no reason why there should not be some more.

To prevent this section becoming quite unreadable I am going to be as brief as possible and avoid too many technical considerations.

Ignoring certain odd dialects spoken by very small communities the main language groups can be divided very roughly into:

1. The Negrito language which has almost entirely faded out except for a number of curious words. Most Negrito groups now speak rather distorted versions of the hill peoples dialects.
2. The Senoi languages sub-divided into:
   (*a*) Northern Senoi spoken by the *Ple* and the *Temer* or *Temiar Senoi*.
   (*b*) Central Senoi spoken with several distinct dialects by the *Semai Senoi*.
   (*c*) South Eastern Senoi spoken with several variations by the small *Senoi* groups in central Pahang.
   (*d*) Besisi spoken by an Aboriginal Malay group, the *Mah Meri*, but mainly Senoi in character.
3. The language spoken by the *Jakun*, *Semelai* and other Aboriginal Malays in Pahang and Negri Sembilan.
4. Aboriginal dialects of Malay spoken in the south of the Federation.

These divisions are not quite the same as reported in 1906 and I am not certain that either are right but they will do for the purpose of the lay reader.

The Negrito tongue is very much of the hot potato variety and not at all soothing to the ear. Indeed more than once I have become alerted expecting to see a first class row between husband and wife only to discover that it was a normal conversation.

Typical words that are believed not to be of Senoi origin are :

Jebeg	=	bad	*Seneng*	=	bag
Boo	=	big	*Herpai*	=	coconut
Napeg	=	pig	*Wayd*	=	squirrel

Schebesta has recorded an attractive *Jehai* song which gives some idea of the character of the language. The story is about a young ape, the joy of its father and mother, starting on its first wanderings, climbing up and down the branches, plucking fruit and generally having great fun. The mother watches her child with great delight but eventually after a series of adventures is stalked by a hunter who blowpipes her. Each verse was sung by one man and the chorus, *oi bo tagla*, O the mother looks happily at her child, repeated by three. The first few lines run :

O tign tagn, o chenloi, ... It wanders to and fro and springs from branch to branch,
O tign todn, ioh anagn ... It wanders to and fro on the branch of the anag tree.
O bilai, o komlobn ... It spies manow fruit (2).

The typical jerky form of Northern Senoi is well represented in H.D. Noone's story of a *Temiar* padi harvest :

Ba: pai
new rice

E tog e chap ma sebor e dol en dek e lěi apil e
We reap we put in plaited bags we store in (the) house we spread mats we
soh měneh ba: E jělog ijuk taku' e bus ma te'. Kot
pour out (the) ears (of) rice. We tread out with our feet stalks we throw away. (We) take
ensi he'. Kot chempeg e gep adeh nana tělnel
(the) grains only. Take winnowing fan we winnow up and down, that (is the) work (of)
menbabo'. Gep gep gep tělas hampa e kot ensi he'. E kot liek uel
women. Winnow until we take grain only. We take iron cooking pot,
e koh o:k e chor ba: e so: e pra' li:u e chet,
we pour in water, we pour in rice, we soak, we leave (for a) long time, we cook
hoit na chet, e taiot e koh ma apil e en ma te' re:h
finished cooking, we lift off, we pour onto (*a*) plaited mat, we bring to (the) ground below,
e poi, e pra poi poi poi na pěnga:h i:s na kareh deh e
we dry in the sun, we leave to dry until it is evening, until (it is) dry, we
kot ba: e chor ma kěloit gu:l e si:h iě renti. Menbabo'
take (the) rice, we pour inside (the) mortar, we pound with hand-pestle. (The) women
un kos ma pak chempeg un gep uel tělas,
they scrape out (the rice) onto (the) winnowing fans, they winnow (up and down), after
un gep siloid un siloid un kot chendroi he'. Tělas
(this) they winnow from side to side, they winnow they take (the) rice only. After
sidloid un gep uel taběh sikap ana' un bus meg'
winnowing they winnow up and down again (the) chaff they throw (and) good (is the)

(2) Schebesta, P., *Among the Forest Dwarfs of the Malay Peninsula*, Hutchinson, London. pp. 104-5.

chendroi uel. Un chor ma kĕloit sĕmpid un kot sela': lar un silor kĕloit
rice cooked. They pour into plaited bags, they take leaves (of) lar, they slide into (*a*)
awad un koh o:k un chĕr chendroi iot ma kĕloit awad gĕadeh
bamboo, they pour in water, they pour into (the) rice together into (the) bamboo also.
Un po-ol ma os un po-ol po-ol hoit chenchet un ieg ma be:k'. Tĕlas
They boil on (the) fire, they boil boil until cooked, they lift off to (the) side. When
na sod un bĕlah gĕadeh un dol pak sela' un
it is cool, they split (the bamboo) also, they put (rice) on top (of the) leaves, they
checha' elah ma nyag chana' pai.
eat then (the) food new. ([3]).

Central Senoi the language of the *Semai Senoi* is also jerky in form and a typical conversation might go as follows :

Mong bor. Tok eng perhut kui ni klap. Hort penlai? Mong? Mong,
Have good. No I hurt head fever liver. Want medicine. Have Have,
na kot nar biji i penlai borbi. Bor. Malor bichip? Adjei mata lōn
here take two tablets the medicine very good. Good. Where going. There upto hill
entoie chip mah dug Pa' Jam. Abor.
big go to house Pa' Jam. Goodbye.

Literally, " How are you? Not well, I've got a headache and a touch of malaria. Do you want some medicine? Have you got any? Yes, here take two tablets, this is a very good medicine. Thanks, where are you going? I'm off to Pa' Jam's house up the big hill. Goodbye. "

We have no conversations recorded for South Eastern Senoi but Ogilvie has produced a fairly large word list for the *Che Wong* ([4]). It is interesting to compare some common words taken at random with those in Central Senoi.

	Central Senoi.	*Che Wong.*
Ant	*Las*	*Las*
Axe	*Jek*	*Beliong* (Malay)
Aunt, paternal ...	*Wah*	*Bĕhah*
Aunt, maternal ...	*Wah*	*Dĕh*
Baby	*Sanyet*	*Wông kanet*
Banana	*Telaie*	*Ti-ug*
Bat	*Gerper*	*Pĕlĕg*
Beneath	*Krum*	*Kriyum*
Black	*Bĕrlak*	*Hĕrĕng*
Blowpipe	*Bĕlau*	*Bĕlau*
Brother, elder ...	*Tenei*	*Tôh bĕri*
Earth	*Ti*	*Teh*
Elbow	*Kanang*	*Kĕnung*
Hungry	*Chuarg*	*Hungkung*
Little	*Machot*	*Kanet*

([3]) Noone, H. D., *The First Fruits of the Hill Rice Harvest Among the Temiar Senoi, Bulletin of the Raffles Museum, Series B, No. 4, December, 1949.*
([4]) Ogilvie, C. S., *Che Wong Word List and Notes, ibid.*

The *Jakun-Semelai*-Aboriginal Malay language can be represented by a story recorded by H.D. Collings (5). Tasek Bera is the large lake area on the Pahang-Negri Sembilan boundary.

"The Semelai tongue belongs to the Mon-Khmer family, but there is also a fair sprinkling of West-Indonesian words, and, in the present state of knowledge, it cannot be said whether the latter are just loan-words or all that is left of an older speech which has been ousted from use and overlaid by Mon-Khmer. However since all the ground words of every day speech are Mon-Khmer the likelihood is that the West-Indonesian elements are due to culture contact.

The spelling of the following tale is, on the whole, as is romanised Malay, the main exceptions being that the glottal stop is shown by q, and the rolled "r" by R.

THE BEGINNING OF TASEK BĚRA.

Mulamula sĕmaq jĕ-oi dĕ-u, panggil sĕmaq pĕtĕrm baba. Daqmi
In the beginning people make garden, call people plant rice. Is one
ikur cho jĕrl dĕlong kĕruing. Solosolong mi ikur sĕmaq dos jingoq, leqleq duaq,
tail dog bark-at tree keruing. Then one tail man come see, then two,
leqleq mpeq, leqleq mpon, leqleq tongkeq kĕmong sĕmaq heq dol. De gung bĕliong,
then three, then four, then until finish people in house. They fetch axe,
de tĕboq dĕlong, de jingoq gumoq daq choq kĕlud. De yoq Roq,
they make hole in tree, they see oil is inside. They fetch back-basket,
de an gumoq, gung i-ut de cha. Siap de cha, lalu dos sĕmaq gĕdu
they carry-on-back oil, fetch go-back they eat. Finish they eat, then come man old
gung tungkat, ki chĕrq choq jong tangaq. Kĕhumpun ndol, heq dol
carry staff, he stick-in at foot house-ladder. Thereupon go-in-to-house, in house
bĕrchakapchakap. Lat bĕrchakapchakap, kĕhumpun i-ut. Lalu ki panggil sĕmaq
talk-together. Finish talk-together, thereupon go-back. Then he call people
Rot tungkat, lalu de Rot solosolong mi ikur, leqleq bĕrduaq, lud paqpeq, lud
pull-out staff, then they pull first-of-all one tail, then two, then three, after
paqpeq, pĕmpon, lalu tongkeq kĕmong sĕmaq heq dol. Pon be nyacherq daq de
three, four, then until finish people in house. Moreover not also are they
gĕlet, lalu ki lĕrng "cheq bodol je nahaq sĕramai nje daq be gĕlet Rot
able, then he call-out "right stupid you these gathered-together you are not able pull-out
tungkat ĕrn." Lalu ki Rot rom ti sawel. Lalu kĕhumpun suak. Dak pun
staff mine." Then he pull-out with hand left. Then thereupon go. Water moreover
kĕrual tamhat tahong tungkat. De yoq haluq, de sumbat liang tungkat, lĕbehkurang
come-out from hole staff. They fetch rice-pounder, they plug hole staff, more-or-less
nitui daq mur haluq pĕnterm baba. De yoq Roq, de sumbat, lĕbehkurang daq
bigger is than dibble plant rice. They fetch back-basket, they plug, more-or-less is
mur Roq nitui daq. Solosolong singan kanteng jong, leqleq singan kaltung, leqleq
than back-basket bigger is. After-a-time as-far-as joint foot, then up-to knee, then
singan pinggang. Lalu de bĕrchoman, mi ikur lĕngnoq, mi ikur longkeq, mĕnjadi
up-to waist. Then they swim, one tail over-here, one tail over-there, become

(5) Collings, H. D., *Aboriginal Notes, ibid.*

SEMAI SENOI.

Father and daughter. Bah Kangsar and Wa Draman from Changkat Limau, Ulu Sungei Woh, in the Batang Padang District of Perak.

September, 1951.

PLATE 8.

ABORIGINAL MALAYS.

Ajum, Semaq Semelai, Dak Le'oie, Kuala Pilah, Negri Sembilan.

October, 1950.

Batin Mat, Semaq Semang, Senayan, Temerloh District, Pahang.

January, 1950.

Orang Seletar sea folk children from the Pulai River of Johore. The small boy is clutching his pet otters.

December, 1950.

chaRoq hôn sĕmaq suak sĕkalian sĕmaq mĕcha gumoq. Leqleq kĕmong kĕbus. Tinggal
stream where people go all people eat oil. Then finish die. Remain
mi ikur chuq, mi ikur toqwan; kikiq pasal bĕRkeq pasal hal chĕrnman
one tail grandchild, one tail grandmother; this why understand about matter tale
kikiq.
this.

" Once upon a time people made a garden and called the folk to plant the rice. Now there was a dog and he barked at a *kĕruing* tree. Then one person came to look at the tree, then two, then three, then four, until no one was left in the house. They fetched an axe and cut a hole in the tree and saw the oil that was in it. They fetched a backbasket and carried the oil back and ate it. When they had eaten, there came an old man carrying a staff which he stuck in the ground at the foot of the house ladder, then he went into the house and the people talked together. When they had finished talking they went out, and the old man called the people to pull out this staff. Then they tried to do so, first one man, then two, then three, then four and then until everyone in the house had tried; but they could not pull it out. Then the old man called out 'Right stupid are you that are so many, that you cannot pull out my stick', and he pulled it out with his left hand. Thereupon he went off and water gushed out of the hole. The people fetched a pounder to plug up the hole but it was bigger than a rice dibble. They got a backbasket to plug it, but the hole was bigger than the basket. Then the water rose up to their ankles, then up to their knees and then up to their waists. Then they all had to swim, one man went over here, (*pointing*) one man went over there, (*pointing*) and wherever each person who had eaten the oil went, there a little stream flowed out, until everyone was dead with the exception of a grandchild and a grandmother and that is how we know about this tale".

Those Aboriginal Malays who speak Malay as their normal tongue incline towards a rather archaic form of that language. The modern Malay calls a boat "prow" although he spells it *pĕrahu* but the Aboriginal Malay pronounces the word as it is spelt. There is also a tendency to transpose g and n at the end of a word so that a word such as musang becomes *musagn* with a strong glottal ending.

It is often suggested that the Aborigines cannot count above three. This is not entirely true as the table below will show but with many Aboriginal communities in the jungle there is little necessity for high numbers. Three is enough for most people and thereafter anything additional is many but where the necessity arises Malay numerals are employed. Here is a selection of numbers from various ethnic groups :

	Jehai.	*Temer.*	*Semai.*	*Che Wong.*	*Jakun.*	*Kanaq.*
One ...	*Naie*	*Nei*	*Nanuk*	*Noi, nai*	*Moi*	*Satoh*
Two ...	—	*NaR*	*NaR*	*Bei, bil*	*MaR*	*Dua*, etc.
Three ...	—	*Neit*	*Nei*	*Pet*	*Mpei*	—
Four ...	—	—	—	*Pon*	*Mpun*	—
Five ...	—	—	—	—	*Mesong*	—
Six ...	—	—	—	—	*Peru*	—
Seven ...	—	—	—	—	*Tampo*	—
Eight ...	—	—	—	—	*Kitwid*	—
Nine ...	—	—	—	—	*Kantim*	—
Ten ...	—	—	—	—	*Kumai*	—
Many ...	*Kom*	*Betnut*	*Kumnum*	*Beso*	*Berjur*	*Banyak*

From the spoken language to song is but a short step and every Aboriginal ethnic group has its own distinctive songs. Unfortunately those in contact with the Malays are picking up Malay songs and the advent of the gramophone and the wireless is beginning to kill Aboriginal music and dancing. Most Aborigines sing to themselves when walking alone in the jungle rather in the way children hum to reassure themselves when they are slightly afraid and in the house mothers lull their babies to sleep with a combination of humming, rocking and singing. I have not yet recorded any songs but those of the *Temer* and *Semai Senoi* are particularly soft and pleasant to the ear whilst those of the Negritos and Aboriginal Malays seem to depend on volume rather than beauty to impress the listener. In addition to the traditional songs most Aborigines are very expert at improvising verses to meet the occasion.

But most of the singing is reserved for the ceremonial dances that are such a feature of most Aboriginal communities. Aborigines, particularly the *Senoi*, always welcome an opportunity for a dance and many of the hill peoples include a dance house with a specially strengthened floor as an essential part of their village. Dances are held when the *ladang* has been felled, when the harvest has been collected, at weddings, and after funerals to speed the spirit of the deceased on its way. With many groups dances run for three nights at a time but nearly all agree in forbidding daytime dancing. The *Lanoh* Negritos attribute the limestone outcrops in their district to a group of their ancestors who danced in the daytime and were turned into stone. There is an unfortunate tendency in Malaya at the present day to lay on Aboriginal dances in the daytime for the entertainment of visiting V.I.Ps. This is very wrong since these dances are essentially religious in origin and demands for daytime dances cause a certain amount of resentment. Imagine as a parallel asking an English Catholic community to perform a Mass for the amusement of a visiting party of pagan Zulus.

The *Temer Senoi* are by far the most graceful dancers and prepare elaborate flower and leaf ornaments for their ceremonies. Nearly all of these are of a religious nature and the group's *pawang* plays an important part in them. Music is provided by a row of women beating time with long and short bamboos and acting as the chorus to the *pawang* who sings a single verse at a time. The men and some of the women slowly circle anti-clockwise in a graceful gliding motion with elegant arm and hand movements. Gradually the tempo increases and eventually one or more men will fall into a deep trance, pounding round heavily on the floor in a staggering motion which sooner or later leads them into the fires although surprisingly enough without any damage to their bodies. I was once in the position of being the only person not sufficiently carried away by the dance to prevent a pretty hefty fire getting hold of a house in which several *Temer* had scattered burning embers with gay abandon in every direction.

Not all *Temer* dances are so exciting. One confined usually to women, the *chachi*, consists of hand and body motions only whilst the feet are firmly planted in one place. Drum and gong may replace or be used in addition to the bamboo stampers.

The Negritos appear in recent years to have lost their own characteristic dances and to have picked up those of the *Temer* although they are clumsy performers by *Temer* standards.

The *Semai Senoi* of the Batang Padang area have, amongst other more dignified performances, a dance that is the nearest approach to a rugger scrum that I have yet seen. Accompaniment is provided by a Malay gong and drum, boom-boom-boom, boom, BOOM and so on. Two or three girls usually start by putting their arms around each other's necks and circulating anti-clockwise in a running, hopping motion with one short leg and one long. Soon more girls join in and then the men cling on the outside pushing one behind the other. I have seen as many as fifty people whirling around in a packed mass those on the outside being lifted off their feet like the swings on a round-about. From time to time odd individuals loose their grip and get thrown off with considerable violence and often with some damage to the spectators—I was once badly winded by a fat girl who landed on top of me although I have reasons to believe that she did it on purpose. The smart thing is to disengage yourself from time to time, rest and then dash in anew although this technique is denied to those who make the mistake of getting into the centre. But before long a bamboo slat works loose in the floor and over go the whole lot in a laughing screaming heap. A few moments to repair the damage and off they go again.

It always amazes me that the girls do not loose their *sarongs* which are only folded over but I have never seen one slip yet. In any case Aboriginal girls, at least the Batang Padang *Semai* girls, do wear pants of a sort so a lost *sarong* is not such a catastrophe.

If the dance is just for fun, a wedding or a harvest feast, it may go on to just after first light—half past six or seven at the latest—a few hardy performers keeping up unsteady steps amongst a heap of comatose bodies. An hour or two later those girls who were unwise enough to wear their jewellery will be seen raking in the debris beneath the house for scattered remains. If, however, the dance is a magical ceremony and the group's *pawang* has initiated the performance sooner or later someone will go into a trance. At first the individual man or woman, will just flop and have to be supported by three or four others who will continue circling with difficulty. It's hard work but eventually the one in a trance will continue alone often with a strange windmilling motion of the arms which may continue for as long as half an hour. The *Semai* believe that in a trance they become possessed by the spirits of the dead and I have certainly seen individuals speaking in strange voices that were not their own. There

is no doubt of the depth of trance—I have experimented with a long pin!—and on one occasion, when about to take a flash photograph, I was severely rebuked by a *pawang* for disturbing the spirit.

Most of the Aboriginal Malays have now adopted rather shoddy variants of Malay dancing but a group in the Bentong district of Pahang put on in 1950 a purely Aboriginal dance for my benefit in which one man ran about on hands and knees and made dog like noises.

Whilst gongs, drums and bamboos form the accompaniment to the dance there are also other musical instruments none of which are peculiar to any one group with the possible exception of the *pensol* a bizarre form of small flute played by *Semai* noses. Flutes, bamboo zithers and bamboo jaws harps are common and many Aboriginal Malays have become skilled at producing, with the aid of a *parang*, versions of the European violin. In the Raffles Museum may be seen my own pretty representative collection of these instruments supported by photographs of them in use.

Aeolian bamboos, long bamboos with slots and slits that produce strange organ like noises when caught by the wind, are popular with many of the Aboriginal Malays particularly in Negri Sembilan and the *Semelai* have a passion for immense windmills with flutes at the corners of the blades. These *berbalings* as they are called are often placed on the highest trees around the ladangs and produce a "whoo WHOO" noise interposed with creakings, from the propellor's wooden spindle, as they rotate in the breeze. They are claimed to be effective in preventing the entry of ghosts and must be quite efficient as I myself have yet to meet a ghost of any sort in a *Semelai ladang*.

VII—Health

One question that is always being asked is whether the Aborigines are dying out. It is difficult to answer this question because there have not yet been any long term records of undisturbed groups. Each Census taken in the Federation has produced successively more Aborigines but this is probably due more to improved communications and more efficient enumerators rather than to any large increase in Aboriginal numbers. There is evidence however for decreases with certain ethnic groups. The Negritos appear to suffer the most and within the past thirty years at least two groups have become extinct, largely as a result of their jungle areas being opened up and introduced diseases brought in. Some Negrito groups such as the *Jehai* seem at a casual glance to be short of women but maintain their balance by marrying into the hill tribes usually the *Ple*. As will be shown below the *Senoi* suffer from heavy infant mortality rates but appear to just hold their own except in the resettlement camps where deaths are numerous. The Aboriginal Malays have had serious setbacks during the war and in a smallpox outbreak in 1947 but appear to be slowly on the increase. In no way can it be said though that the Aboriginal population is increasing at anything like the pace of the Malays or Chinese.

Until 1950 our knowledge of Aboriginal health was very scanty. In that year the University of Malaya appointed Dr. Ivan Polunin an energetic young doctor with a flair for obtaining information from wild peoples whilst working under the most adverse circumstances, to conduct an enquiry into this subject and most of the material in this section is based on his papers (1). Unfortunately Polunin saw very few Aborigines who had not been disturbed by the Emergency in one way or another although many of the diseases he noted such as goitre were obviously not brought about by Emergency conditions.

The first Aboriginal problem is that of infant mortality and can be best illustrated by Polunin's tables culled from various sources.

SOME DATA ON ABORIGINAL POPULATIONS.

Group.	Number in group.	Number of women with children.	Total Males.	Total Females.	Pregnant Females. (1)	Lactating Females.	Total children born to these women.	Number of these children still alive.	% children dying before mothers.	% women over age 20 who are nulliparous.	Spleen rate of population (all ages).
I. Low Level (2)— *Semai-Senoi*	171	42	93	78	2	8	168	68	59.5	6.8	71.8
II. High Level— *Semai-Senoi*	178	42	94	84	4	21	174	111	36.2	7.0	27.0
III. *Lanoh* Negritos (3)	164	40	86	78	5	19	127	66	48.1	15.9	50.0
IV. *Orang Laut Seletar*	...	11	...	...	...	...	68	41	39.7	0	0
Down River (4)— *Temiar Senoi*	...	56 (6)	...	...	...	...	137	75	45.3	...	...
Up River— *Temiar Senoi*	...	44 (6)	...	...	...	...	157	112	28.7	...	...
Malayan Negritos (5)— (Group Unspecified)	62 (6)	...	...	...	...	...	178	108	39.3	...	...

(1) Pregnancies of less than four months duration were probably missed.
(2) Includes a Half-Chinese boy and girl, and a full blooded Chinese girl.
(3) Includes four adult male and one adult female Ple (Northern Senoi), and seven Ple-Lanoh children.
(4) From Noone (1936), Appendix VI.
(5) After Schebesta quoted by Evans (1937, p. 16).
(6) These numbers refer to unions.

(1) Polunin, I.V., B.A., B.SC., B.M., B.CH., *Studies on the Medical Natural History of the Malayan Aborigines*, 1951. Unpublished.

There is the general impression that Aborigines do not live to a great age and certainly it is relatively rare to meet individuals with adult grandchildren or with white hair. Hair colour is, however, an unreliable index with any race and I have met more than one Aborigine in the sixty-seventy year old group, according to Malays who knew them, who were without a trace of greying. Age is difficult to discover exactly as few Aborigines know how old they are and it is not unusual to be told by a man who is obviously in the thirties that "I am nine months old". For census and other purposes it is usual to divide ages into definite groups and the 1947 figures were as follows:

Under 1 year (children still at the breast and unable to walk)	1,446
1-9 years (other children)	5,699
10—14 years (young persons not yet married)	4,122
15—29 years (young married people)	7,492
30—50 years (older married people some of whom will have grandchildren)	8,608
Over 50 years (white haired people)	2,281

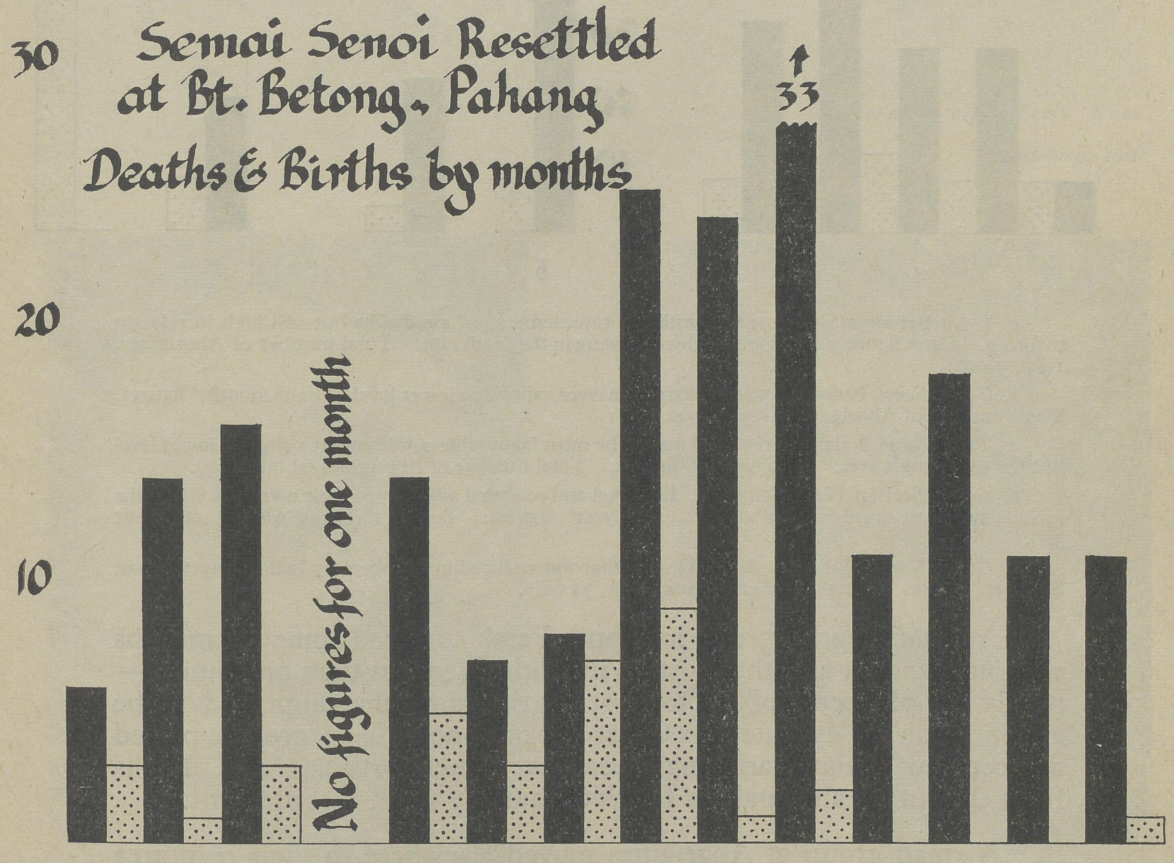
In my experience using these divisions one tends to show too many individuals in the groups, under 1 year, 1-9 years and 15-29 years and too few in the 10-14's and 30-50's. Finally for the one large resettlement camp (Bukit Betong, Pahang, containing *Semai Senoi*) for which detailed figures are available in 217 deaths only 24 were considered to be of persons over fifty years of age. These Bukit Betong returns are interesting in that they show the results of moving hill peoples into a concentrated area at a lower level. In theory it might be thought that there would be an initial high death rate caused by removal of already ailing individuals to an unsuitable environment whilst the birth rate (conceptions in original habitat) remained fairly constant for at least the first nine months and then fell off for a while before returning to the same or slightly lower level. The death rate would then return back to near normal. In actual practice the birth rate has behaved roughly in this fashion but the death rate follows a series of curves that suggests recurring bouts of acquired disease in the new habitat. This is borne out by the fact that most of the deaths at Bukit Betong are from malaria and dysentery whilst with

the *Temer* in the Plus river of Perak in the period 29th August-11th December, 1950, deaths were considered to be from the following causes :

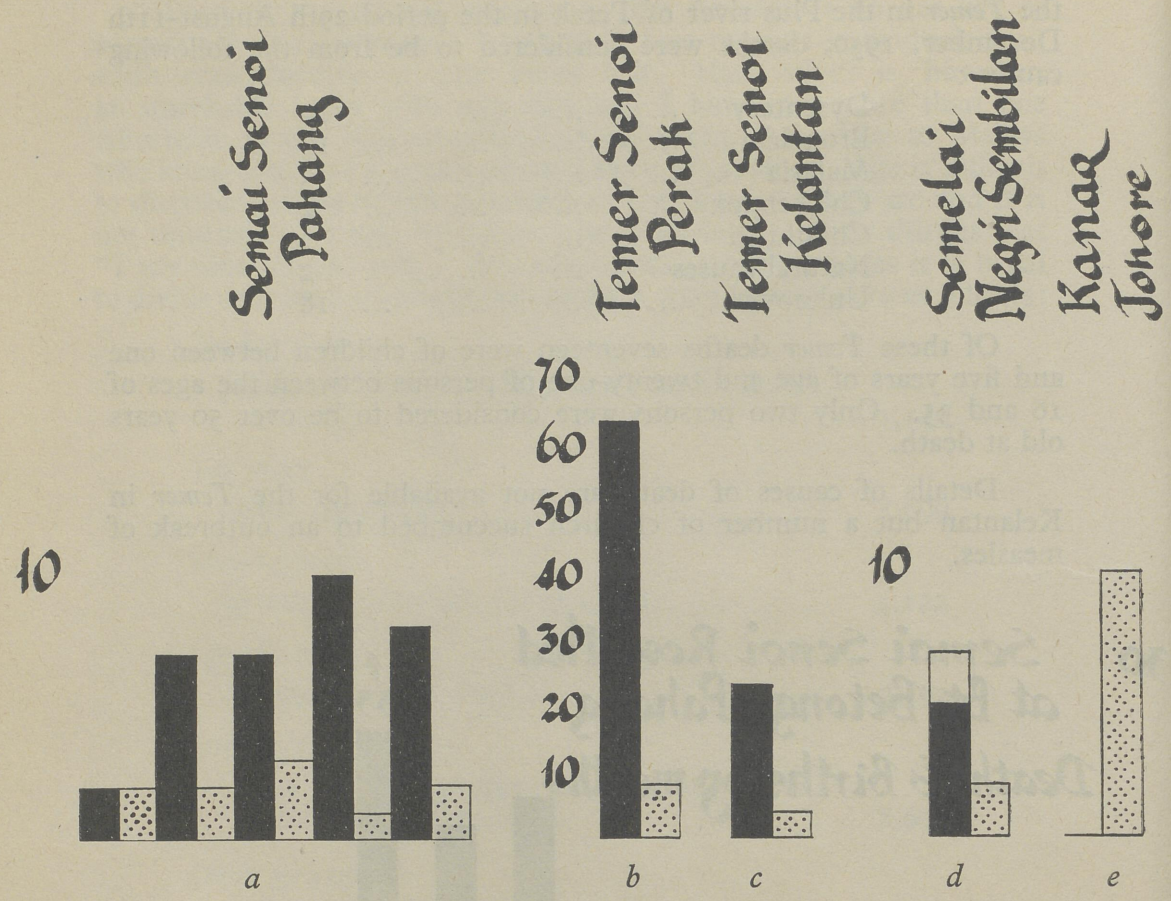
Dysentery	19
Bronchial	17
Malaria	3
Chickenpox	2
Childbirth	2
Natural causes	2
Unknown	18

Of these *Temer* deaths seventeen were of children between one and five years of age and twenty-one of persons between the ages of 16 and 35. Only two persons were considered to be over 50 years old at death.

Details of causes of death are not available for the *Temer* in Kelantan but a number of children succumbed to an outbreak of measles.



The effects of bringing hill *Semai Senoi* into the lowlands. Monthly births (dotted) and deaths (black) for Bukit Betong, Pahang, based on data supplied by the Pahang State Government. The gap represents one month in which no statistics were collected.



a. Bukit Betong after eighteen months of resettlement. Less deaths but still high in relation to births. Later figures show another upward swing in the death rate. Total number of Aborigines, 1,800-2,000.

b. Temer Senoi, Perak, resettled in their own river valley at a lower level. Four months' figures. Total number of Aborigines, about 1,200.

c. Temer Senoi, Kelantan, resettled under the most favourable conditions at a slightly lower level in their own jungle area. Five months' figures. Total number of Aborigines, about 1,200.

d. Semaq Semelai, Negri Sembilan, disturbed and resettled adjacent to their own area. Deaths include two men murdered by bandits. One year's figures. Total number of Aborigines, about 300.

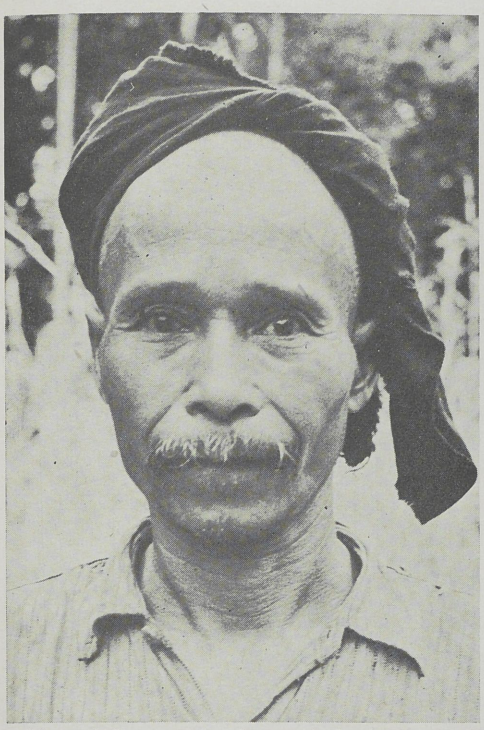
e. Oragn Kanaq, Johore. A small group that was reduced in numbers by half during the war. Six years' figures. Total number of Aborigines, 34 only.

A *Jehai* Negrito group in Upper Perak survived some six months without incident and then lost 26 individuals in less than one month—nearly 23 per cent. of its total strength from what appeared to be an outbreak of dysentery. Other Negrito and *Senoi* groups placed adjacent to Malay kampongs were even less fortunate and deaths from dysentery and malaria followed quickly upon resettlement.

A small group of Aborigines moved elsewhere in their own area at about the same altitude might be expected to thrive and this is borne out to a certain extent with the three hundred *Semelai* in the

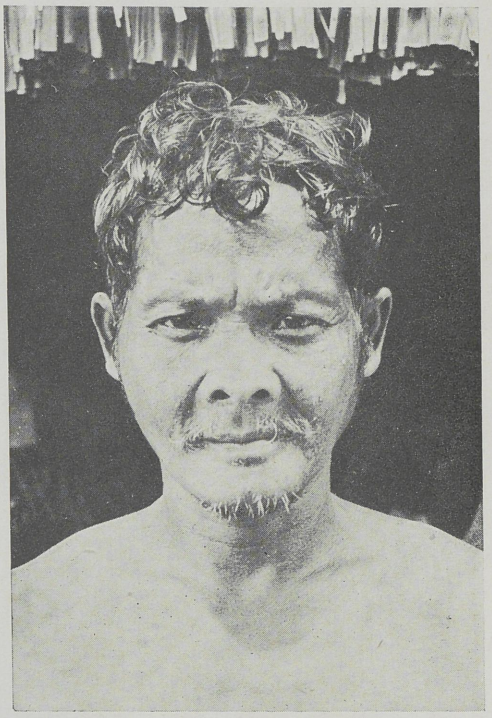
PLATE 9.

ABORIGINAL MALAYS.



Menteri Buyong, headman of the Semaq Seli, a group normally living in the high pass area between Bentong, Pahang and Kuala Lumpur.

May, 1950.

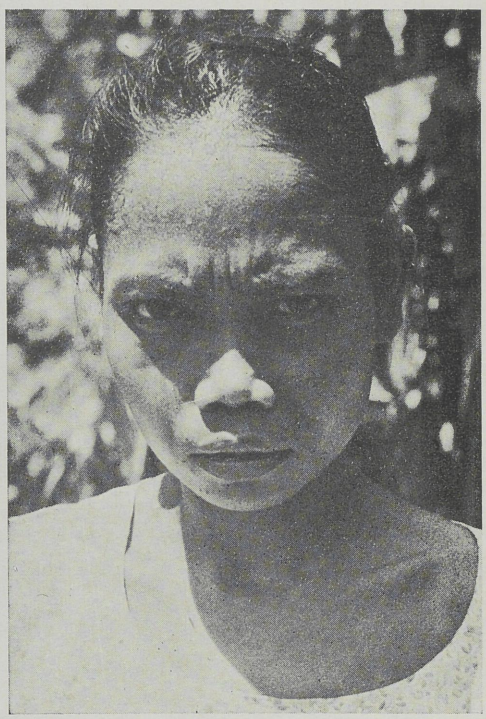


Abu, "Orang Dalam" near Kuala Kubu, Selangor.

January, 1950.

Patong, Oragn Kanaq, near Mawai, Kota Tinggi, Johore.

March, 1950.



Bos, Jakun, Maran, Pahang.

May, 1950.

SENOI DANCING PARTIES.

Semai Senoi from Ulu Jelai Kechil, Pahang. Bamboo stamper band for accompanying dances. Normally such a dance would take place in the communal long house at night but it would be almost impossible to obtain a comprehensive view at night. Bukit Betong, Pahang.

April, 1950.

Temer Senoi from Ulu Sungei Plus, Perak, in the Research Station of the Adviser on Aborigines. The party are dressed in characteristic woven mengkuang crossbelts and crowns whilst the women wear crossbelts of red and white beads and flowers in their hair.

June, 1951.

Klebang area of Negri Sembilan. In the course of one year there were five deaths—two from old age and three from fever—and two murders by bandits and in the same period two births.

A wholly undisturbed group the *Oragn Kanaq* in Johore had no deaths during the six years following the war but had ten births a remarkable achievement for a group only numbering thirty-four in total.

It is perhaps a little unfair to draw comparisons with such widely varying numbers but these are the only statistics available and I have given them in some detail for the benefit of the Security Forces who sometimes move Aborigines without appreciating the consequences.

Both Noone and I have the impression that malaria is largely responsible for the infant mortality rate. Those children who do survive have enlarged spleens and thereafter periodic fevers. Some areas are free of malaria and this is shown in the case of a group of Aboriginal Malays in Johore who gave no evidence of malaria when visited in 1948 whilst in 1951 when they had been moved into the Johore River twenty out of a total of thirty-two blood films taken by Polunin contained Subtertian Malarial Parasites. Generally speaking malaria appears to be a major cause of death with the Aborigines.

Filariasis as evidenced by Elephantiasis, almost always of the lower limbs, is not rare amongst Aborigines and has recently been found much further inland and at a greater altitude than previously known (2).

Goitre, thyroid enlargement, is also widely spread and the Cameron Highlands area and the hills to the south and south-east are particularly bad regions as are Ulu Langat in Selangor and Lenek in Johore (3).

Yaws, an unpleasant disease not unlike syphillis in its course, is widely spread and there is hardly an Aboriginal community which has not had at least one case within the past few years.

Venereal diseases fortunately are rare but how long this situation will continue it is difficult to say. Already a brothel containing Aboriginal girls has been discovered in one town, needless to say it was not an Aboriginal inspired enterprise, and cases are known of adopted Aboriginal girls becoming cabaret hostesses and then eventually returning to their own communities. Polunin has only noticed one case of gonorrhoea in an Aborigine who was the wife of an Indian himself suffering from the disease. I have the impression, however, that venereal diseases have already reached the border groups particularly some of the Aboriginal Malays and lowland *Semai Senoi*.

Various skin diseases are found with the Aborigines but the most common and that which most often excites attention is *Tinea imbricata* or *kurap* as it is called in Malay. This is a fungus growing in

(2) *Observations on the Distribution of Filariasis in the Interior of the Malay Peninsula*, Medical Journal of Malaya, Volume 5, No. 4, June, 1951.
(3) *Epidemic Goitre in Malaya*, Medical Journal of Malaya, Volume 5, No. 4, June, 1951.

characteristic ring patterns and badly infected person may give an appearance of skin flaking all over the body. The disease is more common in lowland people than in the hills although I have noticed it myself in the highest portions of the Cameron Highlands.

Scabies and tropical ulcers are also frequent.

Leprosy is uncommon but rare cases do occur.

Polunin found various forms of eye disease which I do not propose to mention here with the exception of epidemic conjunctivitis. This is often found in an acute form amongst Aborigines and is characterised by considerable pain and suppuration. The eye at first becomes red followed by a discharge of pus which may eventually gum up the eyelids. In the cases I have seen the condition may clear up in as little as ten days from the initial onset but not infrequently it persists for a considerable period of time. It is most common in dry dusty periods.

Decayed teeth are widespread but rather less common than might be expected with more civilised peoples. In some cases teeth subjected to the strain of coarse food such as maize fracture at the gum level and deep seated decay results. Impacted wisdom teeth are not uncommon in my experience and often decay in the mouth forming suppuration which breaks out through the cheek. Healed lines of scar tissue at the angle of the jaw are often seen in adults. Polunin discovered that caries are less frequent with Aborigines who chew betel nut than with those who do not.

An interesting feature which is often found is the failure of the permanent teeth to displace the milk teeth even as late as fifteen or sixteen years of age.

Chest diseases have been noted by Polunin and include severe pulmonary illness with body wasting in children, pneumonia and bronchitis. He expresses the opinion that although many Aborigines examined has marked chest noises the greater part of chronic pulmonary disease was non-tuberculous.

Vitamin deficiencies characterised by lesions at the corners of the mouth and abnormalities of the tongue are often found in resettlement camps where balance of diet is disturbed and not unnaturally although to my extreme annoyance I have found these conditions amongst the salaried members of my own Aboriginal staff whose bought diet largely consisted of polished rice and tinned fish. These conditions were removed rapidly by Marmite.

The Aborigines have a number of excellent herbal remedies of their own in addition to magical devices to remove sickness which are discussed in a later chapter. They vary in their reactions to Western medical methods. Many insist on medicines that can be rubbed on rather than injected or swallowed although there are some groups that prefer injections and ask for these to treat every type of illness.

VIII—Dress and Personal Ornament

Although from time to time there are rumours of whole Aboriginal communities that are completely devoid of clothing I have yet to encounter any such people myself. Nor do any of the earlier writers appear to have contacted any wholly naked groups. In all ethnic groups it is common for children up to the age of six or so to wear nothing but strings of beads as in the case of my favourite small *Semai* friend, Wa Sigulek, who appears in the illustrations and occasionally older children appear without clothes. Adults bathing in rivers naturally remove their clothes but take great care to cover the more intimate portions of their bodies and it is exceedingly difficult to get clothes removed for medical examinations. The least dressed girls I have seen come from the *Jah Hut* in the Temerloh region of Pahang but what they lack in dress they make up in magic for their rotan waist belts are usually engraved with many yards of symbols.

In the interests of health I myself encourage Aborigines to wear as little as possible in their own home areas but to preserve good clothes for visits to towns. Town clothes are usually of European style, shorts and shirts with or without the Malay *songkok*, for the men and the Malay *baju* and *sarong* for the women although some of the Tapah *Semai* girls are now starting a fashion in European short skirts and blouses or even frocks. Half-caste Chinese-Aboriginal women and also Aboriginal women married to Chinese not infrequently appear in Chinese clothes whilst Negrito women on the Thailand border may be seen in Siamese blouses and flowing skirts. In this section I am not going to describe non-Aboriginal forms of dress acquired from outside sources but am attempting to confine my remarks to what are probably purely Aboriginal decorations. Clothes and decorations for the dance have already been noted briefly in a previous section and purely magical objects as far as they can be divorced from this section appear later.

Nose Quills.—I have seen the cartilage of the nose pierced with the *Jehai* and *Lanoh* Negritos, with the *Ple Senoi*, the *Temer Senoi* and the northern part of the *Semai Senoi*, that is in geographical distribution, north west Pahang, Kelantan and the upper half of Perak. This distribution and the fact that I have yet to see Aboriginal Malays following this custom generally agrees with that of earlier writers. Skeat and Blagden suggest that the custom is of *Senoi* origin and that

it is rare amongst the Negritos and list it under the heading of "Maturity Custom and Beliefs" but since I have seen *Semai* boys of five and six years with pierced septums it seems unlikely that it is in fact an initiation ceremony. The initial piercing which is said to be quite painless, a statement that I rather doubt, is usually undertaken with a porcupine quill which is kept in the wound until it heals. The porcupine quill normally forms the decoration on festive occasions but I have seen a *Jehai* man carrying a bamboo jaws harp the stick of which was passed through the hole and *Temer* girls improvising with the stalks of tapioca leaves. The *Semai* of Ulu Jelai, Pahang, sometimes employ small sticks on which are threaded glass seed beads. Earlier writers also report the use of small bars of wood or bone often decorated with incised rings. Although still quite common nose quills appear to be falling into disfavour and fifty years ago the distribution was spread much further south. It may still exist amongst the *Semai* of the Upper Ulu Slim and Ulu Sungkai rivers who have not been contacted for some time. I have never received a satisfactory explanation for the practice other than it is regarded as "improving the appearance".

Ear Piercing.—This in the case of girls is almost universal and is performed with a needle or thorn shortly after birth. A coarse thread knotted at each end is kept in the wound, frequently until the girl has grown up. The *Oragn Kanaq*, near Kota Tinggi, Johore, appear to be the only group without pierced ears. Skeat mentions Kedah Negrito boys with one lobe pierced and I seem to recollect also having seen some *Semai* boys with single pierced lobes in the Ulu Jelai area. At the present time bought earrings are the most popular ear decoration and the *Semelai* in south Pahang are particularly fond of pendant silver fish whilst the *Temer* and *Semai* girls like drop earrings with coloured stones. Formerly the *Semai* had large bamboo plugs an inch or more in diameter in which were inserted flowers or sweet smelling herbs but these are now very uncommon although holes quarter of an inch across are still quite frequently found. Apart from bought earrings shredded *palas* leaves, flowers and sweet herbs are popular and the undecorated hole forms a convenient resting place for an unwanted cigarette. I once saw a *Temer* girl with a lighted cigarette in each ear, an extravagant if not somewhat dangerous proceeding.

Teeth Filing.—Filing the upper and sometimes the lower incisor teeth level is a custom found through the Malayan region and is not confined to the Aborigines. I myself have noticed it amongst the *Jah Hut* (*Senoi*) and some of the other Aboriginal Malays who normally do this just before marriage but Skeat reports it from the Kedah Negritos and I have seen it myself with the *Kentak Bong* near

Baling in that State. The filing is achieved with a stone or even with a metal rasp and is said to be exceedingly painful. In the cases I have seen usually the teeth were just filed level but in one or two instances they had been ground down almost to the gum and serious decay had resulted. The bulk of the *Senoi* appear sufficiently sensible to avoid this custom.

TATTOOING.—In the past it has been suggested that proper tattooing as such is uncertain amongst the Aborigines and this statement has been repeated over and over again by various writers who have not attempted to evaluate the evidence. I can state quite definitely that many Aboriginal groups do tattoo their faces and more rarely their bodies, some groups tattoo their upper limbs and some groups burn scars with jungle gums. As far as I can tell at the present time there are two main groups of face tattooing :

Group 1.—Probably originating with the *Ple* and *Temer Senoi* and spread to the *Jehai* and *Lanoh* and *Semai Senoi* with much the same distribution as the nose quills.

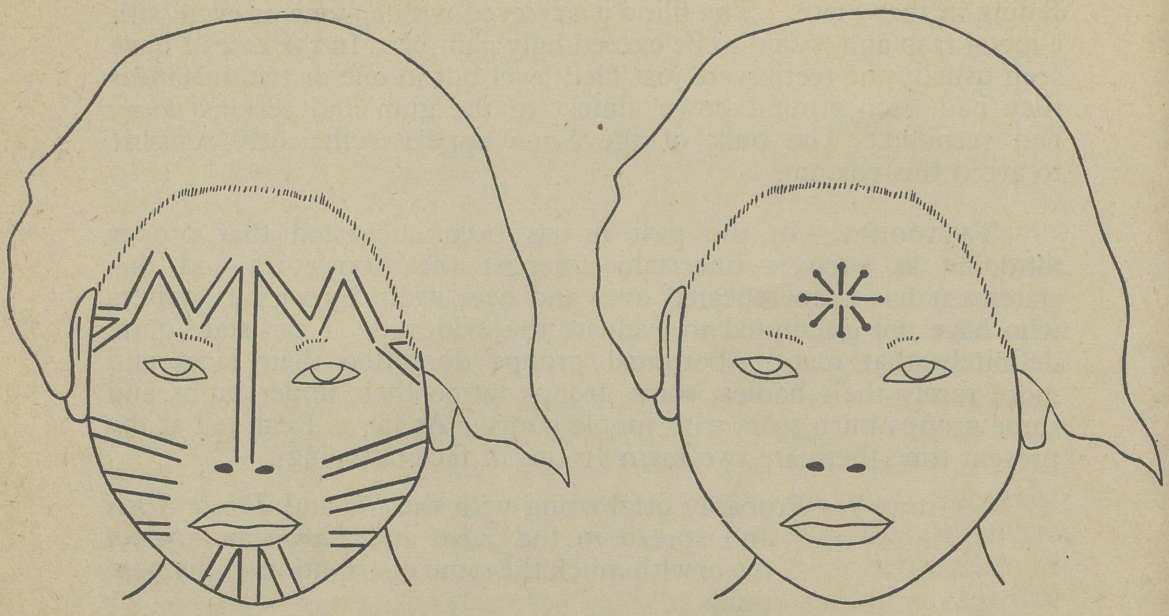
Group 2.—The *Jah Hut Senoi* and a few of the adjacent *Semaq Semang* (Aboriginal Malays) in the Temerloh District of Pahang.

In addition face tattooing has been reported by Evans from the Negritos of Ulu Cheka, Pahang, and I have seen a single instance in Ulu Langat, Selangor, where there are Aboriginal Malays.

Tattooing of the hand or arm is found with Aboriginal Malays in south Selangor, Negri Sembilan and north west Johore and I have recorded cases in each place during the last two years.

Body tattoos are rather rare. The *Pawang* of the *Jah Hut* group mentioned above had a chest tattoo that appeared to read No. 100 although he assured me that it was in fact No. 1. This was an isolated instance and possibly more in the nature of a joke than a group custom. But some of the older *Semai* women from Ulu Jelai still have patterns of squares or diamonds tattooed across the chest above the breasts.

The two figures that appear over the page show, on the left, face tattooing on a *Ple* woman seen at Kuala Legap on the Plus River of Perak in 1949. That on the right is a fairly typical *Jah Hut* pattern. The *Ple* pattern is one of the few instances in which I have seen the whole face tattooed and probably represents the complete pattern of former days. Nowadays tattoos are disappearing and it is more usual to find only part of a pattern often on one side of the face only. In many cases there is only a single line down the nose. Women are more frequently seen with tattoos than men.



The tattooing is achieved by the *Semai* of Pahang with soot off a cooking pot and the thorns of the Bertam palm. The soot is mixed with water, the pattern drawn on the face and pricked in with three or four of the thorns held between finger and thumb.

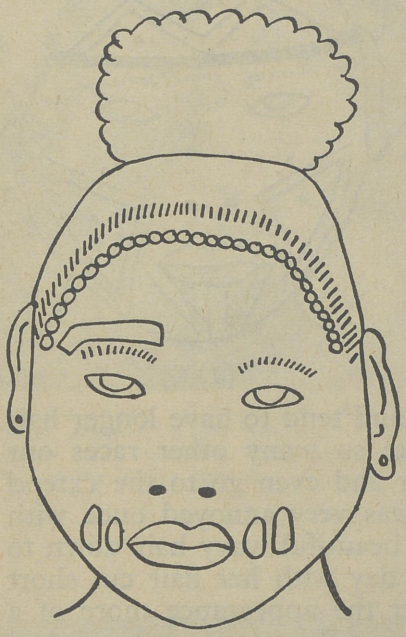
Most Aborigines deny that there is any magical reason for face tattooing although one Perak *Ple* man informed me that tattoos were effacious in preventing eyeache, toothache and earache. It is unlikely that it could have been a tribal distinguishing mark as with wild peoples in other countries as the distribution bears no relation to ethnic groups and sub-groups. However it does appear that it is some form of initiation mark as the youngest persons I have seen with tattoos, all *Temer* in Perak, were all nubile. More research work on this subject is indicated.

Also found in the areas where tattooing is practised is the production of light brown scars by the use of a burning jungle gum. This sometimes takes the form of a row of dots on the lower cheeks along the line of the teeth although young girls with a circle of dots around their breasts are not uncommon. Perhaps they are intended to promote growth as all the subjects seen were very young.

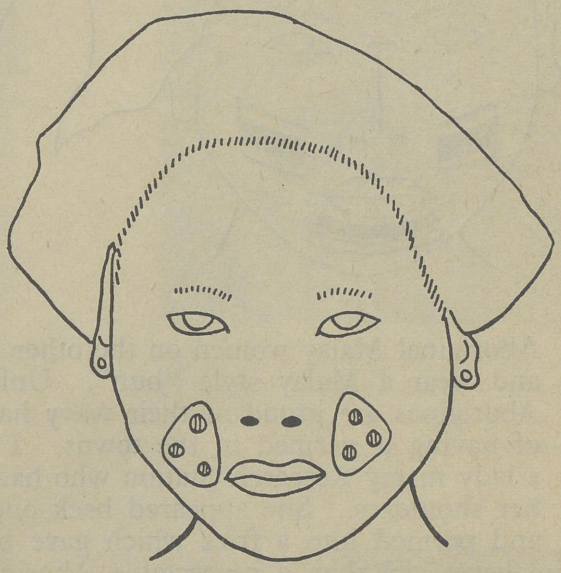
Keloid tissue, large shiny scars from cuts, occurs on Aborigines but is not as far as we know employed for making tribal decorations on the body as is frequently found in Africa and Australia.

Painting the face in gay colours, red, yellow, black and white, for festive occasions is popular with all *Senoi* and Negrito groups. The paints are prepared from natural sources, red from the seeds of the *Kĕsumba* shrub (lipstick from the towns is sometimes used), yellow from the root of the *Kunyit* plant, white from lime or pipeclay

and black from the latex of a jungle tree, and are applied with the finger, with a stick or a porcupine quill or with specially prepared wooden stamps. In the more remote groups both men and women paint their faces but the women have the more elaborate patterns. There are many hundreds of different patterns and it is only possible to illustrate four examples here. These are, *Lanoh* Negrito (1), *Temer Senoi* from Ulu Plus, Perak (2), and two *Semai Senoi* from Ulu Jelai, Pahang (3 & 4).

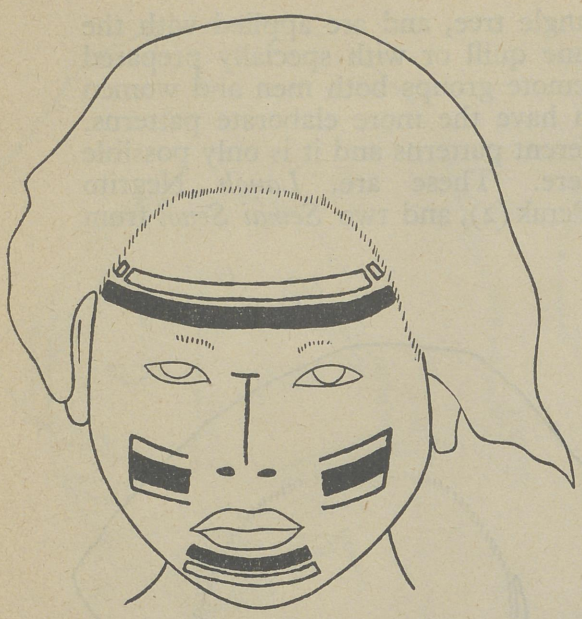


(1)

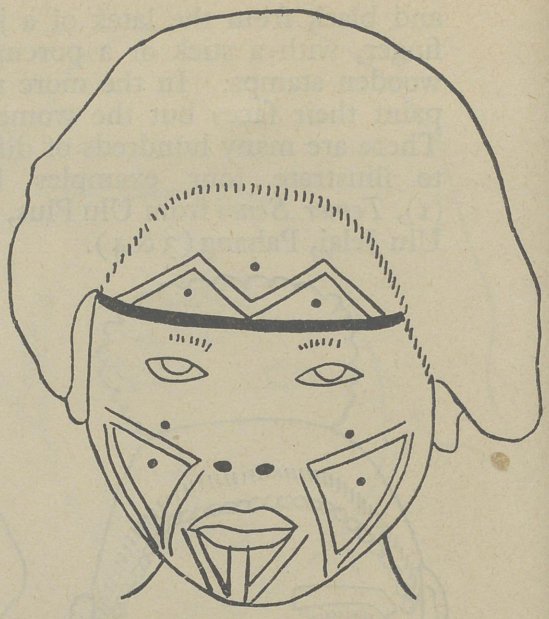


(2)

There appears to be no hair style that is entirely peculiar to the Aborigines and earlier writers record that even fifty years ago there was a tendency to imitate styles adopted by other races. The Negrito girls with their shaven crown and top knot appear to be a relic of the earlier Malay and Siamese forms of hair dressing whilst it is not uncommon to see children with shaven crowns and a "bang" in front like Chinese infants. Also not unusual is to find a small boy with long tresses down his neck said to be a precaution against ghosts who appear to consider girls not worth their attention. Presumably ghosts only approach from the rear. The Aboriginal men of fifty years ago with long matted locks tumbling down onto their shoulders are seldom seen now except in the deep jungle regions—I have seen a few old men in Ulu Sungkai—and most men either keep their heads shaven or hair close clipped. Shaving the head is an uncomfortable process. In the absence of a razor a fragment of beer bottle glass employed without the refinement of soap and water is the usual medium for achieving a bald pate. The girls vary in their hair styles. The Negrito and *Senoi* tend to keep their hair fairly short and often ornament it with a profusion of sweet smelling flowers and leaves.



(3)



(4)

Aboriginal Malay women on the other hand tend to have longer hair and wear a Malay style "bun". Unlike so many other races our Aborigines are proud of their wavy hair and even go to the extend of having it permed in the towns. I was very annoyed once with a lady in my Research Station who had beautiful wavy hair down to her shoulders. She appeared back one day with her hair cut short and permed into a frizz which gave her the appearance more of a cabaret girl than a respectable Aborigine. What was worse I had unwittingly lent her ten dollars for this purpose.

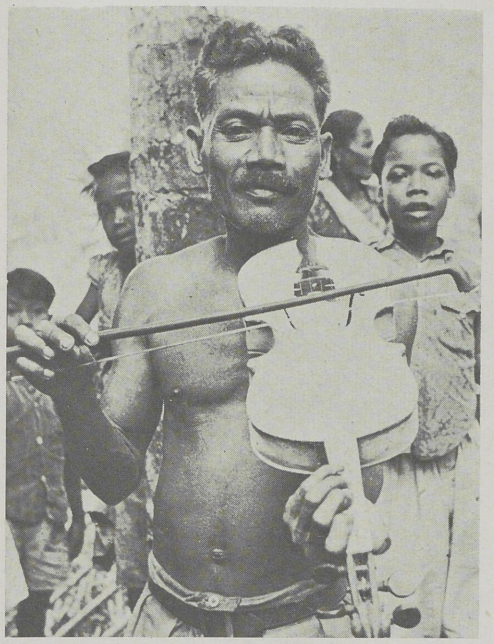
The Negrito and *Temer* and *Semai Senoi* women specialise in bamboo or wooden hair combs ranging from a single spike which forms a convenient device for hunting lice or tucking in the loose ends in basket making to elaborate combs with as many as twenty-two teeth. Many of these combs are beautifully ornamented and are thus both decorative as well as practical. Unfortunately the advent of these plastic horrors with which the country is flooded is rapidly bringing about the disappearance of the local articles.

For dances and other ceremonies the Negrito, *Senoi* and some of the Aboriginal Malay groups prepare beautiful crowns of *mengkuang* interwoven with flowers and grasses whilst the *Semai* are skilled at producing head bands and crowns of decorated barkcloth or woven *mengkuang*.

Clothing on the body varies from group to group but at the present time depends on a basis of bought cloth although in former days barkcloth prepared from the pounded inner bark of certain trees was the standard source. Barkcloth is still used in the interior and was

PLATE 11.

SOME MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS.



Panglima Ujeng, Belanas, Ulu Beranang, Seremban District, Negri Sembilan, with an Aboriginal made "violah". This instrument is on show in the Raffles Museum.

February, 1950.

The Semelai berbaling—a musical windmill set up in the trees around the ladangs. Ulu Sungei Serting, Kuala Pilah District, Negri Sembilan.

October, 1950.

Din, Jakun, Maran, Pahang, entertains her friends with a tune on the bamboo sirdam—a zither in which the strings are produced by raising the skin of a green bamboo.

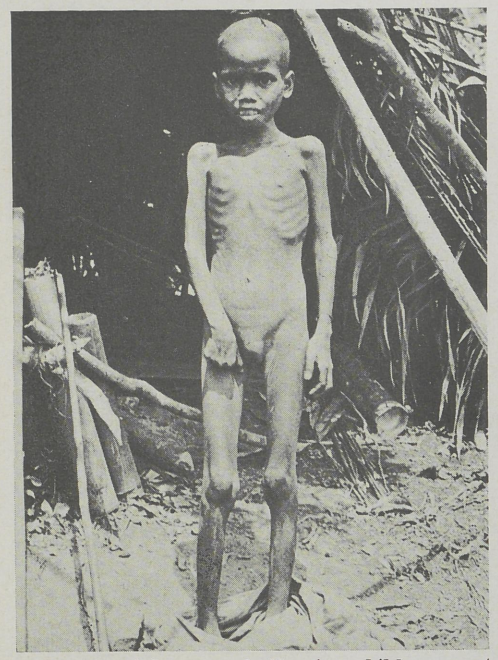
June, 1950.

The Pensôe, a Semai nose flute. Bt. Betong, Pahang.

December, 1949.

PLATE 12.

SICKNESS.



This horribly wasted Negrito child, one of many in her group, should act as sufficient detterent to those who gaily evacuate jungle Aborigines without regard for the consequences. This particular jungle group was placed close to a Malay kampong and initially well looked after. Later circumstances arose which prevented detailed welfare measures being undertaken and the group rapidly succumbed to sickness. In the jungle it could have looked after itself.

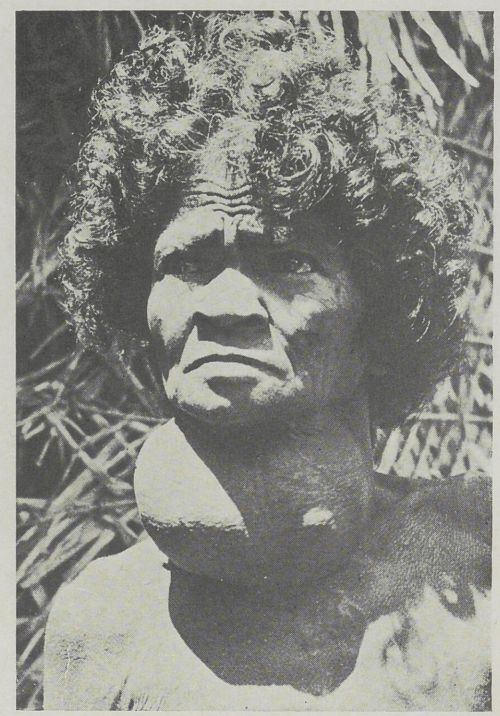
September, 1951.

Elephantiasis of the legs in male and female Semai Senoi from North-west Pahang. This complaint is found in many jungle areas but is mostly confined to the lower limb and does not usually increase beyond the proportions shown here.

July, 1950.

Advanced yaws. "Semaq Beri", Maran, Pahang.

June, 1950.



A large goitre in a Semai woman. This is a widespread complaint but cases of this degree are rare. Bukit Betong.

April, 1950.

widely spread during the war when cloth was unobtainable. For men the simple garment is the *chawat* a loin cloth twisted around the waist and carried between the legs in a variety of ways. The ends hang down in front and behind and an Aborigine running may appear to have a tail no doubt the origin of early stories of tailed peoples in this part of the world. Barkcloth cloaks are also found with the wilder peoples but most Aborigines now depend on the Malay cloth *sarong* or bought shirts and shorts for their body covering. Waist belts and armlets of plaited rotan are often seen and the smart Aboriginal man of the present day is not complete without a wrist watch with which, strangely enough, he can often tell the correct or nearly correct time. Not so with the girls. One friend of mine always thinks it is half past four or eight.

Women have more variety in their dress than men and I will attempt to describe some of the more unusual types found. The Negrito women especially the *Lanoh* formerly had distinctive skirts formed of a type of stringy fungus and augmented with leaves and flowers. These dresses are still found but are rarely worn in the opened up areas. Evans has some good illustrations to show this type of dress when it was in every day use. The *Kentak Bong* women near Baling wear a half sarong open in front and a whole series of overlaid pieces of cloth—twelve or more—hung over a waist string to close the gap. The *Semai* girls in the interior often have *sarongs* of barkcloth gaily decorated in stripes and dots and beneath a breech clout of cloth with the ends tucked in and secured around the waist with a string. Small girls of less than a year old wear this string as their first item of dress long before they don anything else. In Ulu Jelai the string is replaced by a thick woven belt of *buk*, a wiry horsehair like substance obtained from a species of palm.

The *Jah Hut* and *Che Wong* girls have a spectacular form of dress in their own kampongs. This consists of a cloth breech clout and yards of polished rotan with intricate scratched decorations. It is rare to see Aboriginal Malay women in anything but Malay clothes but when there is dirty work to do the *Semaq Semelai* women will don a chawat not unlike that of the men.

Ornaments as opposed to dress are of two kinds, those that are purely decorative and those that have a magical significance which are dealt with in a later chapter. Most popular are strings of bought glass seed beads although beads are also made from local products, seeds, the stalks of tapioca leaves and animal teeth. The reader can best get an idea from the illustrations rather than from wearying written descriptions.

IX—*Ways of Life*

The Aborigines are not uniform in their way of life but follow an infinite variety of patterns ranging from the wild wandering hunters who are seldom contacted to the firmly fixed communities whose daily life with fruit and rubber plantations, padi sawahs, and livestock is certainly as good as if not superior to that of some of the kampong Malays. It is not possible in this short study to give full details of any but the more interesting ways of life but they can be summarised conveniently.

Way of Life.	Negritos.	Senoi.	Aboriginal Malays.	Approx. % of total Aboriginal population.
1. Wandering hunting communities with no ladangs.	*Hatog* Some *Jehai*. Some *Lanoh*.	None known ...	? *Semaq Palong* (1) ...	Less than 2%
2. Wandering hunters planting patches but not living in them.	Some *Jehai* ? Negritos near Jerantut.	None known ...	None known	Less than 2%
3. Hunting groups with some cultivation and houses but frequent moves. Added income from sale of jungle produce.	*Jehai* Some *Mendraq* Some *Lanoh*.	Some *Ple*	*Temoq* (2) *Oragn Kanaq* (3).	About 3%
4. Groups practising shifting agriculture and moving some distance each year.	None known but *Jehai* and *Lanoh* trending this way.	*Ple* Some *Temer* Some *Semai* *Che Wong* *Jah Hut*	Some *Jakun* *Orang Hulu*	About 15%
5. Groups practising shifting agriculture but felling ladangs adjacent to one another for a number of years.	None known ...	Most of the *Temer*. Some *Semai*.	*Semelai* Some *Jakun* *Semaq Semang*.	About 35%
6. Groups with rubber and fruit plantations but yearly ladangs in addition.	None known ...	Some *Semai* ...	Some *Semelai* *Belanas*. *Jakun*. Several other groups.	About 20%
7. Groups in a fixed kampong following a Malay way of life. Fruit, rubber, wet padi sawahs and larger domestic animals.	None	A number of *Semai* communities.	Aboriginal Malays in parts of: Selangor, Negri Sembilan, Malacca, Pahang and Johore (4)	About 15%
8. Groups with a yearly ladang but splitting their man-power between the ladang and nearby estate labour.	None	*Semai* in Cameron Highlands and Perak.	Probable but none yet reported.	About 1%
9. Wandering sea people living largely in boats.	None	None	*Orang Seletar*, some *Desin Dolaq*.	.25%
10. Former *Orang Laut* settled in coastal fishing villages (5).	None	None	*Desin Dolaq* *Orang Selat* (6) *Orang Kallang*.	2-3%
11. Groups living in semi slavery adjacent to Malay kampongs.	Some *Jehai* Some *Lanoh* *Semaq Jeram*.	Some *Ple*	Some *Semelai* Some *Jakun*.	3-4%

Notes.—The percentages shown are only a rough guess as no attempt has ever been made to enumerate Aborigines by way of life. The relative ratios are believed to be more or less correct.

(1) This group, south of Tasek Bera in Pahang, has never been seen by a reliable observer and is inserted on the evidence of adjacent Aborigines and the Security Forces.

(2) The *Temoq*, Ulu Sg. Rompin, Pahang, show evidence of a strong Negrito strain.

(3) An imported group from the Riouw islands. Total 34 only. Normal location Kota Tinggi. At present in the Research Station of the Adviser on Aborigines near Kuala Lumpur.

(4) Few of these people have distinctive group names.

(5) It appears that the island populations off the east coast although regarded as Malays still have headmen termed Batins and are therefore almost certainly settled *Orang Laut*.

(6) The *Selat* and *Kallang* are Muslim Aborigines on Singapore Island and on some of the British and Indonesian islands to the south of the Colony.

The wandering hunters live in small communities of six or seven families usually not more than thirty persons of all ages in total. The community confines itself to a definite tract of jungle forming its tribal territory outside which it does not go and within this area there is individual ownership of wild fruit trees and Ipoh poison trees although I have seen an Ipoh tree that had no owner and could be tapped by anyone. Schebesta who lived with a *Jehai* group who were just starting some agriculture in the Besia area near Grik, Perak, in 1924 records :

> "When I asked him to who the forest really belonged, Ramogn answered proudly : 'It belongs to me from Bersiak almost as far as Kuala Temengor. Here we have our Ipoh and Durian trees'. And so I learned that property is not communal. Each grown male has one or more Ipoh trees and several scattered Durian trees. Thus Ramogn had three poison trees in this district. His Durian trees stood on the other side of the Perak (river) not far from Bersiak." (1).

However fruit is only considered to belong to the owner of the tree whilst it is actually on the tree. Fruit on the ground can be claimed by anyone passing and both Schebesta and I have seen Negritos climbing the fences of the Malay compounds to recover fruit lying on the ground and therefore common property.

With the hunting community rough rain shelters consisting of two or three sticks stuck into the ground at an angle and covered with any fairly waterproof material such as wild banana leaves, betam palm leaves or the wild ginger are quickly put up and a bamboo sleeping platform, a couple of bamboos to hold water and two or three more to cook in complete the simple household requirements. A smoky fire by the sleeping platform serves both as warmth and a deterrent to mosquitos (and also from my own experience acts as attraction to snakes—not considered edible by a people who will eat almost anything else—and as a hazard to roll into.) Each shelter houses one family and they are frequently built in an oval facing inwards often so close that the roofs touch. Once the shelters have been put up the community will stay in one place for a week to ten days. Sometimes a rock shelter in a limestone outcrop is inhabited instead.

Every day the men will go out with their bows and arrows or with the blowpipes that they have obtained from the hill *Senoi*, snares will be laid or perhaps a communally organised fishing expedition with baskets, spears or the poisonous tuba root arranged. Whilst the men are hunting the women and children will search for jungle fruits and grub up wild yams with their digging sticks. After a while the possibilities of the neighbourhood will be exhausted and the whole community will move a few miles to a new base. The routine will only be interrupted during the fruit season when residence will be taken up under the fruit trees and the diet varied with durians,

(1) Schebesta, Father P., *Among the Forest Dwarfs of the Malay Peninsula*, Hutchinson, London, no date, p. 83.

rambutans, petai, perah nuts and other wild jungle fruits. Some of these fruits have two seasons during the year and some only one and there are also seasonal appearances of various edible fungi.

We do not know exactly how many of these wild hunters still exist. They are difficult to contact on the ground both on account of their shyness and the impossibility of anticipating where they can be found. They, of course, cannot be seen from the air and to a certain extent our information comes from the less wild adjacent Aboriginal groups who unfortunately are rather prone to "travellers tales"—I am still looking forward to meeting the blue tongued, blackteethed, tailed Aborigines said to be in Central Pahang. The *Jehai* and the *Hatog* are in the upper reaches of the Perak river and in the north west corner of Kelantan and there are other wandering Negritos in the North of Pahang. The *Semaq Palong* who must be Aboriginal Malays are on the Pahang-Negri Sembilan-Johore boundary near Tasek Bĕra and there are certainly others not yet known, as for example, in the interior of Trengganu. Furthermore bandit activities are known to have disturbed other groups who were relatively settled down and I have met a wandering group of *Lanoh-Ple* in the Piah River area of Upper Perak who had had a series of ladangs until they removed from bandit pressure. The total number of wanderers is unlikely to be more than two thousand all told of whom probably three quarters are Negritos and the rest Aboriginal Malays.

The initial step to a settled life is the casual planting up of a small clearing either natural or artificial with tapioca and bananas and then returning months later in the hope that something has grown up. Schebesta records a sad tale of some *Jehai* who returned to find their plantation flattened beyond recovery by a herd of elephants.

The next stage is to plant up a ladang and stay in it. Initially there will be frequent hunting expeditions but as the community settles down so will its demands for purchased goods increase and the collection of jungle produce for sale or exchange for cloth, jungle knives, salt, personal ornaments, cooking pots and the like comes into being. Thus contact with settled peoples comes resulting often in unhappy consequences. Malay and Chinese traders are only too ready to make a quick profit from the unwitting Aborigine and sooner or later a system of "advances" is made care being taken to see that the Aborigine is always in debt. In this respect the Malay is far less considerate than the Chinese and in Perak and Kelantan many Negrito and *Ple* communities have lost their independence and live in a state of semi-slavery adjacent to the Malay kampongs undertaking all sorts of tasks—pounding, planting and reaping padi, providing firewood and roofing, having their jungle produce stolen and so on for a mere pittance—two or three bananas or half a cigarette tin full of rice for a day's work. The worst offenders are the Pattani Malays and one of the centres of this form of oppression is Kampong Temenggor in Upper Perak although elsewhere in Perak relations

between the Aborigines and the Malays are on a much higher plane. Some of the Pahang Aborigines also suffer rather seriously at the hands of Malay and Chinese traders and headmen.

But by far the greater number of the Aborigines follow some form of shifting agriculture. With the *Semai Senoi* who are fairly typical of the whole of this class a community will consist of from fifty to one hundred or more individuals under a hereditary headman. This community will normally confine its activities to a single river valley and will fell a new ladang each year. With the higher hill Aborigines the tendency—a fortunate one as it probably prevents serious soil erosion—is to fell successive ladangs some miles apart. Those in the lower reaches incline to place ladangs adjacent to one another for several seasons before moving to a new location. With both types a typical yearly cycle might be as follows :

Approximate Period.	*Agricultural Work.*	*Other Work.*	*Main Sources of Food.*	*Subsidary Source of Food.*
i. April-May	New ladang site selected and initial area—two to three acres—felled.	Some collection of jungle produce—bamboos, rotans and jungle gums.	Tapioca from last year's ladang.	Purchased food from sale of jungle produce. Animals trapped and snared, fish, jungle roots.
ii. May-June	Initial site burnt off and planted. (Usually maize, some tapioca and bananas). Felling of main ladang commenced.	Temporary shelters erected followed by new houses.	Do.	Do.
iii. July-August	Main ladang burnt off and planted. General order: (i) Hill padi. (ii) Tapioca. (iii) Maize, keladi and sweet potatoes.	Fruit season. Petai and Perah nut most important.	Do. plus jungle fruits.	Do. plus sale of jungle fruits particularly Petai and acorns.
iv. September-October ...	Some weeding ...	Repair of fish traps. Fishing.	Do. plus first maize crop.	End of fruit season. Rather less collection of jungle produce.
v. November-December ...	Harvest of main padi crop.	Durian season ...	Padi	Do.
vi. January-March	— ...	Fishing and collection of jungle produce.	Padi and new tapioca, keladi, sweet potatoes, etc.	Sale of jungle produce.

This should not be regarded as a hard and fast table as regards the dates. In the higher part of the Cameron Highlands, for example, ladangs may be prepared as late as December if the normal period is wet.

The exact technique of selecting a ladang site varies from one group to another but all follow the same general rules. What appears to be a suitable site is first chosen from the appearance of the ground and a small area felled by communal effort. Dreams on the night of the felling are then interpreted and if favourable an area of two or three acres is cut down. The larger trees are felled with the little springy Aboriginal axe platforms often being erected to get a cut above the wide buttress roots of some. Smaller trees and saplings are cut with a jungle knife. The men and elder boys handle the axes whilst the women deal with the lighter cutting. Most Aborigines like to fell on a steep hillside, even when so doing makes it difficult

to get water, so there is a good updraught when burning takes place. On a steep slope the approved technique is to half cut most trees and then finally fell a giant at the highest point. This in falling drags down all the others which crash together in a most impressive thunderous roar. It is a wonderful sight to watch but preferably from a safe distance not only on account of the unexpected creeper which is liable to be whipped up from under one's feet but also from the rain of bees, ants and wasps which arrive with the tree tops.

The felled timber is left to dry for a period of from three to six weeks depending on its size and when thoroughly dry fired with palm leaf torches. A few days more and temporary shelters are put up and the area planted up with an initial crop usually maize with some bananas, tapioca, chillies, sugar cane and often a little flower garden.

With the less advanced groups planting is communal and crops are communally owned but with many groups each family has its own part of the garden and plants up its own crops although there is no question of sharing the produce if anyone runs short later in the year. A family will work together the men going in front and proding holes with a digging stick at short intervals followed by the women who, with a skilful toss of a hand, will throw in a few grains of rice or maize. No attempt is made to close up the holes. Tapioca, bananas and keladi are planted by cuttings the work being equally shared by men and women. Bananas and chillies will often have protective frameworks of bamboo or an old backbasket placed over them in the initial stages of their growth.

This initial planting completed everyone turns to house building. Even where the Aborigines live in single family houses the work is shared. The men go off to cut the heavy poles and bamboos whilst the women and children clear the house sites. Then house angles are laid out in a framework of poles, the uprights inserted and the floor foundations laid. While one group of men do this work another splits the bamboo for the floors and walls or peels off bark from nearby trees. Meanwhile the younger women are collecting jungle palms for the roof and plaiting them into relatively waterproof lengths. Once the roof framework is completed the men tie on the plaited palms, the floors and then the walls are completed and last come the ladder and the hearth of beaten earth held within a wooden frame. Then everything in the shelters is moved in and the occasion celebrated by a "housewarming" in the form of an all night dance.

During the next two months follows the fruit season when durians, petai, perah nuts and other wild fruits come into bearing. Daily parties go off into the jungle to collect the fruit, much is consumed on the spot families camping in rough shelters under the trees (incidentally these rough shelters are often reported as bandit camps by the Security Forces at the present time) and the balance brought back into the towns for sale or exchange for clothing, knives and articles of personal ornament. Meanwhile others are commencing

the felling of the main ladang again undertaken communally and by the middle of July or early August the ladang is ready for burning. This time care must be taken to see that the new houses are not burnt down or the young crops scorched. With a steep ladang that contains houses the fires are started at the highest points and allowed to creep downwards. If there are no houses or new cultivation however the fire is started at the bottom. In a few moments the whole felling is a roaring mass of flame, billowing clouds of black and white smoke soar into the air and from time to time there is an outbreak of explosions like a miniature battle as a patch of bamboo catches alight. Such ladangs burn very quickly and an area of twenty acres or more will be consumed in under half an hour. A day later the smouldering ashes will have cooled except perhaps for a resinous tree that may burn for several days. Sometimes such trees have not been felled and appear at night as dramatic flaming torches sending up cascades of sparks. Very soon afterwards—sometimes the next day if there has been an overnight shower—planting is commenced and a week or ten days sees the end of the work.

Thereafter very little cultivation is undertaken. The larger weeds are pulled out and the lower leaves of the tapioca plants pulled off to promote growth but that is usually all. I never encourage further work on these steep slopes to prevent soil erosion and usually an abandoned ladang goes back to secondary jungle.

The *Semai* of Batang Padang put out no bird scaring devices and often lose much of their ripening padi. In one ladang where I sometimes live three acres of hill padi planted in July were harvested in December and produced less than a sack of unhusked rice.

The heads of the rice are snapped off by hand, cut with a knife or removed with a version of the special Malay padi knife. They are then spread out on a mat to dry and later thrashed out by the women treading with their feet. The grains are given another day or two days drying and are then stored away until required for food when they are husked in a pounder. Husked rice does not keep for any length of time under Aboriginal conditions of storage.

It may be of interest to give something of the daily life in a community of this sort. Before first light in the communal house people begin to stir. The fires are kicked into a glow, some of the more energetic young men seize their blowpipes and hurry off into the jungle, others remove the cats and dogs from their vantage points and huddle close up by the fires for early mornings in the hills can be very chilly and a few souls grunt and groan, turn over and wrap themselves up more snugly in their sleeping clothes. But by half past six everyone is up. Sleeping mats and sheets are shaken out, rolled up and put away. Protesting babies are washed and fed, dogs shoed out of the house and a few hopefuls delve into the pots for a handful of rice left over from the previous night. Usually the cockroaches have got there first. Once the house is clean everyone

goes about their daily tasks. Fowls are fed, the women go down to the waterhole to fill up their bamboos and wash clothes and themselves and the men who have not gone out hunting repair blowpipes or make traps or collect firewood. By half past nine or ten everyone is back in the house and the first meal of the day eaten. This will consist of roots from the garden or maize or rice from the store, anything that has been snared overnight or killed with the blowpipe—a little portion of meat is handed out to everyone irrespective of who obtained it—and sometimes the odd item of food—ikan bilis, tinned fish or bread brought from the nearest kampong. The meal finished the community splits up again. The women pound padi or work on bags, mats or baskets; the men go off with their elder sons to collect rotans from the jungle or to fish and the children play. Sometimes a whole family will set off to the Malay kampong taking jungle fruits or split rotans for sale.

The smaller children stay with their mothers. Aboriginal children are suckled up to the age of four years or more although weaning with rice gruel starts at the age of six or seven months. Those of five to nine years play. There are all sorts of games, string figures, tops, playing at families with girls and boys joining together to build houses and cook their food, wrestling matches and making of toy carts, miniature blowpipes and traps. Older children help their parents. Girls learn mat making and watch babies. Boys go with their fathers. Much of the ladang felling is undertaken by boys of ten or twelve who handle an axe as well as their elders.

By five everyone is back in the house for the evening meal. This is a bigger affair than that of the morning and will include river fish—animals found in the traps and perhaps a pig or part of a bear that someone has been lucky enough to spear.

The meal finished the sleeping mats will be brought out. Some people exhausted by their day's labour doze off straightaway. Others will recount the day's adventures. Energetic women will go on with their bag or basket making by the dim light of an oil lamp and it will be eleven or midnight before everyone is asleep.

In a communal long house there is little privacy although many couples have cheap mosquito nets. In response to a question that is often put to me I can only reply in the words of old Rajah Tom, a senior *Semai* headman, "If we feel the house shaking we just do not pay any attention". Aborigines are very frank in such matters and it is a point of politeness should one have to answer a call of nature in the night to announce loudly to everyone why you are leaving the house.

Most Aborigines are fond of pets and it is seldom that a house has not got its cats and dogs as well as squirrels, monkeys, pet pigs, otters, musangs, bamboo rats and a host of other creatures. The most bizarre pet I have seen was a medium sized flying fox. I did not

Three of the Jah Hut, a Senoi group with some Aboriginal Malay admixture from the Temerloh District of Pahang. The women are both wearing their hair in a bun and the adult woman has a necklace of small coloured glass beads. Both have a cloth breech clout held up by a coarse fibre string wound tightly several times around the loins and above this is a rotan belt engraved with magic symbols. The rings on the younger girls wrist are coloured rubber bands.

January, 1950.

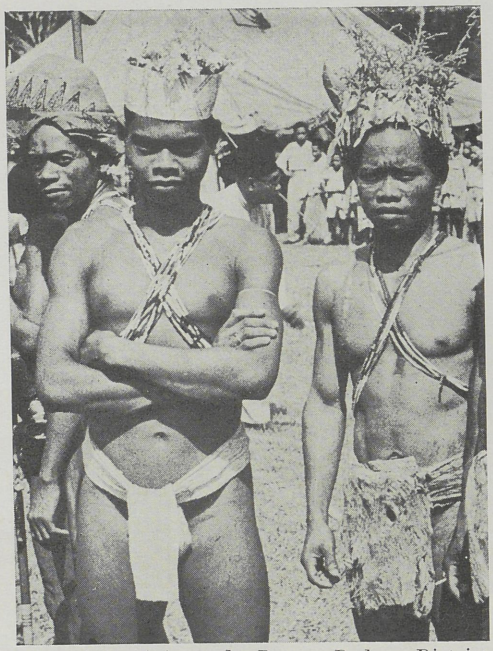
DRESS AND PERSONAL ORNAMENT.

Semai Senoi, Ulu Jelai, Pahang. The wife of Rajah Tom principal Semai headman in Pahang. The face paint consists of brilliant red spots surrounded by white and both Tamil silver ear plugs and Malay drop earrings are being worn.

November, 1949.

Semai Senoi, North-west Pahang. A pandanus plaited and cut crown interwoven with flowers and sweet smelling leaves and herbs.

April, 1950.



Semai Senoi from the Batang Padang District of Perak. The crowns are of white barkcloth gaily painted and decorated with flowers and herbs. Both men have barkcloth chawats and crossbelts of small brightly coloured glass beads. The man in the background is wearing the bright red headdress given by the State Government to officially recognised headmen.

February, 1951.

Batang Padang Semai women with herbs and flowers in hair and around the waist, crossbelts and sarong over the shoulders. Note the rear view of the male chawat.

February, 1951.

entirely appreciate my introduction to it as it was put on my bare back from behind and quite apart from its very distinctive smell it felt horribly like a piece of moist velvet on the move. The more intelligent animals are given names coined from their appearance, the place where they were born or the circumstance under which they were obtained. One *Semai* couple I know have a dog named Bah Langsat as his colour—buff—is that of the langsat fruit and a cat called Wa Limah because she cost fifty cents. Many animals are caught quite small on their mothers' backs and it is quite usual to see a nursing mother clutching a baby to one breast and a pet pig to the other. Such animals and also other domestic animals such as goats and chicken are never killed but are allowed to escape into the jungle or given away to the Malays or Chinese.

Unlike more advanced peoples there is no really clear cut distinction between male and female activities other than obvious ones such as nursing babies but even then I have seen father with a feeding bottle. Once I lived in a *Semai* ladang for a month and tried to note down every day what tasks were done by men and what by women but I found that so many tasks were shared or that there were so many exceptions to the general rule that my observations were relatively valueless. Contrary to popular opinion the Aboriginal man does not sit back whilst his wife does all the work.

This is the daily life of most of Malaya's Aboriginal population. As the groups become more settled so they tend to plant fruit and rubber and depend less and less on the jungle and their ladangs. The group becomes tied to one area, eventually graduates to a fixed kampong way of life and may become Muslims and disappear into the Malay population much of which has been formed in this way.

Some communities especially in Cameron Highlands maintain a jungle ladang and also keep part of their population on the tea estates undertaking a variety of tasks. Boh Estate, the biggest, has quite a considerable *Semai* labour force.

But not all the Aborigines are land people. Quite a number were originally wandering sea folk living entirely in boats and hunting crabs and shellfish. There are still a few of these people left. The only large group and that consists of less than one hundred and fifty persons is the *Orang Seletar* in the Pulai river of Johore. Many still cling to their boats and earn a living by catching crabs (with specially trained dogs !) which they sell to a Chinese contractor for transmission to the Johore Bharu and Singapore markets. Others have rough land houses and earn a living by cutting down mangrove wood for conversion into charcoal or as straightforward firewood. By far the greater number of *Orang Laut* however have settled down into coastal fishing villages and have accepted the Muslim faith. Perhaps the best known of these villages is that of the *Orang Selat* on Pulau Brani in Singapore Harbour.

X—*Material Culture*

Under the heading of material culture comes everything that the Aborigine uses whether made by himself or acquired from outside sources. It is doubtful now whether there is any Aboriginal community left that is entirely self supporting and nearly every individual Aborigine relies on shop goods to supply at least some of his needs. It is easier to buy a plastic hair of some lurid hue than to fashion a far more artistic article out of bamboo and, as with the Malay, the cheap imported products of Japan, Hongkong, India and Europe are bringing about the decline of traditional art.

In some cases it is difficult to say which things are Aboriginal in origin and which they have acquired from the Malay. Several Aboriginal ethnic groups excell the modern Malay in basketwork and employ distinctive designs of their own. Here probably the material is of Aboriginal origin but elsewhere a settled Aboriginal community may employ articles identical in design to those of the surrounding Malays but different to those of the same Aboriginal ethnic group in the hills and then there is little doubt that its own distinctive culture has been lost. Such a contrast may be seen between the Lowland and Hill *Semai Senoi* of Perak. In this section I am attempting to describe what the Aborigines may be found using in very general terms without any particular regard to origins.

The most simple house is the lean-to rain shelter of the Negritos and this type of structure is also used by the more advanced peoples to provide temporary accommodation when on a journey, on fishing expeditions or in the initial stages of opening up a new *ladang*. It consists merely of two or three saplings thrust into the ground at a slight angle, three or four traverse poles to hold up the roof of banana leaves or the plaited or unplaited leaves of the *Bertam* palm, a couple of supporting poles and a simple sleeping platform of split bamboo. A smouldering smoky fire and a few bamboos to hold water or serve as cooking vessels complete most Negrito needs. In a typical Negrito camp the shelters face inwards in a rough oval although the *Jehai* sometimes place the two sides so close together that they form an irregular tunnel. In their confined quarters Negritos have a habit of rolling off their sleeping platforms into their fires and it is usual in most Negrito communities to find at least one individual who has severe body or limb burns. Negritos are not very circumspect in regard to the disposal of their rubbish and camps soon become littered ankle deep in debris of a more or less offensive nature.

The Hill *Senoi* are very much of a contrast and the *Temer Senoi* in the area of the Kelantan-Perak boundary construct the most elaborate communal houses found in the country. In each *ladang* there will be two or more of these communal houses the inhabitants of which are all related to one another and who are presided over by a

group leader who is the hereditary head of this expanded family. Each communal house may be as much as one hundred and twenty feet long by sixty wide and the floor may reach to twenty feet above ground level. Usually it will be placed in the jungle fringe either just above or just below the *ladang* or, less commonly, near the river bank below. Some communities like to get up high at whatever cost and with both *Semai* and *Temer Senoi* I have stayed in houses that were a good seven hundred feet above the nearest water supply. The normal communal house is built around a central floor of split bamboo that serves for meetings, weddings, ceremonial dances and other group activities. Around the sides will be a series of sleeping chambers with walls of split bamboo and in front of each door the owner's fireplace. A count of the fireplaces in fact serves as a useful check on the number of individual families within the expanded family group. Each partition contains a row of bamboo or gourd water holders, the sleeping mats (neatly rolled up during the daytime) and bags and baskets containing personal possessions stored away in almost barrack room like precision. Over the central floor there may be a loft for firewood and the group's supply of paddy, seed maize and nuts as well as blowpipe lengths and sticks in the process of seasoning, salt and poison tubes and anything else required to be kept dry. Below the house there will be chicken nesting places of expanded bamboo, more firewood and perhaps a pet pig in a pen although these are often allowed to run loose. This might be a typical house for the central area of Perak and Kelantan and the adjacent north west corner of Pahang. Further south the houses are still communal and are on the same general pattern but have walls of woven palm and are rather less tidy in appearance. The Batang Padang *Semai Senoi* also have communal houses but organised on a closer relationship basis so that a single *ladang* will contain five or six houses, some large and some small, but each with only one fireplace. Most houses in this region have hinged walls that can be lifted up in the daytime. The Aboriginal Malays and those *Senoi* who follow a fixed way of life normally have single family houses with only husband and wife and young children living together. The house pattern is generally not dissimilar to that of the local Malay population with the exception that the Aboriginal house has the more healthy open last floor which always keeps the house cool whilst the Malay tends to go for closed boards. Most Aborigines do not approve of board floors and I once overheard a couple of *Semai* examining a Malay house near Tapah. "What sort of house is this", said one, "You can't spit through the floor". Of the Aboriginal Malays the *Semelai* near Tasek Bera deserve special notice as they produce rather a pleasant house pattern with a sleeping room, a kitchen tacked on at a slightly lower level and an attached open sided day work room. A typical example appears in the illustrations. The coastal houses of *Orang Laut* are no different from those of the coastal Malays if one ignores the pig shelters but the boat dwelling *Orang Seletar* in the Pulai River of south Johore still normally lead a

somewhat uncomfortable existence cramped under a leaky pandanus "*kajang*".

With both *Senoi* and Aboriginal Malays various forms of outhouse may be found. Some *Temer Senoi* have external barns for storage of food whilst chicken and goat houses are found with all groups. Children's playhouses are often seen and older children may place their houses quite high up in the tree-tops as may be shelters for refuge from elephants. These tree-top shelters are a regular feature of some *ladangs* and should not be mistaken for bandit sentry or look-out posts.

Domestic utensils are fairly uniform in general type but vary in individual pattern and decoration from group to group. Mention has already been made of the employment of bamboos and gourds as water containers but some groups use coconut shells hooked in clusters onto forked sticks or, in the case of the Aboriginal Malays, bought Chinese jars. A change in environment will often bring about a change in material culture. The *Oragn Kanaq* whilst in the Kota Tinggi District of Johore always employed Chinese jars but since they have moved to my Research Station near Kuala Lumpur have taken to coconut shells.

Food vessels are almost always of bought origin—metal or china—replacing articles fashioned in bamboo or coconut and often tastefully decorated or just the simple banana leaf. Cooking pots too are now usually bought but many groups still manage with green bamboos. Rice cooked in a green bamboo has a distinctive firmness and flavour that cannot be acquired in a pot. It requires some measure of skill to achieve good results and on the few occasions when I have tried it myself I have usually succeeded in burning through the bamboo without cooking the rice.

Fingers take the place of spoons and forks but many groups make excellent spoons from coconut shells and the *Semai* carve paddle shaped wooden spatulas for stirring rice and pounded tapioca. Decorated bamboo stirrers are found with some of the Negrito groups.

The basic domestic utensil without which no Aborigine can survive is the jungle knife or *parang*. In recent years I have only come across two Aboriginal blacksmiths—both *Semelai*—and then their activities were confined to repairing damaged articles and fashioning small knives from scraps although in every group there are, of course, several individuals who can knock up fish spears and arrow heads from four or six inch nails. What happened before trade *parangs* were available from Malay and Chinese blacksmiths is not clear as even the earliest observers do not appear to have met a group entirely without some form of iron cutting tool. Presumably there were no *ladangs* and roots were grubbed up with pointed sticks whilst wild fruits and snared animals formed the main items of food. But iron trade goods have been available in Malaya for many hundreds of years and the purely wandering root grubbing stage must have been passed at some remote period by most of our present day groups. I have yet to meet

any Aboriginal community who claim any connection between themselves and the Neolithic stone axes common in Malaya although it has been suggested that the present day *Senoi* might be the survivals of the Neolithic peoples forced up into the hills by a series of wet periods and floods. Unlike Malays however most Aborigines recognise stone axes for what they are and do not insist on their being thunderbolts. *Parangs* used vary in pattern from one area to another but the two general types popular with the Aborigines are:

(*a*) A tanged bill hook like tool some six to eight inches long in the blade and mounted in a straight rotan handle in the case of the *Semaq Ƒeram* Negritos elaborately decorated. This pattern is in general use with the Negritos and may also be found with the fringing *Ple* population.

(*b*) A rectangular bladed knife from eight to sixteen inches in length by some two and one half wide (popular length is about thirteen inches in the blade) usually with a tang but sometimes found with an iron handle in one piece.

Most Aboriginal groups fashion well-made handles of soft wood for their *parangs* but the *Oragn Kanaq* have not progressed beyond the stage of wrapping the tang with the latex of a jungle tree. The majority of Aborigines do not worry about *parang* sheaths but sheaths are found in limited use in all communities employing the second type of *parang*. Those of the *Semelai* are sometimes beautifully carved.

The *parang* is kept razor sharp on a stropping stone—any fine grained stone is considered suitable—and used for cutting almost everything from tree felling to hair cutting. A *parang* hair cut is brought about by holding the hair over the sharp edge and pressing or rubbing with a soft block of wood. Needless to say a *parang* hair cut has a distinctive appearance which cannot be mistaken.

For felling the larger jungle trees a *parang* is not entirely satisfactory and the small tanged iron axe (blade about three inches wide)—the Malay *bĕliong*—mounted in a long whippy handle with a rotan bound head is employed. A few Aboriginal Malays have taken to the European style axe but this is not generally popular and indeed I myself find felling with the *bĕliong* far less of an effort once the feel of the non rigid handle has been picked up. For a few other purposes including cutting tobacco but also in most magical ceremonies iron may not be used and *parangs* are replaced by thin slivers of bamboo.

Sleeping mats are woven out of *mengkuang* by all groups and everyone except some of the more degenerate Aboriginal Malays turns out a reasonable result with woven or painted patterns. Unfortunately these patterns are often in fugitive dyes and I am introducing the use of more permanent materials to some groups. So far, however, no one has produced a permanent dye that has the pleasant pastel shades of the local vegetable colours. Patterns are usually stylised jungle fruits or flowers—bamboo shoots, *perah*, *labu* or *pinang* flowers—but some are taken from animals—tortoise and python designs are common.

Also woven out of *mengkuang* are small finely decorated pouches for holding personal effects and larger bags for rice or nuts. The finest work is produced by the *Semelai* and the Batang Padang *Semai* both of whom will work with strips less than 2 mm. in width. The largest openwork bags are often woven from the split stem of palm ribs of the *Bertam* type and are used for carrying water containers or roots in the immediate *ladang* area. More solid baskets are made from split rotan in the case of the hill tribes or out of coarse varieties of *pandanus* in combination with wooden frameworks with those groups who have a rice culture. This latter type of backbasket is probably of Malay origin. All *Negritos* and *Senoi* use backbaskets with shoulder straps but headstraps as well as shoulderstraps are found with various Aboriginal Malay groups—the *Jakun* in the Maran area of Pahang, the *Semelai* on the Negri Sembilan-Pahang boundary and the Aboriginal Malays in the Bentong area are examples.

The *Hill Senoi* on an overnight jungle trip does not normally carry a backbasket but winds up his personal possessions in a *sarong* which is knotted over one shoulder with the load across the back. Aborigines seen with backbaskets are therefore within less than half a day's walk from their *ladang* as a general rule and usually very much closer—a point of interest to the Security Forces.

Fire, for those without matches or cigarette lighters and these two commodities appear to travel an immense distance into the jungle, may be produced by friction—rubbing a rotan around a bamboo—or by flint and steel. As most Aboriginal communities keep their house fires smouldering day and night by the simple expedient of putting three twenty-foot logs together in a Y and periodically pushing the ends, the provision of fire only becomes a problem on long journeys.

Light in the house at night may be from cheap tin lamps and bought oil, by locally made torches of dammar or other resins or merely by the glow of the fire.

New tapioca is a simple matter to cook but old stringy roots require more detailed treatment. First they need to be softened by prolonged soaking undertaken by submerging a bag in a stream for four or five days. The bag is then squeezed and pounded and the broken up tapioca fragments grated into flour by rubbing on thorny rotan sticks which are often seen stuck into the eaves of Aboriginal houses. The flour is then rammed into bamboos and baked eventually emerging as a pretty solid but quite palatable cake.

The first stage in preparing rice is to get the grain husked by pounding. Some Negrito groups carry miniature wooden mortars around with them but most groups rely on more solid structures either cut in a fallen tree or into a loose block of wood. There are distinctive patterns of mortar which vary from one area to another but they all appear to be based on Malay patterns. The pounders are heavy

wooden poles some six feet in length and up to three inches in diameter and are handled with considerable skill an experienced team being able to work in fours. Pounding is nearly always carried out under or adjacent to the house although sometimes the mortars may be wedged into the communal working floors of *Semai* and *Temer Senoi* houses. A few of the more settled groups possess the Malay style foot-operated rice pounder.

After pounding the rice requires to be winnowed to remove the chaff and most groups are able to make their own winnowing trays. Some are round others are pear shaped and both patterns are composed of a rotan framework and a plaited base of some firm palm rib.

Coarse salt ground up with chillies is a popular addition to Aboriginal meals and this is prepared by grinding the two together on a fish shaped wooden platter with a half coconut shell.

No Aboriginal group possesses anything that may be classified as distinctive agricultural implements. With the shifting groups once the *ladang* has been planted cultivation is restricted to trimming the leaves of the tapioca and lifting some of the weeds both being done by hand. The settled groups employ implements identical to those of the Malays. The only possible exception so far that I have noted is the use of ornamented paddy dibbers by the Ulu Serting *Semelai* but these may also be in use with the local Malays.

Fishing may be carried out in a variety of ways. Possibly the most primitive method and certainly the most unpopular with the Administration is poisoning by dumping loads of crushed *tuba* root (*Derris* sp.) into the river. The effect is to fill the river with a poison which the fish absorb through their gills and which kills them by acting on the respiratory centres. The objection to this type of fishing is, of course, that all fish big and small are killed and that if it is employed in a confined area such as a pond it will be many years before restocking will take place.

Next in order of popularity come:

(i) Traps of various shapes and constructed of mediums varying from wire netting to bamboo in which the fish swims through a narrow spiked entrance and cannot return. This sort of trap may run from a foot in length to over ten feet and is often used in conjunction with dams and wiers.

(ii) Wiers set in the narrow parts of fast flowing streams so that fish carried down by the current are pinned down onto the platform by the rush of water.

(iii) Small open mesh baskets for scooping out streams by hand.

(iv) Barbed spears often in trident form hammered out of large nails and set in long palm rib handles.

(v) Simple rods and lines with hooks either purchased ready made or fashioned out of brass wire.

(vi) The Malay type chain weighted circular throwing net (jala).

Traps and hooks are often baited with fermented tapioca or rubber seeds from which the outer skins have been removed.

No object of Aboriginal material culture has captured popular imagination more than the blowpipe and its poisoned dart. A great deal of nonsense has been written one way and another and many still like to make a mystery of fairly straightforward facts.

The Malayan Aborigines have two types of blowpipe:

(i) A bamboo blowpipe with an inner tube in one or two pieces with an attached mouthpiece of bamboo, wood, dammar-gum or hornbill ivory and an outer strengthening tube of bamboo. Length seven to nine feet. Wide variation in external decoration. This is the more common type of blowpipe and is found with every Aboriginal group except the *Orang Laut* complex and one or two Aboriginal Malay groups. Small models—four feet in length or there-abouts—are made for children.

(ii) A wooden blowpipe in which two pieces of heavy wood are grooved, bound together with rotan, covered with latex and provided with a dammar mouthpiece. Length five to seven feet. Distribution confined to Aboriginal Malays but not found with Aboriginal Malays in Selangor and the adjacent area of Negri Sembilan nor in Malacca. This type of blowpipe is almost identical to that used in South America. Examples found with *Senoi* groups and with Aboriginal Malays in Selangor have been acquired during moves brought about by the Emergency and are not in fact made by these groups.

The majority of Negritos do not make their own blowpipes but buy them ready made from the *Ple* and *Temer Senoi* in the hills. In 1951 the *Jehai* Negritos at Bersia near Grik were paying $8 to $10 for a blowpipe and $3 to $5 for a dart quiver. Other groups such as parts of the *Temer* and *Semai Senoi* are able to make their own blowpipes but have to purchase the special bamboo from other communities. About $5 is the average price for a blowpipe length.

The *Oragn Kanaq* are somehow in possession of an Iban type blowpipe, solid drilled wood with a spear mounted on top, and in 1949 I obtained another for them through the kindness of Mr. Tom Harrisson, D.S.O., F.R.A.I., Curator of the Kuching Museum.

With those Aboriginal Malays who have the wooden blowpipe an inferior bamboo type is also usually found.

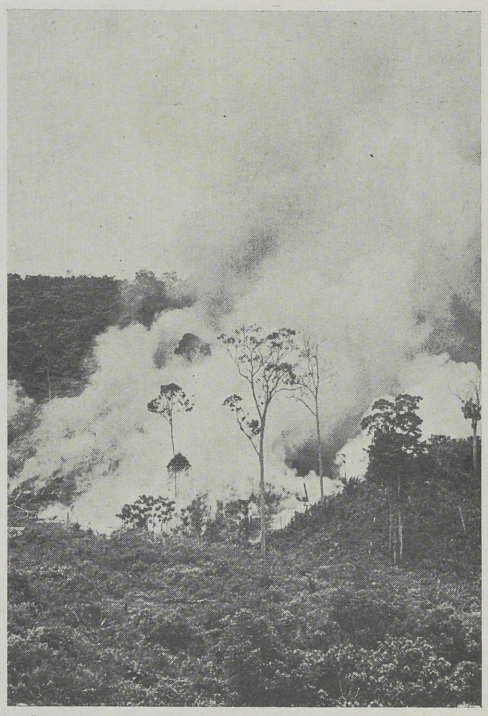
Blowpipe darts are between four and nine inches long and are usually formed from the hard rib of a palm with a soft pith butt roughly fashioned for use in the bamboo blowpipes with which a fluff wad is employed whilst the darts for the wooden blowpipe are carefully

PLATE 15.

WORK IN A JUNGLE GARDEN.

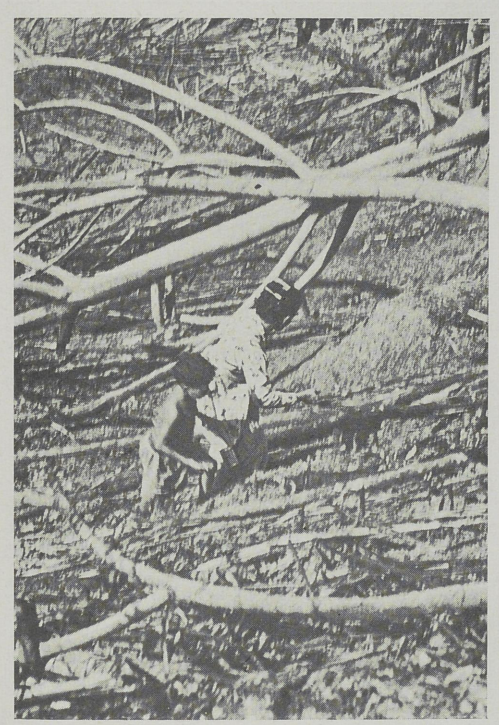
Commencing to fell the new ladang with the whippy beliong. Temer Senoi, Ulu Sungei Plus, Perak.

May, 1949.



Burning off the main ladang for the year. Semai, Sungei Gading, Tapah, Perak.

July, 1951.



Planting dry padi in the burnt off ladang. Sungei Gading.

August, 1951.

Harvesting dry padi. Sungei Gading.

December, 1951.

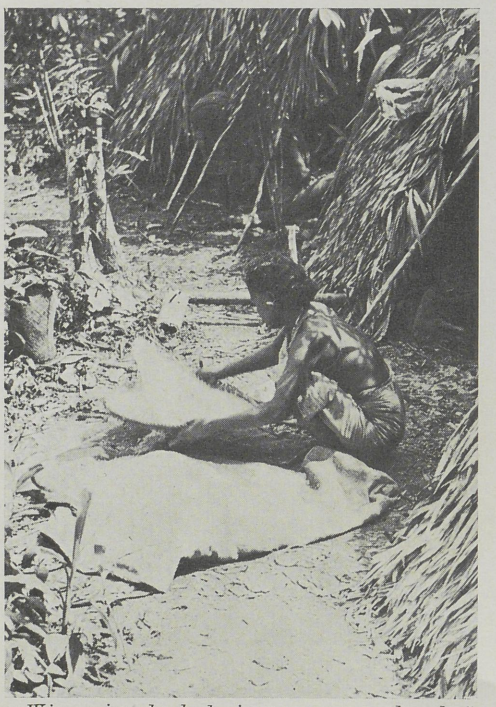
FOOD PREPARATION.

Threshing dry padi by trading. The odd appearance of the girl on the left is due to a $2 "permanent wave". Semai Senoi, Sungei Gading, Tapah.

December, 1951.

Pounding dry padi to remove the husk. Temiar Senoi, Ulu Nenggiri, Kelantan.

June, 1951.



Winnowing husked rice to remove the chaff. Jehai Negrito, Bersia, Perak.

September, 1951.

A Semai wedding feast in the Research Station of the Adviser on Aborigines.

June, 1951.

smoothed and fitting the bore exactly do not require wadding. The darts are nicked about three quarters of an inch below the point, coated with poison and are given a distinctive butt mark varying according to individual taste to indicate poison strength. The completed darts are placed in a bamboo carrier which may have a woven *rotan* or *mengkuang* top and is divided internally by leaves, fibre not unlike horsehair in appearance derived from the trunk of a species of palm or individual small bamboo tubes. From external beauty the most handsome dart quivers are made by the *Ple* and *Temer Senoi* whilst the Pahang Aboriginal Malays score on internal arrangements. A full quiver may contain as many as one hundred darts ranging from quite plain specimens for dealing with small birds to heavily poisoned darts calculated to carry a lethal dose for a tiger. Also in the quiver cap will be the fluff for wadding and in the body of the container poison spatulas and tubes.

Early writers have confused the various poisons in use because of the similarity of their Malay names—*Ipoh* and *Ipoh Akar* are two of them. A number of different poisons are used but to the best of my knowledge only two are in common use with the *Senoi* namely:

(i) A brown coloured latex tapped from the Ipoh tree, *Antiaris toxicaria.*

(ii) A concentration boiled down from the Ipoh creeper, *Strychnos genus.*

All other poisons are a combination of one or the other of the above "improved" with various additional ingredients.

The Ipoh tree poison is the easiest prepared. The tree is slashed with a *parang* so that a series of cuts run down to a point where a leaf stuck on will converge the drips into a bamboo or the bamboo may have a sharp pointed lip which is pressed into the tree. The collected poison is then poured out into an open container—often a half segment of bamboo—and slowly ladelled onto a wooden spatula kept warm above a fire. As it coagulates it turns a rich golden brown and in this form is rolled onto the darts.

I do not propose to go into the full botanical and chemical details of these poisons which are available elsewhere ([1]). I do however wish to make it clear that these poisons are exceedingly dangerous and are not to be trifled with.

Whilst the blowpipe is the hallmark of the *Senoi* and, to a less extent, the Aboriginal Malay, the bow and arrow was until recent years the characteristic feature of the Negritos. Unfortunately no anthropologist working in Malaya took down full details of bow and arrow handling at the time when they were in common use and what follows has been collected from a *Jehai* group who had given up the bow two or three years before my visit in 1951. It is possible that there may still be groups in Upper Perak with the bow but at the present time it is difficult to obtain information in this area.

([1]) Burkill, I.H., M.A., F.L.S., *A Dictionary of the Economic Products of the Malay Peninsula*, Crown Agents for the Colonies, London, 1935, under heading *Antiaris*, Vol. 1, p. 174 ff.

The *Jehai* bow is five to six feet in length and ovoid in cross section and is generally made of *Langsat* wood. In one of the examples made for me the wood was roughly cut to shape with a *parang* and the final smoothing achieved with fragments of a Tiger Beer bottle. According to Negrito tradition a bow should be a span in length and should be planed down until it bends easily. When this condition has been reached a bow string is made of twisted tree bark, looped over the lower tang of the bow which is held by the toes and the bow is bent back against the natural twist of the wood to receive the top loop. The arrows, three feet in length, have a bamboo shaft and are headed with a barbed head hammered and filed out of a six inch nail and heavily coated with Ipoh poison. Three hornbill feathers are mounted at the rear end but these are so closely clipped that they can have little influence on the arrows' flight. In shooting the bow is held at a slight angle across the body. No attempt is made to aim at any particular spot on the animal's body and a tiger or pig may run up to six hundred yards before dropping from the effects of the poison. Jeragn the bow maker in the *Jehai* group which provided these details claims to have killed two tigers with the bow. The *Jehai* say that difficulty of obtaining materials for arrow making has led them to abandon the bow but this is probably only a partial explanation. Formerly the Negritos were living in much more open areas where the bow would be superior to the blowpipe. Malay and Chinese expansion has forced them into the hills and the foothill jungles are much more suited for the blowpipe than the bow and this I feel is the probable explanation of its disappearance.

The Aborigines construct traps and snares in infinite variety and calculated to "fix" everything from a mouse to an elephant. It is as well to know the general characteristics of these traps as several sorts can inflict quite serious damage on humans and I regret to observe from my recent experiences in the jungle that the Security Forces as a whole seem remarkedly unwary when in areas where these traps are employed.

Most Aborigines mark their more dangerous traps and if any of the following are seen extreme caution is indicated until the trap is passed:

(i) An upright sapling with or without a crosspiece at the side of the path. If the crosspiece is a small pointed stick it usually indicates a spring spear in the direction in which the marker is pointing (often on a side path).

(ii) An upright sapling with a loop of rotan.

(iii) Two or more saplings stuck in the ground at an angle—either crossing or parallel to each other—closing a side path.

In all cases if the poles have been in position for some time they may have sprouted leaves but this does not necessarily indicate that the trap is no longer dangerous.

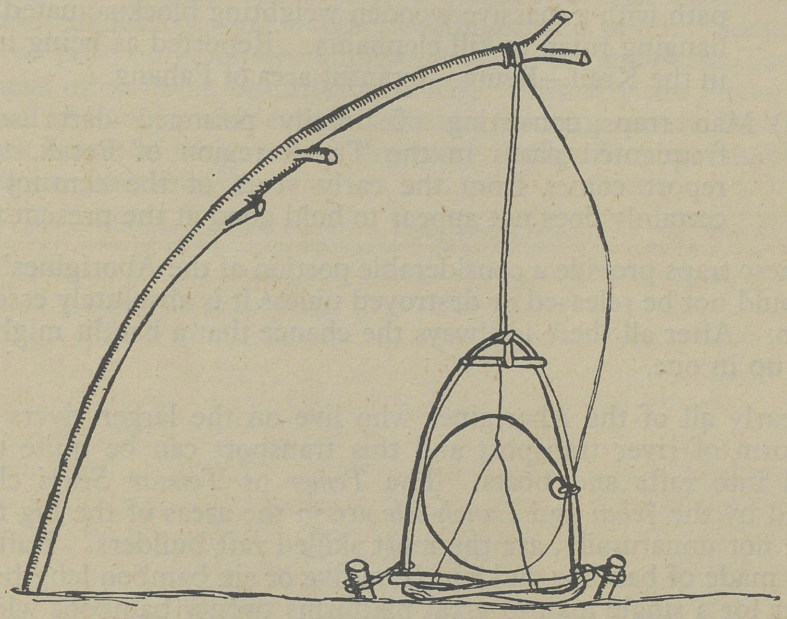
It would take many pages and illustrations to give full details of every form of trap used and they can only be summarised here. Most traps are easily made and Security Force units are advised to get a local Aborigine to make a demonstration set as well as pointing out actual traps in position in the jungle.

The main types of animal trap are:

(i) Simple running ground nooses of rotan or wire. These may be used in conjunction with a captive bird usually a jungle fowl.

(ii) Bird lime sticks.

(iii) Small running nooses actuated by a springy pole and placed on tree trunks, in animal burrows or runs or along the ground in conjunction with fences of palm leaves and sticks or just sticks alone. These are only dangerous if one is stupid enough to release the trap with a foot and then get caught in the face by the sharp end of the spring pole. Such traps are often placed along paths usually in considerable numbers. The illustration shows a pretty typical example but there are others in which the noose is in a figure of eight shape or, for monkeys and squirrels with a wide circular outer frame.



A *Semai Senoi* Trap—The *Kedig*.

The framework of the trap is of fairly stout rotan and is anchored to the ground by two pegs (on a tree trunk the framework will be tied down by a rotan passing around the trunk). A running noose of rotan passes through a knot on the main framework up to a bent pole (in actual practice this would be higher than in the diagram) and a shorter length returns to the top of the trap where it is secured by a stick joined to the base of the trap by black palm fibre. Any pressure on the fibre immediately withdraws the stick, the rotan end flies loose and the pole jerks up drawing the noose tight. In position on the ground there would be some concealment of the trap by the use of leaves and twigs.

(iv) Falling cage traps for smaller deer with a food bait actuating a trip.

(v) Spring spears—the Malay *bĕlantek*. These will be found in areas where wild pig are common and are really dangerous—the spear easily passing through a man's leg or foot. They are usually set in pig runs or in *ladang* fences and consist of a thick pole up to twenty feet in length pegged back into the shape of an U. One end is firmly anchored whilst on the other is mounted a bamboo headed wooden spear held back by a twisted wood bark trip released by a dark coloured cord. These traps should be obvious to anyone who is not completely asleep because of the easily seen bent pole. Any unnaturally bent piece of wood seen at ground level should always be investigated before passing on.

Also reported by fairly reliable observers but which I have not yet seen myself are:

(vi) Pitfalls with sharpened stakes for trapping large animals reported in use by the *Jakun* in the Sungei Bebar area of Pahang.

(vii) Large drop spears, heavily poisoned and set high above the path with a massive wooden weighting block actuated by a hanging rotan to kill elephants. Reported as being in use in the Krau—Benta—Jerantut area of Pahang.

(viii) Man traps consisting of heavily poisoned darts set in frequented paths in the Tapah region of Perak. This report comes from the early years of the century and certainly does not appear to hold good at the present time.

These traps provide a considerable portion of the Aborigines' food and should not be released or destroyed unless it is absolutely essential to do so. After all there is always the chance that a bandit might get caught up in one.

Nearly all of the Aborigines who live on the larger rivers have some form of river transport and this transport can be quite easily divided into rafts and boats. The *Temer* or *Temiar Senoi* closely followed by the *Jehai* and *Lanoh-Ple* are in the areas of the big rivers and so, not unnaturally, are the most skilled raft builders. Rafts are usually made of bamboo and run from five or six bamboo lengths tied together for a single man to great platforms twenty bamboos wide by three deep with a central raised seat and overhead shelter that will carry fifteen or more. Rarely the one man rafts are made of wood. Bamboo rafts are put together in the water. The bamboos are cut and floated to some convenient point where, still working in the water, slots are cut in each end and in the centre, wooden sticks thrust through and the whole lashed together firmly with strips of tree bark. A

central platform to hold baggage and, with the bigger craft, the addition of sweeps in front and behind complete our raft and we are ready or almost ready to set off. Before leaving every piece of baggage must be firmly tied down or sooner or later when the raft is submerged in a rapid it will all drift off and there is nothing more discouraging than to observe one's baggage keeping pace with the raft in a rapid just out of reach and receiving one hell of a battering from the odd rock. The raft is then pushed out into mid-stream and kept on a straight course by the sweeps. In the swirl of the rapids the whole raft may be under water and an observer on the bank is treated to the novel picture of a group of men up to the waist in water shouting furiously to disturb the river demons and working furiously on the sweeps to circumvent projecting rocks whilst apparently without means of support. The smaller rafts are controlled by a pole only and both large and small are usually broken up and the individual bamboos sold at the end of a down river journey. Only with the smallest rafts is it convenient to pole up river.

Good dugout boats are made by several Aboriginal groups including the Nenggiri *Temiar Senoi* and the *Semelai* and other Aboriginal Malays in Pahang. The timber is cut out with the *bĕliong* used as an adze and *parangs* and the completed boat coated with mud and heated over a fire for several hours. This process opens up the boat and the completed structure contains a split bamboo floor, a coconut shell bailer and wooden boathooks and poles. Some peoples like to pole only; others employ paddles those of the Tasek Bera Semelai often being beautifully carved. Formerly the *Jakun* in south central Pahang used rather unhappy looking sewn bark canoes. There is one of these in the Singapore Raffles Museum and Collings illustrates another ([2]).

([2]) Collings, H. D., *Aboriginal Notes, Bulletin of the Raffles Museum, Series B, No. 4, 1949.* Plate XX and pp. 95-96. I did not as the caption suggests take this photograph nor a number of others attributed to me in this Bulletin.

XI—*Magic and Religion ; Customs and Beliefs*

Here again we are in trouble as every little sub-group has its own ideas on magic and religion and there is also wide variation in other customs and beliefs. For a few groups, particularly the Negritos thanks to the efforts of Evans and Schebesta, we have quite a lot of information but for the bulk of the Aborigines very little has been recorded. Unless one stays with an Aboriginal community for a considerable period of time it is difficult to obtain information either because there is reluctance to part with more intimate details or because peculiar customs are not recognised as such. The custom of placing a dead dog under the first fruit tree planted in a new orchard in my own part of England did not strike me as being odd until someone suggested that I must come from a very backward part of the country. Here in this section I am attempting to give a few of the more widespread beliefs and customs together with some of the more amusing to prevent things becoming too dull.

Gentlemen are not generally welcome at births and as we have no recent eyewitness accounts by reliable observers I shall have to fall back on descriptions given by the Aborigines themselves. Whilst living with the *Semai Senoi* I have often been asked to attend births but always seem to be somewhat unfortunate in my timing either arriving too soon and having to leave early can only make the rather obvious comment that the lady concerned was not enjoying her labour pains or arriving late have had to fall back on the expected admiration of the newly arrived scrap of pink humanity.

With the *Jehai* Negritos birth takes place in the open shelter in which a special bamboo backrest and platform is erected for the purpose. The woman squats on this platform with her hands pressing down on the floor and is massaged by the midwife who may be either male or female. When the child is delivered it drops on to the platform and the cord is severed with a bamboo knife. The mother is massaged with a large warmed river pebble to facilitate expulsion of the placenta which is buried under the family hearth, the child is bound up in cloth (the cut cord is not tied) and that is all.

With the *Semai Senoi* birth occurs in the house and there are no special preparations other than elaborate decorated bamboos suspended from the roof for ceremonial bathings after the birth. The afterbirth is placed in a special container together with ashes and may be kept in the house or buried under a tree. Part of the cord is usually kept and tied with a string around the infant's hand or around the neck as a precaution against " hot rain " of which more later.

With most Aboriginal groups the child is named by the midwife and not by the parents. With Negritos and the *Semai Senoi* this name is chosen at random from a tree or flower or river name or the name of a piece of land, any physical characteristic or deformity of the child or indeed anything that comes into the midwife's mind at the time. The result is that many adults do not know the meanings of their own names and the enquirer is always referred to the midwife who usually is either dead or cannot be found when a name of interest crops up. This system obviously presents some difficulty in the case of twins and the only *Semai* pair I know are called Bah Ham and Bah Hamis presumably variants of the same name. The *Temer* are rather different and usually name their children in order of birth in Roman fashion often irrespective of sex. To avoid the confusion that results, as naturally in any one community there will be many individuals with the same name, additional nicknames are given. Some of these additional names are quite exciting and I am still hoping to meet Busu the fairy and Alang the madman, names I have seen on identity card counterfoils. The order of names varies with some communities having separate tables for men and women. The following names are, according to a *Temer* informant, in use in the Sungei Plus area of Perak :

	Men.	*Women.*
1st child ...	Long	... Andah.
2nd „ ...	Alang	... Teh.
3rd „ ...	Ngah	... Uda.
4th „ ...	Pandah	... Ngah.
5th „ ...	Itam	... Anjang.
6th „ ...	Anjang	... Alig.
7th „ ...	Udah	... Itam.
8th „ ...	Busu	
9th „ ...	Alig	

As these do not tie up entirely with information I have obtained I am not quite satisfied that my informant is correct for every community. My Plus family tables all seem to start Lung, Ngah, Alang but I agree that the names shown represent the sum total of *Temer* name variants. The Aboriginal Malays as might be expected often have variants of Malay names although they tend to get distorted as in the case of *Awegn*—i.e., Awang—of the *Oragn Kanaq*—who is admiring my typing at the moment. But not all names are Malay, at least I imagine one would be hard put to find Malay girls with names such as Noie, Kumtang, Katan and Embon.

The *Semai Senoi* have male and female prefixes to their names, *Bah* or *Yeok* for the men and *Wa* or *Han* for the women. I myself, for obvious reasons, am called Bah Janggut or Mr. Beard although I was once disturbed to overhear someone describing me as the " old goat ". But in a community where everyone is related to each other

it is more usual to call each other by relationship terms rather than by actual names and this custom obtains with most other groups as does the custom of calling married couples with children by the name of their eldest child. Thus the father and mother of Wa Draman whose picture appears on Plate 7 are more often called Pa' Draman and Ma' Draman than by their own names, Bah Kangsar and Wa Tintang. This double use of name can cause confusion with those unfamiliar with its complications. One may ask the name of the headman in the next *ladang* and be met by blank stares there on asking for him by that name or one may employ an Aborigine and suspect him of giving a false name upon hearing him called something else or Aborigines will not answer to names on their identity cards—all difficult points for the Security Forces in the Emergency.

Unlike many other wild peoples, such as the English with their twenty-first birthday parties, most of the Malayan Aboriginal groups have no initiation ceremonies into manhood or womanhood. There are no bachelors' houses, elaborate rites or tests of bodily pain and endurance although some of the Aboriginal Malays and in particular the *Semelai* practise circumcision a custom almost certainly not borrowed from the Malays though a Malay is often called in to perform the rite. The face tattooing on some of the *Senoi* and Negrito groups is not seen on very young persons and may be a puberty rite as may be tooth filing found with the *Kintah Bong* Negritos and some of the Aboriginal Malays but precise information is lacking on these points at the present time.

The next step is the fatal one—that of getting married—and as in Aboriginal society there are no rich and no poor and there is always communal effort to produce the necessities of daily life this natural process is not delayed to the absurd age that is becoming common with more civilised peoples. It has been represented rather unfairly that the Aborigines do not have marriage ceremonies and that they choose mates rather like animals. A little investigation will show that for many groups this allegation is quite untrue and in fact will tend to show that the untouched Aborigines are often more moral than the so called civilised races. Only those Aborigines who are in touch with the lowland peoples are becoming degenerate in their marriage rules.

With all groups there are relationship bars to marriage. As a general rule cousins however distant cannot marry and in those groups that live on an extended family basis the bride has to come from another *ladang* or at least another long house. This is particularly true of the *Senoi*. The *Oragn Kanaq* are perhaps the only group who do not have marriage bars at the present time although whether they had them in the past cannot be said. A group of thirty-four in number who are so wild that no other tribe will look at them rather has to let marriage restrictions go by the board. There are also many additional complicated marriage bars of which two typical examples will suffice. With

the *Semai Senoi* of Ulu Bidor, Perak, two brothers may marry two sisters but the elder brother must marry the elder sister. If the elder brother marries the younger sister on no account may the younger brother marry the elder sister. A younger unmarried brother is expected to marry his elder brother's wife should his elder brother die young but is not actually forced to do so against his will. This is a widespread custom elsewhere being, amongst other peoples, practised by the ancient Jews.

The Negritos have the most simple marriages. A couple who like each other merely go and set up their own shelter although this is normally done with the consent of the parents on either side. Divorce is common in the early stages of marriage but is said to seldom occur after the birth of a child.

A man can have two or more wives provided he can support them or rather it is the other way round for the more wives there are the more a household can be organised. Jerok, a prominent *Jehai* headman, has five wives but he claims that he only married three and that the other two "just attached themselves to me because of my personality". The *Jehai* have an interesting tabu that might with advantage be introduced into more civilised society. A man may not approach his mother-in-law nor, although this is less rigidly enforced, his own sisters, or his brothers' wives and a similar tabu obtains for women in relation to fathers-in-law and so on. I was once prevented from taking a Negrito party to the circus by this tabu as two brothers and their wives would have had to sit together in the same car. In the jungle it is very amusing to see an important headman with great authority in his group shamefacedly sneaking around the back of a shelter where some old harridan sits chewing betelnut. This tabu is not confined to the Negritos and may be found with some *Senoi* groups. The situation however is not so bad as an initial examination would indicate since most individuals manage to leave their mother-in-laws with other communities although in some groups residence is taken up with the wife's family.

I have come across a case with the *Lanoh* Negritos in which two men shared one wife but such liaisons appear rare.

With the *Temer Senoi* there are two ways of acquiring a bride. In one case there is a long engagement. A youth of sixteen or seventeen will see a girl of ten or eleven years to whom he wishes to be married once she is of age and through his father or uncle approaches the girl's father. If both parties agree the girl is given a present of jewellery or cloth and the youth thereafter gives periodical presents of food to the girl's father, helps him in his *ladang* cultivation and generally behaves as one of his prospective bride's family until she comes of age. In the other case a young man will sleep for one night with a nubile girl and if the couple like each other he will get his father to approach the girl's father and if both agree they go together to the community headman

who calls a meeting to fix the date of the marriage. This will normally be only a few weeks ahead and in the interim period the man will give presents of cloth and so on to the girl. The wedding takes place in the evening and is followed by a feast and all night dancing the couple eventually being seen to bed. Thereafter the man keeps up presents to his wife's father for a period of about two months.

With the *Semai Senoi* a man may sleep with a girl for one night and if the couple like each other each approaches their parents who inform the headman in much the same way as with the *Temer Senoi*. The night before the wedding there is a feast which may, in the case of a junior headman, be attended by as many as five hundred people, followed by an all night dance. Early next morning both bride's and bridegroom's parties bath and dress up. The bridegroom and his " best man " return to the communal house eventually to be joined by the bridal party which slowly approaches—a young girl on either side of the bride and drums and gongs following. The bridal party seats itself on the floor, the left hand bridesmaid moves aside and the bridegroom sits in her place. Ranged in front are the community headmen, both bride's and bridegroom's parents and the " best man ". The senior headman then takes charge. He asks the girl if she is certain she wants the man (she has already had a previous opportunity to refuse at the group meeting approving the marriage) and when she agrees places her left arm over the man's back and with her hand on his shoulder and arranges the man's right arm in the same way. A lighted cigarette is then placed in her mouth, she takes a few puffs and the cigarette is placed in the man's mouth who takes a few puffs in turn. A chew of betel may take the place of the cigarette but the principle—mixing of breath or of saliva to confirm the union—is the same. At this stage the couple are regarded as married but there are other incidentals to come. The bridegroom presents a ring (usually silver) to his wife's father accepting him as his own father and receives another ring in return. On behalf of the bridegroom the " best man " hands a sum of money to the bride's father (this will vary from $50 to as much as $500) and a much smaller sum (normally about $20) to the headman performing the ceremony. Then comes the worst part. Every woman has the right to shout at the young wife advice on how to run a house and look after a husband and they certainly take advantage of this opportunity. Indeed the first quarter of an hour of married life of the average *Semai* woman is quite often spent in tears. Thereafter there will be at least two more nights of dancing and if the newly married couple visit another *ladang* within a few months of their wedding a full entertainment will be put on for them for three nights running. A newly married *Semai* man is forbidden to go any distance from his *ladang* within fifteen days of marriage and during that period may be expected to sleep in his mother-in-law's house.

The Lowland *Semai Senoi* have adapted a shoddy version of Malay marriage which lacks all the beautiful simplicity of the highlands groups ceremonies and it is of no interest to record details here.

With the *Semai* sexual intercourse before puberty is strictly forbidden and in theory is punished by a heavy fine. I feel however that this rule is often not followed particularly more so as I have the impression that puberty is reached at a very late stage. Most girls are married shortly after puberty and the usual period of adolescent sterility normally precludes unmarried mothers. The *Semai* deny that such events occur—the connection between sexual and conception is not entirely appreciated—but to my delight an instance has just occurred in my own *ladang* and I am eagerly waiting to see the social consequences.

With the less untouched Aboriginal Malays marriage ceremonies are generally similar to those of the *Semai* but with the *Semelai* of Tasek Bera no bride price is paid. Many groups now have Malay style weddings but that formerly practised by the Ulu Langat aborigines excited the curiosity of earlier writers. A special bell shaped earth mound decorated with flowers was constructed and the bride-groom was required, according to one observer, to chase the bride around it, although another observer only records the pair being led around the mound by the headman. I have not heard of a wedding of this nature in recent years and the custom has probably died out.

Chinese who marry into *Senoi* or, more often, Aboriginal Malay groups, generally settle down with the Aboriginal community and, in addition to helping raise the Aboriginal standard of living, prevent to a certain extent outside exploitation. The offspring of such marriages almost invariably remain with the Aboriginal community and marry individuals from the same group so that in two or three generations all obvious evidence of Chinese descent is lost. Children with a Chinese father almost always have Chinese names (and usually an Aboriginal name as well—a Chinese *Jakun* girl, Lee Ah Min, I know has a *Jakun* husband and is usually called Minah) and, under present regulations, are shown as Chinese by race on their identity cards and as Chinese speakers. This is obviously going to present a problem in the future as many bandits will undoubtedly "disappear" by settling down with Aboriginal communities.

No Aboriginal ethnic group has advanced sufficiently to force the modern difficulties of divorce upon couples who cannot live together in harmony. Instead of poisoning their existence by continual alterations couples who cannot get on cheerfully separate and soon pick up new mates.

The Negritos appear to have frequent divorces in the early stages of marriage but divorce is more uncommon once a child has been born according to Schebesta who also records that in cases of separation

personal possessions are divided each taking his or her individual property with the shelter and usually the possession of any children going to the woman. Certainly in the several *Lanoh* cases I know the children remain with their mothers. The Negritos consider adultery as a serious crime and offender is heavily fined or flogged.

The *Semai* also regard adultery with considerable disfavour and the guilty party may be fined to an extent that strips him of almost everything he owns. Fines so collected are paid to the offended party and not appropriated by the headman as is so often the care elsewhere. A *Semai* couple parting also divide possessions but male children, unless still at the breast, go with their fathers and girls follow their mothers. If there is only a single child it is considered proper that equal periods of time are spent with each parent. Unless a wife is divorced for misconduct the husband is expected to contribute to her support until she marries again even where this involves sending food and presents to a distant *ladang*. Two brothers in case of disagreement with their wives may, with the mutual consent of all parties, exchange wives but I have only met one instance so far. Except with those unhappy groups who are adjacent to the opened up lowlands divorce is by no means the prerogative of the male and the lady may, and very often does, initiate proceedings.

Little previously appears to have been recorded on food tabus but I have gained the impression that every community has its own food tabus which usually comprise items forbidden to all and other items only denied to women whilst menstruating or during or just after pregnancy. No groups seem to deny foodstuffs to children unless these are also forbidden to adults. Some of these tabus are obviously sensible precautions such as the avoidance of strongly purging fruits during pregnancy whilst others, of which the non-eating of fish caught in a trap on the grounds that delivery will be difficult is a typical example, are purely magical. The following list shows the tabus of a *Semai Senoi* group in Ulu Sungei Gedong near Bidor, Perak, and these are fairly typical of what may be found elsewhere :

(i) Foods forbidden to everyone	All snakes.
	Tiger.
	Mountain goat.
(ii) Forbidden to menstruating women	All meat.
	Fresh fish.
	Tapioca or any white root.
	Pineapple.
	Various jungle fruits.

PLATE 17.

LIFE IN THE JUNGLE.

Wa Kalor, Semai Senoi, with her pet wild pig. Bukit Betong, Pahang.

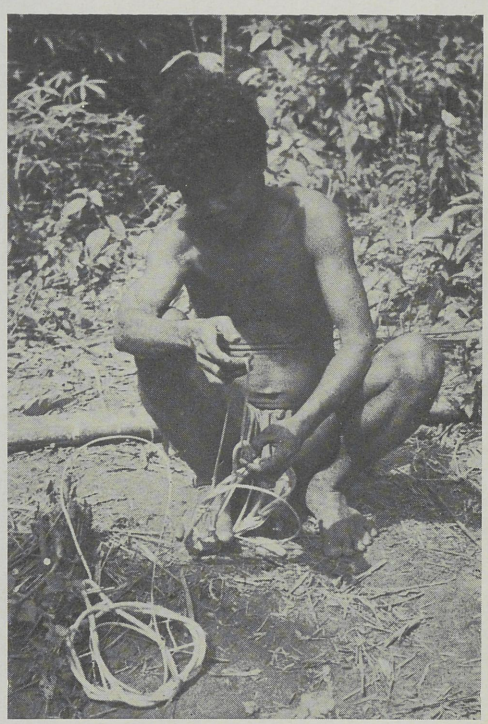
November, 1949.

Belanas children with their play house. Jelebu District, Negri Sembilan.

February, 1950.

Making a bamboo hair comb for a girl friend. Lanoh Negrito, Ulu Jepai, Lenggong, Perak.

September, 1950.

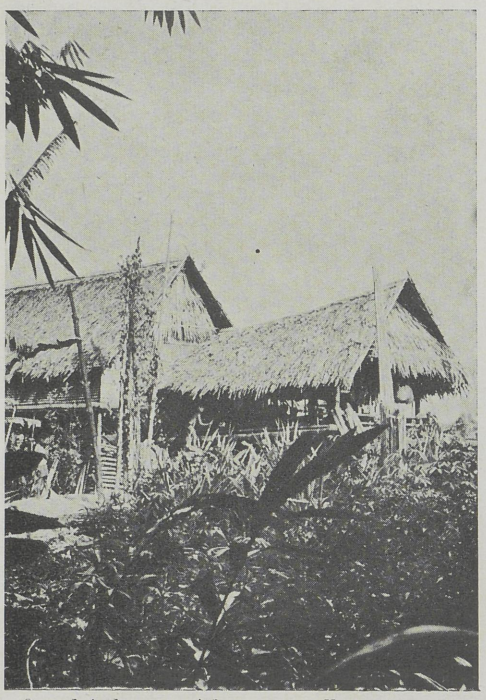


This Temer Senoi smiles to himself as he thinks of the monkeys that are going to be caught in his rotan traps. Kuala Legap, Perak.

May, 1949.

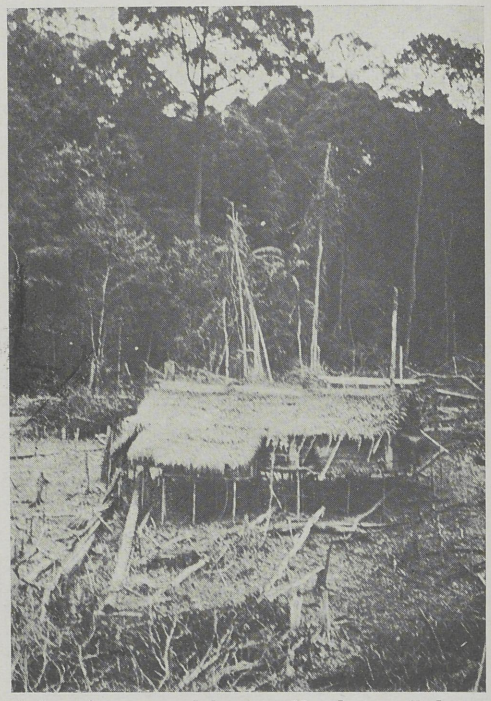
PLATE 18.

HOUSES.



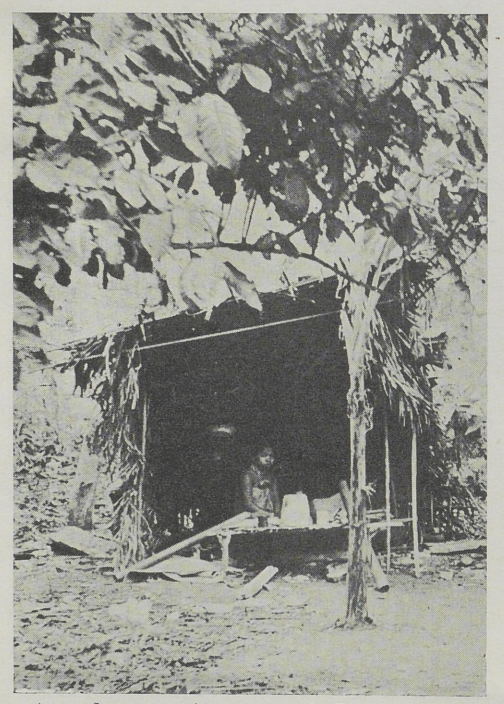
Semelai house with open walled day room. Near Tasek Bera, Pahang.

August, 1947.



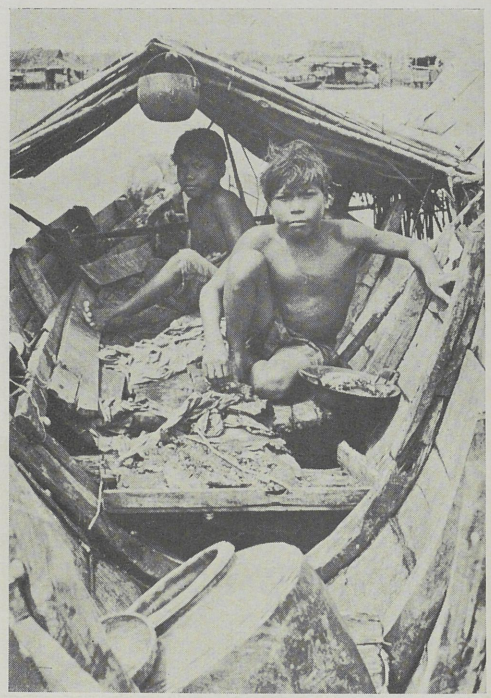
A Semai communal house. North-west Pahang.

November, 1949.



A rather superior type of Lanoh Negrito shelter near Ulu Jepai, Lenggong, Upper Perak. Note the water bamboos and the plates stuck in the roof.

September, 1951.



Orang Seletar boys in their living boat. Pulai River, Johore.

December, 1950.

(iii) Forbidden to pregnant women	Tinned fish. Fish caught in traps. Cuttlefish. Shellfish. Bamboo shoots. Tortoise. Some types of monkey. Various fruits and in particular bananas dropped by themselves.
(iv) Newly delivered women for about two weeks	As for menstruating women.

No special ceremony marks the onset of puberty with the Aboriginal woman although most *Semai* girls in my experience have taken good care to make the event known to everyone in the community. The normal Aboriginal women menstruate for about seven days every twenty-eight days during which period she wears a folded over piece of old sarong supported by a waist string and frequently changed. The waist string that will support this sarong fragment is the characteristic mark of the female in most Aboriginal groups and often is first worn as early as three months after birth. Some of the Pahang *Semai* women wear special waist belts woven from the horse-hair like substance found around the stems of certain palms whilst fibre string girdles augmented by superbly decorated rotan belts are found with the *Jah Hut* and *Che Wong*. Menstruating married women are expected to sleep slightly apart from their husbands otherwise I have recorded no special restrictions.

Sickness, other than such obvious accidents as festering cuts or sore throats, is universally regarded as being the work of evil disposed spirits and although herbal remedies are well known and frequently used the main aim is to prevent such spirits gaining a hold or making their stay pretty uncomfortable by magical practices once they have appeared. Precautions can be divided into protective personal ornaments, protective measures on a communal basis by the erection of suitable barriers, precautions to prevent corpses bothering communities and a knowledge of what not to do under certain circumstances.

Protective personal ornaments are of various sorts but the more common include the ornamented hair combs worn by most Negrito and *Senoi* women, remains of the navel cord worn on a string around the neck or wrist by members of almost every ethnic group and wristlets and anklets often of the black shiny *akar batu* but not infrequently of ordinary cord or thread. To this list may be added the fungus skirts of the women from the western Negrito groups and the girdles of sweet smelling herbs worn by *Semai* women and those of some other groups. All these admirable decorations serve as a precaution against the harmful effects of " hot rain ". That is, rain

falling out of a more or less cloudless sky when the sun is shining full blast and this strange event, which is not particularly uncommon in Malaya, is credited with causing all nature of fatal fevers. There is obviously a good deal of common sense in the fear of hot rain—a sudden chill on a hot day can work havoc with the most rugged constitutions—and in the jungle it is not always possible to get under cover from a sudden and unexpected shower. Coming to protective measures on a communal basis these usually take the form of æolian devices calculated to discomfort ghosts in the vicinity of inhabited ladangs and these machines are particularly popular with the Aboriginal Malays. Some of the *Semelai* have a mania for erecting the *berbalings* described previously in the section on music whilst the Selangor and Negri Sembilan *Bĕlanas* are expert with a type of bamboo organ pipe whose slits produce some very weird and wonderful shrieks most unnerving to one unaccustomed to such devices. Corpses or rather ghosts are normally unable to cross water and it is usual to dispatch a burial party to operate some way from a camp. With certain groups iron objects are regarded as possessing a spirit and to bury a *parang* with a body would, according to a *Lanoh* informant, give the ghost, angry at being dispossessed of life on earth, an opportunity to bring about the decease of former friends so that it would have companions in the next world. This however is by no means a universal belief as the *Semai* bury all a dead person's property in or on the grave although some communities and for that matter several other Aboriginal ethnic groups break or bend all grave goods following the concept of dead objects for dead people. Personal precautions other than worn on the body vary enormously from one group to another and there is only space to give a few instances. The *Semai* consider it extremely dangerous to walk under a rainbow—a feat which I am assured is possible—as a fatal fever will almost invariably follow. In some way the Nagas—mythical dragons or snakes—are linked with rainbows and it is the humours from their bodies which are considered so fatal. This is a belief which of course is not confined to the Aborigines. The Negritos have many tabus transgression of which should be followed by severe sickness in the back. Breaking of the mother-in-law/father-in-law avoidance tabu is considered to be a principal way in which this sickness is acquired. Other transgressions are rewarded by thunderstorms rather than sickness.

Once, in spite of all precautions, an evil spirit has manifested itself by fever or delirium it is the duty of the group's magician or *pawang* to make life so unpleasant that the spirit departs forthwith. The generally accepted method is to provide some counter attraction for the spirit in the way of a model house, boat complete with boatman, aeroplane or similar device and then to put up such a racket that the spirit is only too glad to leave, or a striped stick rotating in the breeze may cause distress. Many additional trappings are required for a successful eviction and there are various plants and items of foodstuff which are regarded as having magical value. Once it is apparent that

the spirit has left the body it is an easy matter to instruct the model boatman or aeroplane pilot previously constructed to remove him at high speed on a one-way ticket. The aeroplane is, of course, a modern feature replacing the older and slower spirit boat and a careful magician such as Penghulu Bagas of the Tanjong Malim *Semai* will include such items as machine guns designed to shoot down any magical attempt to turn back the departing plane. Since the model is designed to leave in spirit form it is usually not destroyed and such models may often be seen in or under Aboriginal houses.

Ceremonial bathing to wash away the evil spirit is also often undertaken and specially decorated bamboos are frequently prepared for this purpose both for sickness and after child birth.

Customs connected with death and burial vary enormously from group to group. Many peoples have extreme fear of death and will remove camp immediately after the burial or even flee the camp leaving the body unburied. More settled groups will burn down the house of the deceased either as a matter of course or, with the less wild groups, only if the ghost is considered to be making a nuisance of itself. The firmly settled groups with substantial houses merely confine their precautions to locating their graveyards in remote places often across water which is considered a sufficient barrier to most forms of ghost although I have seen a *Bĕlanas* community in Negri Sembilan living almost on top of their burial place in much the same way as in a Malay kampong.

With the *Lanoh* Negritos, should the death occur at night, a lighted lamp is left with the body which remains in the camp. At first light the next day a bier of bamboo is constructed, the body is washed and placed on the bier covered with sarongs, the deceased personal possessions are packed into a backbasket and an all male party sets off for the burial grounds. As the procession leaves the burial ground the women in the camp break out into an unearthly wailing. The grave is dug straight down to a depth of three or four feet, the handles lopped off the bier and the remaining platform with the body previously arranged on its right side with the legs drawn up to lowered to the bottom of the excavation with the head to the west. The more valuable personal possessions are then placed with the body and a leaning roof of bark and poles constructed in the grave. The earth is then pushed back in, stamped down and the final mound is topped with a rough lean-to shelter containing the remaining personal possessions, food vessels, a fire and two or more painted sticks " to frighten away tigers ".

The burial completed the eldest man present addresses the body roughly as follows :

> " Excuse us ghost of one of us. Last night you reached the span of your years and must return to the land of our ancestors. You must intercede for us (with the ancestor dieties) for we are poor people. We will always remember you. Farewell."

The party then returns to the camp and from then on for a period of seven days there is mourning during which no ornaments are worn nor may musical instruments be played or dances or weddings held.

On the night of the funeral an initial feast is held in which all members of the community take part and seven days later another feast is held " to welcome back the returning spirit ". For this second feast, held in the original camp if the community has moved, a special platform is constructed on which the food is consumed, ornaments are worn and a dance is held.

Lanoh funerals are not particularly solemn affairs and at one I attended there was almost continual laughter as the carrying party fell over logs and rocks. Half way through the burial everyone left to chase a lizard and there was an interruption of nearly an hour before the proceedings continued (1).

The *Jehai* Negritos have similar burial customs but both men and women attend the funeral and personal possessions other than food vessels left on the grave are divided amongst relatives. There may be three funeral feasts at seven-day intervals only for the last of which is a platform constructed.

With the *Semai* the body is prepared in the house being wrapped in new mats and the whole is trussed to a single pole. Everybody goes to the burial which is in a cavity at the side of the grave and assists in arranging the shelter erected on top often but not always double sided shelters are put up for men and single sided for women and the grave site is surrounded by small traps to prevent the ghost escaping. Again two funeral feasts are held and for the second an elaborately decorated *balai* is constructed an example of which appears in the illustrations.

I have not been to any Aboriginal Malay funerals but all the graves I have seen are very similar to those of the Malays and there is every suggestion that Malay graves in their present form are a direct descent from a pre-Islam pattern.

Some of the *Semelai* graves are quite elaborate with carved wooden panels whilst other Aboriginal Malay burials, particularly those in Ulu Langat include small spirit houses and food offerings for visiting ghosts. Many other Aboriginal Malay graves merely comprise a couple of posts carved and painted but some groups have rectangular earth mounds and more elaborate features. None has given a detailed description of the graves and burial customs of a group in south central Johore (2).

(1) A very full account of this *Lanoh* burial together with an analysis of other Negrito burial customs will appear in the forthcoming new Federation Museums Bulletin.

(2) Noone, H. D. *Customs Relating to Death and Burial among the Orang Ulu (Jakun) of Ulu Johore.* Journal of the F.M.S. Museums, Vol. XV, No. 4, 1939.

Aborigines are rather reluctant to part with details of the next world but it seems that each group hereafter is confined to the one tribe. As one *Lanoh* put it to me, " There are no Malays, no police and no bandits in the next world, so Sari (the person being buried) won't need her identity card and you had better have it ".

The *Lanoh* believe that in the next world men and women live apart. The earth is flat and where the sun (incidentally not hot and travelling on a string) rises live all the males with the male ancestor diety, To' Samin and where the sun sets is his wife, Che Timah and all the women. This separation it appears is of little consequence as " The spirits do not eat only wind flowers in their hair and play together ".

Beliefs with other groups vary. With some all the spirits live together usually in the West; with others the spirits spend part of their time on earth near their graves and part away.

A noticeable feature of all Aboriginal beliefs is the absence of a hot, flaming Hell. Really bad spirits merely become earth bound and isolated. Most Aboriginal groups have a belief in a diety, often in several who are frequently ancestor dieties, and various other lesser beings who might be described under the headings of fairies and demons.

For a people who are so primitive in other respects the Negritos have an exceedingly complex series of dieties and it would be quite impossible to describe them in detail here. They are mostly of the ancestor variety and the most feared is *Karai*. Any sin on earth is punished by *Karai* with a heavy thunderstorm and sin must be expiated by a blood sacrifice—cutting the leg with a sharp bamboo, catching some of the blood on a leaf and throwing it up into the sky. Negrito sins are not quite the same sort of things that Europeans would normally think of and, according to Schebesta, include drawing water in any vessel that has been blackened by the fire, wearing haircombs during a thunderstorm or after a death, laughing at butterflies—a rather strange thing to do at the best of times—and sexual intercourse in the camp during the daytime.

This fear of thunderstorms is not confined to the Negritos but is also found with most of the *Senoi*.

The *Senoi* as a whole also seem to lack any specific overall diety and the few for which information is available are of the ancestor variety. But there is a wide range of good and bad fairies and for some of the wilder groups every corner of the jungle, pools in the rivers, rocks, trees and flowers and many other features have their own genii.

By contrast many of the Aboriginal Malay groups have a definite diety often now called Tuan Allah and there is little doubt that this belief predates Muslim days although now many stories have obviously been influenced by the beliefs of Islam.

XII—*Aboriginal Problems and Proposals for Advancement*

There are many Aboriginal problems in the Federation the majority of which involve unfavourable treatment by other races. To describe these problems in detail would only lead to undesirable friction and I propose here to give merely a short account of the welfare measures that have been achieved in the past and an outline of what is proposed for the future.

The State of Perak has led the Federation in many things and Aboriginal administration and welfare is one of them. Right at the beginning of this century a Superintendent of Sakais was appointed in the Batang Padang District. The first holder was an Italian, Captain G. B. Cerruti and he has left an interesting account of his activities (1). He also appears to have left his mark in another way since I met a *Semai* lady rejoicing in the name of Wa Cerruti near Tapah only a few days ago (September, 1951). The girl was quite young and I asked how the name arose but apart from " it is a name we often use " everyone had forgotten its origin. Aborigines have short memories. The Perak Museum at Taiping established in the 1880's was, until the last war, the centre of anthropological research and a succession of anthropologists, L. Wray, I. H. N. Evans and H. D. Noone, have drawn attention to Aboriginal problems and undertaken a great deal of welfare work themselves. Noone in particular concentrated his efforts on the *Temer Senoi* and played a leading part in the drafting of the Perak Aboriginal Tribes Enactment of 1939, the first serious piece of legislation for Aboriginal welfare. Since the war Perak and in particular its Menteri Besar, the Dato Panglima Bukit Gantang who has a remarkable understanding of the Aboriginal outlook, has spared no effort to solve the Aboriginal-Communist problem and I will mention something of what they have achieved a little later on.

H. D. Noone disappeared into the jungle during the war and his fate is still obscure although there is good evidence to suggest that he was murdered by the Communists. The post of Field Ethnographer in the Museums Department has remained vacant ever since and has just been abolished.

In Kelantan the late Anker Rentse, unhappily killed in an air crash in 1950, had considerable influence with the Aborigines and both before and after the war undertook a considerable amount of welfare work. In other States less work was undertaken but here and there Aboriginal headmen received letters of appointment and Aboriginal Reserves were created.

(1) Cerruti, Capt. G. B., *My Friends the Savages*, Tipografia Co-operativa Comense, 1908.

After the war with the British Military Administration there was a Federal Protector of Aborigines who eventually became an officer in the Department of Social Welfare. This arrangement was obviously unsatisfactory as no one man could be expected to cover the whole country. The Committee appointed to enquire into the workings of the Social Welfare Department recommended that since Aborigines were State or Settlement subjects their welfare should be the concern of local authorities with, where required, technical advice from the anthropologists in the Museums Department. However, this proposal was not entirely practicable since to achieve the results required by the Museums Department long residence is necessary with a selected community preferably not in contact with civilisation whilst for welfare purposes a more superficial and widely spread knowledge of Aborigines and particularly those who are in touch with civilisation since it is here where most of the problems arise is required. The Federal Government did not therefore accept the Committee's recommendation but in 1950 abolished the post of Federal Protector of Aborigines and replaced it by a Federal Adviser on Aborigines putting the onus of welfare measures on local authorities and research on the Federation. The new Department for the Welfare of Aborigines was removed from the Department of Social Welfare and became part of the Federal Secretariat. Under the membership system it is now under the authority of the Member for Home Affairs. Initially this new Department consisted of an Adviser and a lady Assistant Adviser, the latter with the role of ascertaining the Aboriginal woman's point of view, and a small office and research staff of Malays, Chinese and Aborigines. Experience over the past two years however has shown that this Department was too small to deal with the pressure of work entailed and the new permanent establishment is rather larger.

When the present writer was appointed the first Federal Adviser on Aborigines the following progressive programme was proposed:

(i) An initial survey of the Federation to determine the exact extent and nature of the Aboriginal population.

(ii) Federal legislation for Aboriginal protection and advancement based on the existing Perak Enactment but with additional clauses to cover changed circumstances since 1939.

(iii) The appointment of State and Settlement Protectors of Aborigines to assist District Officers in the details of welfare and advancement schemes.

(iv) A series of experimental advancement schemes with different types of Aboriginal community.

(v) Putting successful schemes into effect over a wide area.

(vi) Detailed technical research on selected groups both in the field and in a specially equipped Federal Research Station.

In order to pool resources in storage space and rare books as well as the unique opportunities of collecting material in the field it was suggested that the new Department be housed in the Museums Department and undertook the Museums side of technical Aboriginal research whilst the Museums Department concentrated on the archaeological research necessary to determine Aboriginal origins and early history.

The Emergency has completely disrupted any attempt at order in this programme but a certain amount has been achieved.

Firstly, largely as the result of Security Force activity both on the ground and in the air we know now more about Aboriginal distribution and the nature of the deep jungle than ever before. But there are still a number of more or less blank spots. The more important of these at the time of writing are:

The Kedah-Thailand border region.
Upper Perak.
Central Kelantan.
Trengganu.
North-east, north-west and south central Pahang.

State and Settlement Governments have agreed in principle to Federal legislation which should have become law by the time this book is in circulation.

Proposals have been made for Area or State Protectors of Aborigines and all local authorities with Aborigines under their charge have agreed with the exception of the States of Johore and Kedah. In these two States Aboriginal problems are not particularly difficult and those that do arise are handled by the Federal Adviser.

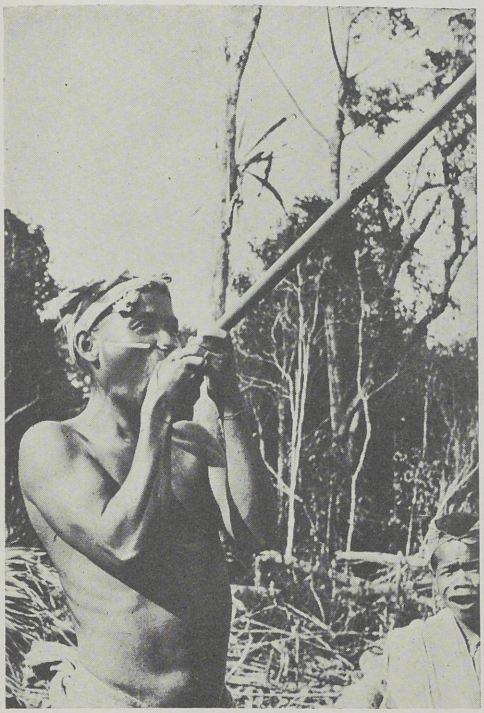
No local authority has yet appointed a full-time Protector of Aborigines on a permanent basis. Perak has established an elaborate organisation consisting of a locally raised force, the Perak Aboriginal Areas Constabularly, which consists essentially of a number of European resettlement officers with a protective unit. This organisation has the role of removing Aborigines from dangerous areas, resettling them and providing protection and has met with considerable success. At the moment it is headed by the State Game Warden, Mr. G. R. Leonard, M.B.E., who is also acting as Protector of Aborigines but the position is continually under review and it is intended to appoint more officers shortly ([2]).

In Kelantan the Development Officer, Mr. T. W. T. Bangs, O.B.E., J.P., is also the Protector of Aborigines and has under his direction a number of Malay officers forming a liaison with the *Temiar Senoi* in the Ulu Nenggiri.

([2]) A recent reorganisation has turned this unit into a Police Federal Jungle Company.

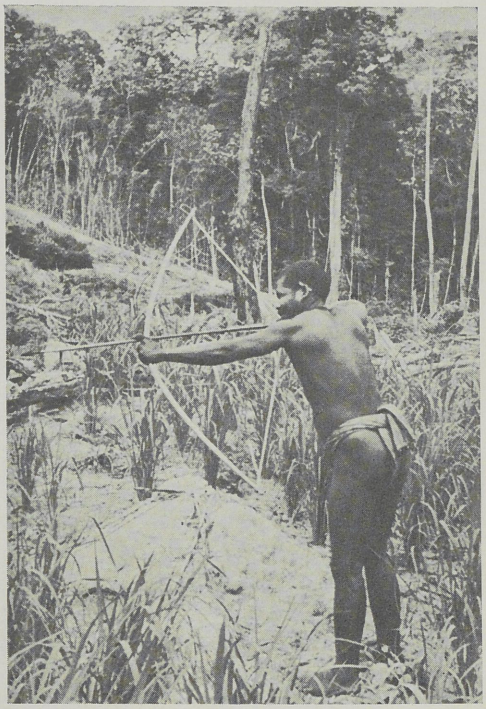
PLATE 19.

ABORIGINAL WEAPONS.



Shooting with the bamboo blowpipe. Semai Senoi, Bukit Betong, Pahang.

November, 1949.



Shooting with the bow. Jehai Negrito Bersia, Upper Perak.

September, 1951.

Making blowpipe darts. Temer Senoi, Ulu Sungei Plus, Perak.

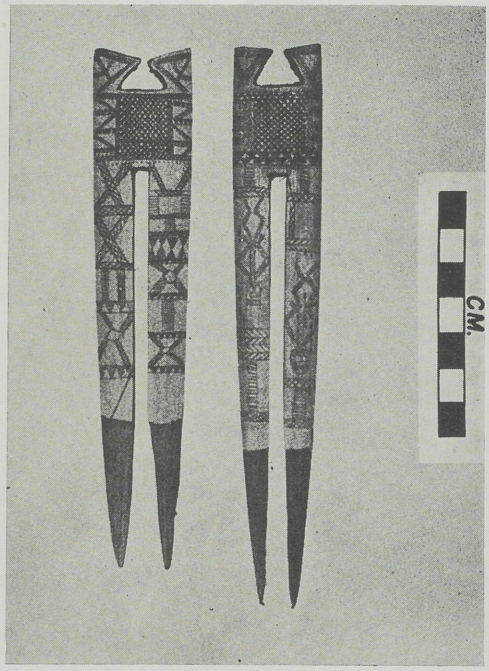
May, 1949.

Ple Senoi bamboo blowpipe dart quivers purchased by Jehai. Bersia, Upper Perak.

September, 1951.

Pandanus pouch with woven pattern of strips dyed red brown with a natural tree wood dye and open work pattern at foot backed with black cloth. Semaq Semang, Temerloh District, Pahang.

January, 1950.



Semai Senoi bamboo hair combs used for combing the hair and pinning the bun at the back in place. Ulu Jelai Kechil, Pahang.

November, 1949.

A Lanoh Negrito drawing in a cave near Lenggong, Upper Perak. Charcoal on limestone. The man appears to be leading a horse. This drawing is unlikely to be more than thirty years old and not dissimilar drawings are made at the present day.

August, 1950.

A Semelai carved parang sheath. Lipis District, Negri Sembilan.

October, 1950.

Pahang has a Protector of Aborigines, Mr. H. R. Biles, together with a small Malay and Aboriginal staff.

Whilst as far as possible it has been intended to fit peacetime development schemes into moves brought about by the Emergency in practice it has not been possible to achieve very much. As we cannot say if the proposed schemes are going to be successful there is little point in going into details but in broad terms they consist of progressive steps to settle the Aborigines into a fixed way of life in the initial instance affording protection by the formation of Aboriginal Areas and Reserves. There is sometimes a conflict of opinion on Aboriginal advancement schemes. Many Europeans want the Aborigines put into reserves and kept in their primitive state whilst some local authorities are keen on advancing them at a rate which it is felt might be beyond their capacity. I myself am not in favour of reserves except in the opening stages of an advancement scheme. Given a fair chance the Aborigines have the ability to advance and it is possible that artificial boundaries will not always be respected. It is thus sheer cruelty to deny them the chance to progress with the possibility that they may be spilled out into a world that has advanced whilst they have not. It would be a very different matter if there was evidence to suppose that all the Aborigines were dying out rapidly. Actually all facts indicate that they are not or at least need not provided they are given a fair deal.

Nevertheless in spite of the Emergency some steps have been taken. In Perak, Kelantan and Pahang Aboriginal headmen have been given official letters of appointment and Aboriginal jamborees held. In the Kelantan resettlement camps Government shops have been established, some education for the children attempted and jungle products purchased through the State development scheme.

Technical research, somewhat naturally, has had to take a back seat. Mention has already been made of the initial surveys of Aboriginal health undertaken by the University of Malaya and further research work in physical anthropology is now being undertaken by Major P. Sneath of the Royal Army Medical Corps. Somewhat prematurely a Federal Research Station has been formed near Kuala Lumpur mainly with the object of housing Aboriginal detainees and small groups which could not be resettled satisfactorily elsewhere. Here it has been possible only to undertake some instruction in the improvement of material culture and, with the aid of the Department of Broadcasting, recordings of some Aboriginal music and songs. In the field some technical data has been recorded from the *Jehai* and *Lanoh* Negritos and the *Semai Senoi* and a considerable and well documented collection of material culture has been acquired.

Appendix A

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

It is a little difficult to give a bibliography that is of much use as it is almost impossible to obtain any of the books listed below other than those marked with a star. Complete libraries are available in the Raffles Museum, Singapore and in the National Museum, Kuala Lumpur, but these are for technical reference within the departments concerned and books are not usually lent out.

1906. Skeat, W. W., and Blagden, C. O., *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, Macmillan, London, 1906.

This is the last general work on the Aborigines and contains a summary of all available knowledge at that time. A number of the ethnic groups described have either since disappeared into the Malay population or have died out whilst many jungle peoples now known are not mentioned.

1908. Cerruti, Captain G. B., *My Friends the Savages*, Tipografia Co-operativa Comense, 1908.

An interesting but rather sentimental account of the Batang Padang *Semai Senoi* by the first Superintendent of Sakais. Gives many stories of ill-treatment of Aborigines.

1913. Wilkinson, R. J., C.M.G., *The Aboriginal Tribes*, F. M. S. Government Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1913.

A general summary. Now out of print this paper is being rewritten by the present author.

*1923. Evans, I. H. N., M.A., F.R.A.I., *Studies in Religion Folk-Lore and Custom in British North Borneo and the Malay Peninsula*, Cambridge University.

Contains papers on Aboriginal customs and beliefs mostly reprinted from the *Journals of the Federated Malay States Museums*.

*1927. Evans, I. H. N., M.A., F.R.A.I., *Papers on the Ethnology and Archaeology of the Malay Peninsula*, Cambridge University Press, 1927.

A further series of similar papers.

1927. Schebesta, Father P., *Among the Forest Dwarfs of Malaya*, Hutchinson, London.

A well-known anthropologist's popular account of his travels with the Negritos in 1924.

*1937. Evans, I. H. N., M.A., F.R.A.I., *The Negritos of Malaya*, Cambridge University Press, 1937.

A collection of all the then known data on the Negritos.

1936. Noone, H. D., M.A., F.R.A.I., *Report on the Settlements and Welfare of the Ple-Temiar Senoi of the Perak-Kelantan Watershed, Journal of the Federated Malay States Museums*, Vol. XIX, Part I., Lithographers, Singapore, 1936.

The only detailed account of an Aboriginal ethnic group that is really of any value. Noone intended this paper as an introduction to further detailed studies but unfortunately lost his notes. He vanished into the jungle during the war.

*1945. Cole, Fay-Cooper, *The Peoples of Malaysia*, D. Van Nostrand, New York, 1945.

This recent book has a chapter on each of our three main groups. There are a fair number of errors of one kind or another but the book is readily available and is good enough for the non-specialist reader.

*1949. Chapman, F. Spencer, D.S.O., *The Jungle is Neutral*, Chatto and Windus, London, 1949.

The author served in the jungle with the Communists during the war and has a certain amount to say about Communist-Aboriginal liaison.

*1949. Del Tufo, M. V., M.A., *A Report on the 1947 Census of Population*, Crown Agents, London and Government Printer, Kuala Lumpur.

Contains the summarised returns on the Aborigines and a chapter on the Aboriginal enumeration.

*1949. *Bulletin of the Raffles Museum, Series B., No. 4.*

Contains a number of papers. *A Technique for Anthropology from the Air in Malaya* contains information of value to Security Forces.

*1951. Williams-Hunt, P. D. R., *Notes on the Administration, Welfare and Recording of Technical Data Relating to the Malayan Aborigines*, Government Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1951.

A confidential document available to Government officers and Military units on request.

1951. Polunin, Ivan, B.A., B.Sc., B.M., B.Ch., *Studies on the Medical Natural History of the Malayan Aborigines*, Department of Social Medicine and Public Health, University of Malaya, Singapore.

A pioneer medical study in rough draft form. This paper has not yet been wholly completed.

Next year (1953) it is proposed to start a new Federation of Malaya Museums Journal, Series B of which will contain articles on archaeological and anthropological subjects.

Also it is proposed to publish an index to the archaeological and anthropological papers in the now defunct *Perak Museum Notes* and *Journal of the Federated Malay States Museums*.

There is a short documentary film on the Upper Perak Negritos entitled "*Nomads of the Jungle*". One 16 mm. copy of this film is held in the Selangor Museum, Kuala Lumpur.

Appendix B

COLLECTIONS OF ABORIGINAL MATERIAL CULTURE

There are very few collections of articles made by the Malayan Aborigines and most of these were made many years ago, are incompletely documented—"*Sakai*" of Perak is a typical label—and relatively valueless to the modern student. The following list of institutions with collections is not complete but is believed to contain the more important.

Raffles Museum, Singapore.

This Museum has a room devoted to the Aborigines which is at present in course of re-arrangement. Some of the material is very old but there is a fair collection of more recent material collected by H. D. Collings just before and just after the war and additional material collected by myself. As far as possible objects in the Museum are illustrated by photographs showing the Aborigines actually using them. Only the case of musical instruments is finished but it is hoped to complete the other cases in 1953.

Selangor Museum, Kuala Lumpur.

The Selangor Museum had a small collection before the war but unfortunately towards the end of the war the building was destroyed by bombs intended for the railway engine shed a couple of hundred yards away. That part of the collection saved is now in the Perak Museum.

The Selangor Museum also houses my own private collection made since the war. This is by far the largest and best documented collection in existence but due to limitations of storage space is not in order and is not available to the general public. *Bona fide* students can have access to the collection provided notice is given but I cannot undertake to find any particular series of articles at short notice. The overflow from this collection is in the Research Station at Selayang.

The new Federal Temporary National Museum due to be opened in Kuala Lumpur next year will have a representative selection of Aboriginal material culture on permanent display and periodical special exhibitions.

PERAK MUSEUM, TAIPING.

This Museum has a fairly good general collection of Aboriginal things dating from the 1880's and is arranged in some sort of order although labels are missing in many cases. It is hoped to put this collection in order eventually but it will be some years before this can be done.

BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON.

The Ethnographical Collection contains a certain amount of Malayan material obtained towards the end of the last century but this was not on show in May, 1951, and due to the cramped space in the galleries may not be put out. The British Museum "*Handbook to the Ethnographical Collections*", 2nd. Edition, 1925, contains notes and some illustrations on Malayan material.

PITT RIVERS MUSEUM, OXFORD.

This is a teaching museum for the University and contains some Malayan Aboriginal material. As a general rule objects are arranged by classes rather than by country and the services of someone who knows the collections may be required to indicate all the Malayan material.

UNIVERSITY MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY, CAMBRIDGE.

The Skeat collection made about the turn of the century is here with a few later items which Evans and I have sent.

IMPERIAL INSTITUTE, SOUTH KENSINGTON, LONDON.

There is no Aboriginal collection here at the present time but I am preparing material both for a film strip and to illustrate Aboriginal bag and basket making which should be ready by the end of the year (1952).

UNIVERSITY MUSEUM, ADELAIDE, AUSTRALIA.

This Museum is preparing a room to illustrate Malaya and as far as possible duplicate items of Aboriginal material culture are being sent down from the Federation.

Appendix C

COLLECTING FOR MUSEUMS

Most Europeans in Malaya appear to fall victims to the collecting bug and as the results of their efforts usually finish up in home museums I am writing some notes to discourage as many as possible.

The object that always seems to capture popular imagination is the Aboriginal blowpipe and its poisoned darts. I do not encourage the collection of blowpipes mainly because Aborigines tend to meet the demand by manufacturing bogus trade goods which is both bad for their morals and an annoyance to the collectors. Also the poison on the darts is not at all the thing to play about with and is almost certainly fatal to humans in the quantities placed on some darts. The more discerning Aborigines will not part with poisoned darts but they are sometimes picked up in abandoned houses by members of the Security Forces and eventually finish up at Scotland Yard with unfortunate results. There is no objection to taking out plain darts but the Malayan Customs Department have been asked to forbid export of poisoned darts.

For collecting for Museums to be of any value objects must be properly documented. This is particularly so in the case of material sent to museums, outside Malaya. Undocumented or inadequately documented material merely become pieces of junk to be disposed of at the first opportunity and are a trying problem to museum curators. The standard documentation technique adopted in the Federal Museums Department is given below. It will be seen that this is a somewhat tedious undertaking but it is really not worth while collecting unless such documentation is done.

Most museums prefer objects that have been in use, even if they are slightly soiled, and amateurs should confine their collecting to this category. Extreme caution needs to be exercised in getting objects made to order. Usually with Aborigines objects made to order are poorly executed or, in some cases, fantastic items are produced bearing no relation to things in normal use. Only where normal items are too big for easy collection, boats, houses, large traps, etc., should models be made. Anything made to order must be clearly marked as such.

The following data must appear:

MALAYA.

(i) Aboriginal Ethnic Group Name.

(ii) Racial Group ... ... i.e., Negrito, *Senoi* or Aboriginal Malay.

(iii) Placename	give the Aboriginal placename followed by the Malay placename. If one or both do not appear on the standard map series state so.
(iv) Map series	normally standard 1″ series.
(v) Map grid reference.	
(vi) Lat. and Long.	these are essential for objects going out of the country as few museums will have access to Malayan maps.
(vii) The Aboriginal name of the object followed by a brief description of its use.	
(viii) The names of all the various parts	this requires particular care. Names should include the Aboriginal names of all decorations and their meanings, the scientific names of dye stuffs, plants or woods used. A note should be added of the methods employed in preparing these items.
(ix) The name of the collector.	
(x) Purchase price.	
(xi) Date.	

A typical label might read as follows :

MALAYA.

Ethnic Group ... ... *Semai Senoi.*
Racial Group ... ... *Senoi.*

CHEBAT LEMOI.
Kuala Sg. Lemoi,
Pahang.
Ref. Map, Malaya, 1″ series, 2 N/11.
K 509550.
Lat. 4° 27′ North ; Long. 101° 36′ East.

TAPOK.

Small pouch of *Mengkuang* (Pandanus gen.) for holding small objects, tobacco, etc.

Mengkuang	*SIKEIT*
Coarse inner pouch	*SENIGROK*
Yellow painted pattern (Tortoise pattern)	*BUNGA SEL*
Yellow dye (dye prepared by pounding root of *Circuma domestica*. This is not a fast dye and will fade gradually on exposure to the light) ...	*REMET*
Collector	Ali bin Mat.
Purchased	15th October, 1950.
Cost	50 cents (Malayan currency).

Where it is possible to do so specimens collected should be supported by photographs of the process of manufacture and the completed item in use. Some museums like to have examples showing stages in manufacture and samples of the tools used. Where this is done it should be stated clearly what tools are made by the Aborigines and what tools are purchased. In the latter case the prices paid and whether obtained by cash payment or exchange of jungle produce should be added.

I cannot give detailed price lists for every Aboriginal article but the following list will give a general impression of fair rates:

Bamboo blowpipes complete with dart quiver	$10-$20 according to finish and decoration.
Wooden blowpipes	At least $20 as these are hard to make.
Bamboo headed spears	$1.50 to $2.50.
Small decorated pouches	Up to $1.50.
Larger decorated bags	$2 to $5.
Open weave backbaskets	Not more than $1.50.
Sleeping mats...	Plain $2 to $3. Decorated $2.50 to $6.
Bamboo hair combs	From $1 to $5 for the elaborate Negrito combs.
Animal traps	10 to 50 cents.
Fish traps	From $2 to $10.

Appendix D

NOTES FOR THE SECURITY FORCES

Most of the notes that follow have appeared elsewhere at various times and to meet many requests I have gathered them together here. At the same time the opportunity has been taken to revise them in the light of experiences over the past two years. Although designed for the Security Forces there is nothing particularly secret about the information given and in the future it should also be of value to other travellers in Aboriginal areas.

1.—Obtaining Information in Aboriginal Areas.

These notes should be read in conjunction with any instructions issued from GSI. Topographical intelligence should be lodged in operations rooms at Police Circle Headquarters as these are less likely to move than military units as well as with higher military formations. It is often convenient to keep a series of route books with a section of the standard one inch map series on the left hand page and details of tracks, photographs, etc., on the right hand page.

I. Routes and Tracks.

Many jungle routes and placenames do not appear on any of the published map series and their reporting is of extreme importance. The following gives some idea of the information a report should contain.

(*a*) The general line of route in relation to a standard map series; the average width and relative ease or difficulty of travel between points both lightly and heavily equipped; the possibility of expansion of the track into a jeep track.

There is little point in photographing jungle tracks since one looks very much like another.

(*b*) Conspicuous features on or near the route such as rock outcrops, caves, hot springs, waterfalls, large trees tapped for some purpose, etc.

These should be photographed.

With caves a sketch plan is of value particularly if it is supported by photographs both looking in and looking out from the inside. Note particularly if there is more than one entrance and if there is an exit to the roof if the cave is in a limestone outcrop. Check if the cave is known to Chinese—many caves have been excavated by Chinese guano diggers—or if it was lived in by

Chinese during the war. If there is no local information there are usually obvious traces but broken fragments of Chinese pottery may not necessarily have been left by Chinese. Remains of joss sticks or red candles or Chinese characters on the walls are more definite signs. Bandits who have put up sleeping platforms in caves often deceive the casual observer by leaving items of Aboriginal culture such as fish traps or backbaskets.

(*c*) River and ravine crossings both normally and after heavy rain; note whether the path runs along the river side or bed for any distance or passes straight over and is obvious from the other bank as paths are often lost at river crossings; locations of aboriginal bridges and nature of bottom of river, boulders, sand, clay, mud, etc.

Rivers and streams of any size should be photographed with some one in the act of crossing.

(*d*) Areas of *belukar* or *lalang* suitable for air drops, the descent of helicopters or which might be expanded into light airstrips.

(*e*) Good camping sites.

And if there are Aborigines with the party:

(*f*) The Aboriginal placenames for geographical features in particular (these will be different in many cases from the Malay names, in the Tapah region of Perak for example,

Sg. Batang Padang	...	TEIO GOL
Sg. Tidong ...	...	TEIO TIDUG
Sg. Woh ...	...	TEIO WAR
Sg. Bemban ...	...	TEIO RENTIG
Bt. Mengkuang	...	LON SIKIT
Chenderiang ...	...	CHENDRIQ);

the Aboriginal rendering of the Malay name if known and the general Aboriginal names for geographical features such as hill, mountain, river, jungle clearing and so on.

(*g*) Any areas (camp sites, graves, river crossings, old forts, etc.) avoided by the Aborigines on account of any superstition or because they are in the territory of another ethnic group.

(*h*) Any animals or fruit forbidden to be taken or eaten.

(*i*) The presence and nature of any animal traps, such as pits or spring spears, that may be harmful to travellers.

(*j*) The names and locations of good guides or carriers.

These should be photographed and, if they possess one, their identity card numbers noted.

II. River Travel.

(*a*) Locations where boats may be obtained; areas of bamboo suitable for raft building and locations of Aborigines good at raft building and river travel.

(*b*) A description of movement up or down stream giving the time taken; the locations of rapids and the route through them; tracks on one or both banks; places where it is best to off load and walk; limit up river to which boats/rafts can be taken.

Much of this data can be shown as a timetable, i.e., *Kuala Legap-Kuala Ternam, Sg. Plus, Perak.* Trip by three-man bamboo raft, 13-5-49. River low, no rain for three days.

0000. Leave Kuala Legap (BOK LEGAP).

0010. TEGO SUBAT, short rapid, river running ENE (passage, right, centre, left).

0015. TEI'OK, conspicuous rock in centre of river passage to left.

and so on.

Photographs should be taken of typical boats, rafts and other craft and supported by sketches and notes on handling. At the same time it is convenient to obtain information on the recognition of fishing devices and how to use them.

III. Aboriginal Ladangs.

The following are some of the points worth recording.

(*a*) The location of the *ladang* in relation to a standard map series; local Aboriginal placenames.

(*b*) A sketch plan to show routes into and in the *ladang*, location of houses, particularly that of the headman, and whether occupied or empty; waterpoint; *ladang* fence with particular note of any spring traps and how marked.

(*c*) Main groups of crops with an estimate of quantity, domestic animals, other sources of food and whether Aborigines are wholly self supporting or dependant on bought or bartered foodstuffs and if so where obtained.

(*d*) Aboriginal houses both outside and inside with a sketch plan of internal arrangements. Note placing of houses, whether together in the *ladang* or scattered or in the jungle fringe and whether single family or communal.

(*e*) Material culture available such as fishtraps, boats, rafts, etc., mthat ight be useful to a visiting force.

IV. Aborigines.

There is no end to the observations that can be made on the Aborigines themselves but probably only three points are of particular value to the Security Forces.

(*a*) The general attitude of the people, i.e., whether hostile or friendly.

(*b*) Details of any common disease from which the community is suffering.

(*c*) The names, identity card numbers, and other details of headmen. Headmen should be photographed.

2.—Talking to the Aborigines and Behaviour in Aboriginal Areas.

The first problem in talking to the Aborigines is to catch your Aborigine. At the present time no Aborigine coming from an unprotected area is very keen to be seen entering the front door of the local Police Station or Military camp, an attitude for which he can be scarcely be blamed. Moreover many Aborigines have been convinced by the Communists that this is a continuation of the Japanese war and that the Security Forces will behave in much the same way as the Japanese. The most satisfactory solution is for the local District Officer or Police Officer to make the contacts and arrange a meeting in a private house after dark.

The second problem is that of interrogation, Aborigines are extremely irritating people to those unaccustomed to dealing with them. Firstly many Aborigines are quite incapable of giving a coherent story and secondly their way of life is such that they have little use for the past and only a slight interest in anything but the immediate future. Furthermore some groups have distinct tabus which forbid discussion of certain topics under certain circumstances. Interrogation is best achieved by a " tame " Aborigine of the same group as the informant under the direction of a Malay speaking European or Chinese. Many Malays are inclined to bully Aboriginal informants and should not be used except in extreme cases. When threatened the Aborigine immediately becomes confused and evasive and in order to gain confidence it is as well to know something of tabu subjects and other restrictions.

These then are some of the more important difficulties in talking to Aborigines.

(i) Leading questions must be avoided as the more polite Aborigine will almost certainly agree with the questioner.

(ii) Amongst certain groups there is extreme reluctance in mentioning personal names or indicating who is the headman in case some demon hears something to his advantage. This trait extends to group names—i.e., *Temer*, *Lanoh*, *Semelai*, etc., even when the Aborigines do not object to mentioning personal names.

Identity cards are now in the possession of many Aborigines and offer a kind of check but the detail on them is not infrequently wrong. If it is essential to find out personal and group names it is best to take a " tame " Aborigine with the party who can undertake the work. Care must be taken though, if names are obtained this way not to show inadvertently that they are known and so destroy what confidence has been gained.

(iii) Most Aborigines have very little conception of time, distance or numbers beyond a certain point, but the supposition that no Aborigine can count above three is quite untrue. Several Aboriginal languages have numbers up to ten and most male Aborigines can count up to fifty without difficulty. Beyond that point, however, they are inclined to become muddled since they normally have little cause to use such high figures. Their knowledge of days and hours is less precise and in general the following types of limitation should be borne in mind:

(*a*) Unless an occurrence took place very recently the date of a past event cannot be obtained even very approximately. Six months ago is no different from several years or even one month from the Aboriginal viewpoint.

(*b*) It is impossible to discover the time it will take to travel a certain route except by a very rough check expressed in terms of days (or nights) spent on the journey. It should be remembered that, if such times are given, they will be the time taken by the Aborigines to travel the route which is very appreciably faster than the usual Police or Military party can travel.

(*c*) If arrangements are made to meet an Aboriginal party at a specified time and place the request must be made in simple terms, i.e. " Two days from now just as it is getting light ". It is useless to talk in terms of hours and minutes but dawn, mid-day and dusk are generally understood.

(*d*) Queries as to the number of people or families in a group should be avoided unless it is possible to undertake a physical check oneself.

There are certain difficulties connected with routes and movement generally in the jungle. These include:

(*a*) Many groups believe that prior discussion of a route may cause supernatural forces to raise obstacles in the way of the party. Queries in such cases can only be limited to asking to go to a certain place and specifying hill or river valley travel.

(*b*) Even where prior discussion is permitted considerable difficulty may be encountered in Aboriginal place names many of which do not appear on the map. It is essential that Police Parties out in the jungle collect the Aboriginal names of features as they come to them and circulate the information on their return.

(*c*) *En route* there will be certain areas which are unpopular due to the presence of demons or ghost. Insistence on stopping in or going through such an area may lead to being abandoned by the Aborigines.

Then there is the language difficulty. Normally some success will be achieved with Malay but deep in the jungle there will be communities who have no knowledge of that language. Then few Aboriginal women, even in areas close to Malay settlement, know Malay. I find that the best results are obtained by using an Aborigine who speaks Malay from an adjacent group as an interpreter rather than attempting the interrogation myself even when Aborigines have some general knowledge of Malay.

Quite apart from the difficulties of obtaining information there are certain rules of behaviour which need to be observed when living with Aborigines to prevent giving offence. Nothing very drastic will happen if these rules are ignored—in Borneo the investigator might lose his head—but it will make for ease of gaining confidence if some of the following features of Aboriginal life and custom are understood.

The initial approach to an Aboriginal group must be unhurried rather as if one is dealing with semi-tamed animals. Frightening gestures or sudden movements must be avoided in the initial stages of contact. When approaching a *ladang* it is always as well to send an Aboriginal guide on ahead to announce that a party is coming. Unless this is done the whole community may flee.

Never attempt to force an entry into an Aboriginal house. Normally one will be asked in but if an invitation is not forthcoming ask for permission to enter. Shoes should be taken off as you will have to sit on the floor and the less mud which gets in the cleaner the house will be. Actually Aboriginal houses are normally very clean inside. You want to remember that the Aborigines weigh about half what we Europeans do and although the houses are much more stoutly constructed than a first glance would suppose it is better not to bounce about too much. Falling through the floor will amuse the Aborigines and is a novel form of introduction to them but may be rather painful particularly if the floor is of sharp bamboo. The areas around fireplaces sometimes become weakened and should be viewed from afar initially. Watch the ladders going up to houses. Discerning Aborigines usually strengthen them when Europeans are about. Then abandoned houses are often quite stout in the floor but the piles tend to perish. Any undue pressure may cause the house to collapse gracefully sideways. Finally if you have a cup of sweet tea in the house don't throw the dregs down the steps. Descending barefoot in the swarm of bees that will gather is an experience which can well be dispensed with.

There is wide variation in the treatment of animals. The Negritos surround themselves with animals even to the extent of suckling puppies and piglets which have lost their mothers. Other groups are considerably less tolerant and although allowing monkeys, cats and children's pets such as mice, tortoises and musangs in the house chase dogs out with extreme ferocity. Naturally it is unwise to bring a dog into the house under such circumstances but the attitude of the particular group being visited must be ascertained.

Many groups dislike talking about various animals by their direct names and either use a tabu name or indicate the beast by a gesture—i.e., the hand raised like a claw for a tiger—whilst in some communities it is forbidden to mock certain animals. We do not yet have a systematic table of these tabus for the whole country and in the meantime the attitude of the particular group being visited must be found out at the time and the subject of wild animals broached in low tones. Then there are tabus on eating various animals. Some groups, no doubt under Moslem influence, will not touch wild pigs; another will not touch buffalo and with all groups certain foodstuffs are forbidden to classes of people.

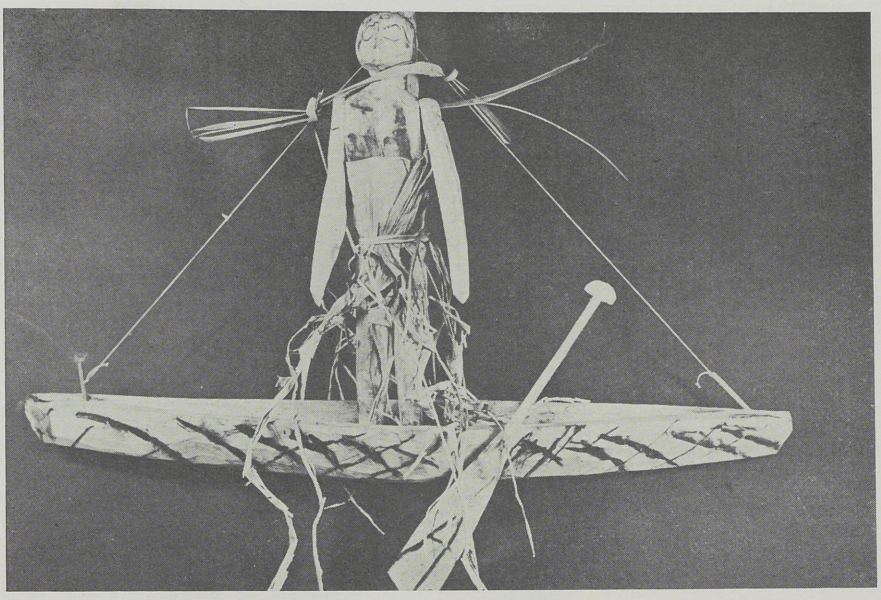
Then there is the question of shooting wild animals on which the Aborigines should be sounded at the time. Particular care must be taken not to shoot a "were" tiger—that is a metamorphised *pawang*. Of course you cannot damage such a tiger but you may annoy the *pawang* to the extent that he will have his revenge on the Aborigines with you. Watch, too, for those pet pigs. To shoot one down is as bad as mangling your English host's favourite old game dog!

Most Aborigines keep chicken and have no hesitation in slaughtering one for the casual visitor. Eggs are a different matter and most groups do not eat them. It may cause grave offence to ask for them. The connection between eggs and fertility beliefs needs no mention.

To the Aborigine the jungle is haunted by a series of awful ghosts and demons who are just waiting for an opportunity to pounce. No death is natural and its occurrence is frequently the signal for a hurried and permanent evacuation of the house. Rivers will not be crossed at certain points in case a demon grabs one by the ankle; there are special demons who have a habit of closing cave entrances when one is inside and others who have an interest in pushing people off trees. The death fear is widespread but the " specialists " vary from group to group and have to be known by experience.

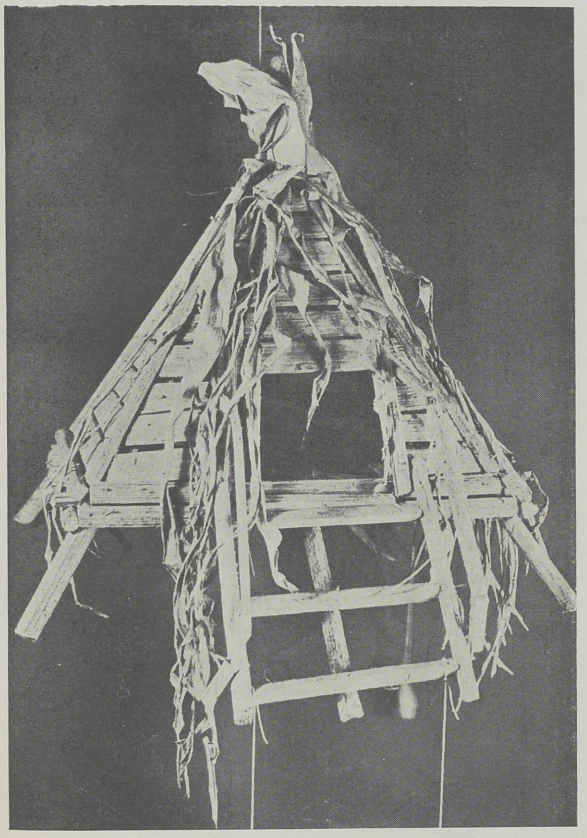
Then several Aboriginal groups place grave goods often suitably broken to let out the ghost often in a small shelter on top of the grave. It is very tempting to pick up an attractive example of material culture from such a site but the ghost will follow you and your Aborigines may flee hurriedly as a result. No one is likely to have to open a grave but hordes of ghosts will come out if you do so and again you may lose your Aborigines unless you make some precautions. Moral is to keep ghosts under control by not annoying them.

MAGIC.



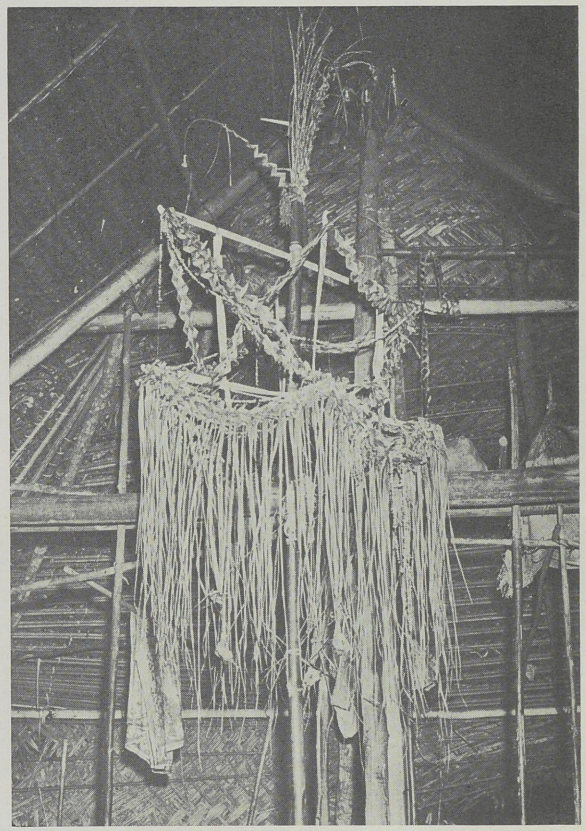
Spirit boat complete with boatman to row away the spirit of sickness in a house. Lowland Semai Senoi, Ulu Beherang, Tanjong Malim, Perak.

January, 1950.



A spirit house designed to attrach the spirit of sickness from the body. Lowland Semai Senoi, Ulu Beherang, Tanjong Malim, Perak.

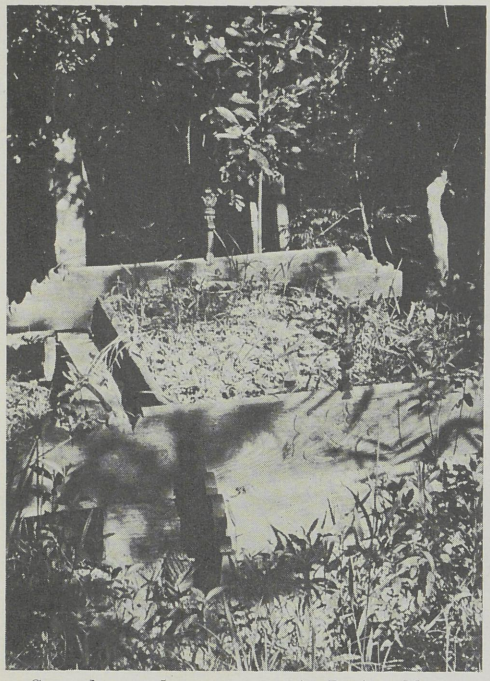
January, 1950.



Ghost house to welcome back the spirit of a dead man fourteen days after his death on the occasion of the second funeral feast. Semai Senoi, Sungei Woh, Tapah, Perak.

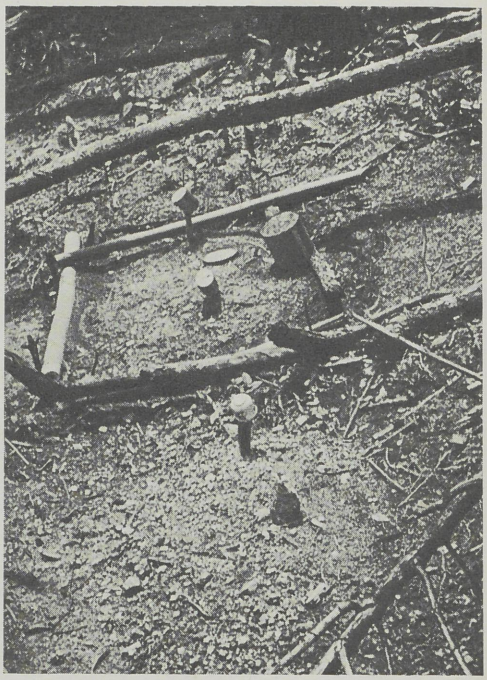
August, 1951.

GRAVES.



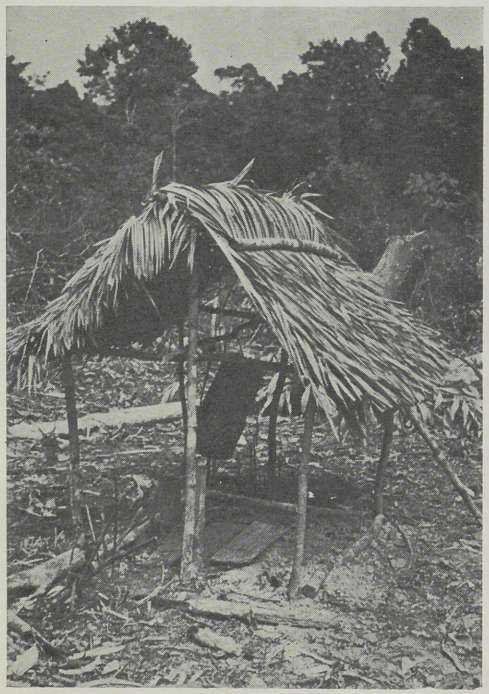
Carved wooden grave of Batin Mangsu, Semelai, Ulu Sungei Serting, Kuala Pilah District, Negri Sembilan.

June, 1950.



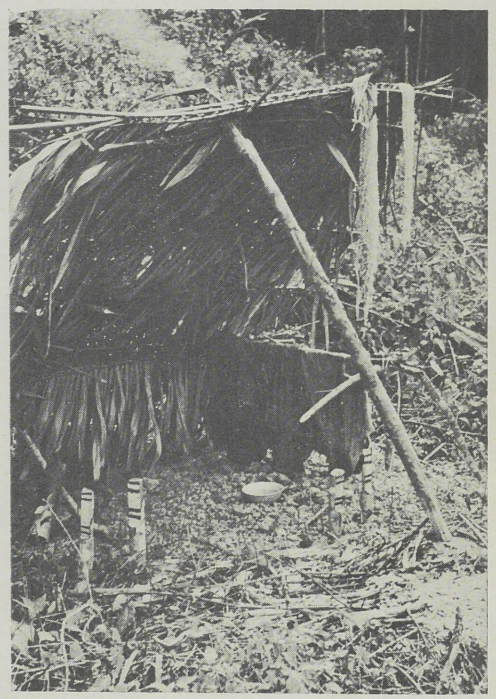
Jehai Negrito graves marked by two pegs or stones and the deceased persons food vessels. Bersia, Upper Perak.

September, 1951.



Grave of a young Semai boy. In the basket are personal possessions and on the grave itself are boards to prevent pigs disturbing the body and a bamboo cup. Bukit Betong, Pahang.

November, 1949.



A Lanoh Negrito woman's grave with personal effects and four "tangkals" to frighten away tigers. Malau, Upper Perak.

March, 1951.

Apart from grave goods the Aborigines have a habit of leaving objects around in the area they were last used even in abandoned houses and shelters. This particularly applies to musical instruments such as gongs which will be picked up when they are wanted again. As stealing is quite unknown to most Aborigines they are surprised and hurt when objects are removed by Europeans. In Police work it is seldom essential to remove such things but where the need arises it is best to consult one's Aboriginal guides. In the rare cases when I remove something of this sort I usually leave a piece of paper with a sketch of the object and a few dollars pinned up in an obvious place.

There is a lot of difficulty with photography and it is best not to rush matters. Now though many Aborigines have been photographed for identity cards and the complications formerly so widespread are beginning to disappear. Get the Aborigines to photograph you and if you pass by again give them a few cheap copies of both yourself and they. They are always amused by photographs of themselves and also like to see snaps of other Aborigines which are usually regarded as unaccountably funny. Views though mean nothing to them and will probably be held upside down to the accompaniment of expressions of surprise—" *Eur Oi* ".

Whilst Aboriginal children run naked without comment no adult ever goes completely unclothed. It will cause grave offence to jump about naked on a river bank and will reduce your status in their eyes to that of an animal which is not the best way to gain respect. Moreover the river demons will get annoyed again.

Many Negritos have beliefs that it will cause a storm if certain animals are ill treated. Leeches for example in some areas must not be burnt off by a cigarette. A storm is particularly feared because of the danger of falling timber. Fortunately most of these beliefs do not extend to the *Senoi* who, with their open *ladangs*, are less likely to be flattened by falling timber.

The above are some of the more important points to know but there are other special tabus which vary from group to group and are largely unknown. One can only learn from experience.

3.—Employment of Aborigines as Guides and Porters.

Many Security Force units will want to make use of Aborigines as guides or as porters to carry heavy equipment or rations where it is desired to avoid successive airdrops that might reveal a line of march. The following brief notes form a general guide to the suggested procedure to be adopted and should be read in conjunction with the notes on talking to the Aborigines given above.

(i) Aboriginal guides or porters should be obtained through the medium of the Police, the District Officer, the State, Settlement or Area Protector of Aborigines or the Office of the Federation Adviser on Aborigines (telephone, Kuala Lumpur

3608) and should be put in the charge of the Civil Liaison Officer if the unit has one.

(ii) Where possible Aborigines recruited should be of the same ethnic group or sub-group as those in the area in which operations are to take place. If this is done they should act as a useful liaison in persuading Aborigines who may have fled at the approach of the Security Forces to return and be able to pick up local information on tracks and bandit movements. They should also be able to prevent the Security Forces from any inadvertent act, such as disturbing magical devices, that might cause annoyance to the locals. Lowland Aborigines should not be taken into the hills as they will lack the stamina to tackle continuous hill features but there is no objection to bringing hill peoples into the plains for a limited period of time. Their stay should not be prolonged into a matter of months however as hill peoples out of their own environment quickly acquire strains of disease to which they have little immunity.

(iii) Aborigines recruited for an operation should be picked up the day beforehand and lodged the night in the Military camp. At this time, before they leave their own homes, they should be given an advance of pay to support their families. Unless these two points are observed there will be considerable delay in the morning gathering them together and the District Officer or I will suffer from irate families complaining that they have been left without support.

(iv) There are two ways of employing Aborigines. One is to advance them most of the pay and get them to supply their own rations. This is not satisfactory for trips of more than a few days as they always underestimate the amount that they will eat and run out halfway through the operation. The other is to provide the rations, put these in the care of the Civil Liaison Officer and dish them out each day. Individual Aboriginal tastes vary and must be ascertained locally but an average daily ration for one man might consist of :

Rice	2 lbs.	
Tinned fish	One tin	
Coffee	2 oz.	
Tinned milk	One small tin	
Sugar	4 oz.	
Matches	One box	
Salt	8 oz.	
Chillies	8 oz.	
Tobacco	3 tins or 1 half kati packet of local tobacco	per week
Cigarette papers... ...	5 packets of one hundred papers	per week

In an emergency Aborigines will eat Army rations but should not be wholly supported on such food which contains too high a proportion of meat for Aboriginal purposes. A supply of Aboriginal rations for air drops is held by RASC in Kuala Lumpur.

Aborigines are adept cooks and there will be no need to bring any women in the party.

In addition the Civil Liaison Officer should carry a small amount of medical stores to deal with any fevers and cuts that may arise.

In these rare cases where it is utterly impossible to employ local Aborigines due to their absence one unit solved the problem by removing a whole group complete with its families and accommodated it adjacent to the military camp. I am not entirely in favour of such a scheme as a group so moved becomes upset in its agriculture and a welfare liability once its services are terminated. For the same reason too large a number of Aborigines should not be employed from any one community for long periods of time.

(v) The official rates of pay laid down are:

$2.06 per day when rations are provided.

$3.06 per day when rations are not provided.

50 cents extra a day for headmen (a guide should be regarded as a headman for this purpose).

Although only a flat rate is authorised I consider these rates to be the minimum payable and units can no doubt find ways to augment them slightly according to circumstances although these figures should not be greatly exceeded. In a rough jungle trip where the Aborigines are particularly useful an additional dollar a day might well be paid with corresponding rises for guides and headmen. Stretcher bearers have a rough time even in quite open jungle and should receive at least an extra dollar a day and a present of some sort, tobacco, penknives or the like, at the end of the trip.

It is very important if it is intended to use Aborigines on a number of occasions that they are fairly treated and promptly paid off at the end of a trip. The approximate end of an operation is always known and the money should be in hand ready to pay out as the Aborigines come in. Payment is from the Unit Imprest account and the latest instructions are contained in:

HQ MALAYA letters—CRM/6204/Q (Maint) of 3 Oct. 50 and
CRM/6204/Q (Maint) of 24 Jul. 51

a copy of which should be with every unit.

(vi) Aborigines should not be dressed in Military uniform unless it is absolutely essential in which case it must be withdrawn at the end of the operation. Failure to do so may result in Aborigines being shot by the Security Forces in mistake for bandits, shot by the bandits for aiding the Security Forces or the uniform may find its way into bandit hands. I also have the objection that unwashed uniform spreads jungle sores and other skin diseases. Jungle boots cripple Aboriginal feet and are even more of a death trap with them then they are with our own troops accustomed to wearing boots. There needs to be a great deal of firmness on this uniform question as the Aborigines like to get clothes for nothing and well may ask to be equipped.

All the average Aborigine needs in the jungle in addition to his rations is a *sarong* or cloth for the night and a jungle knife both of which he should supply himself. If clearing of really large jungle trees is anticipated it is as well to carry a few of the Aboriginal axes of the pattern described in a previous chapter. Aborigines are not capable of handling European type saws and axes with any skill.

(vii) Aborigines will carry quite big loads for short distances but tire rapidly and do not appear to recover from exertion at the same rate as Europeans. A stretcher party in difficult country, for example, will need to rest for the whole of every fourth day. It is a matter of experiment to discover the maximum economical load that any individual Aborigine will be able to carry. With the hill *Semai Senoi* seven days tinned rations for one man together with the Aborigines own food for ten days is about the most that can be handled. Some Aborigines like to use their own back-baskets or bind up the loads in sacking tied with strips of tree bark others prefer military pattern packs.

(viii) On the line of march the porter party should be put at the end of the column with a section or two to protect the tail. Aborigines are noisy beasts and like to chatter gaily and loudly as they move along but this is largely a matter of Security Force discipline. With a silent unit the Aborigines themselves can be persuaded to keep quiet but if the soldiers talk there is no restraining the Aborigines. With a large porterage party it is preferable to have short halts after crossing obstacles rather than at regular intervals. Aborigines are not very happy when being fired at and are liable to disappear into the jungle abandoning their loads. They need to be carefully briefed on action to be taken in the event of a contact. If at other times Aborigines are suddenly observed to be leaving the path in a hurry it is usually an indication that a bees nest has been encountered and nothing to worry about.

(ix) The Aborigines like so many other people cannot keep their mouths shut and they should be given no details of the operation other than its expected duration before they set out and even on route as little as possible.

Where a guide is required he should only be briefed at the last moment. It is fatal to put an Aboriginal guide in front of the column. He will rush ahead cutting down obstructions as he goes and tiring out the main party behind. Shouts and loud whistles will be required to call him back and security will be lost. Aborigines are excellent trackers and path-finders as far as animals are concerned and are superior in this respect to Iban, but not being headhunters they are in my opinion rather less skilled when it comes to detecting slight traces of human movement. When not immediately in contact with the bandits a suggested order of march would be:

Two scouts.
One or two Aboriginal guides.
Civil Liaison Officer.
Remainder of leading section.
Iban trackers.
Pl. headquarters.

The Civil Liaison Officer is not essential provided that there is someone in this position who can talk to the Aborigines and Iban. It is very valuable if this individual keeps notebook and map and writes down the Aboriginal names of the various geographical features as they are passed.

(x) When camping the Aborigines are best kept away from the military party—a distance of a hundred yards or so—in order to be out of the way if the camp is attacked and the Liaison Officer should camp with them. Aborigines can be relied on to look after themselves, but 1700 hours is the latest time to stop if they are to put up their shelters and feed before dark. If they are required also to put up shelters for the Security Force the stop should not be later than 1530. Taking other points into consideration it is best to rely on the Aborigines to select the best camping site in the area. Failure to accept their advice may result in the force being stranded at nightfall on a mountain bereft of water and materials for house building.

Aborigines normally eat two meals a day and cannot travel any distance without first feeding. In the morning they can be fed, packed and ready to move by 0730 but not before. A midday brew-up is not essential and in the evening on no account should they be given any of the rum ration, or any other form of alcohol as they become " roaring tight " on the smallest amount.

Aborigines in camp have an unfortunate habit of getting up in the middle of the night, lighting fires, talking and walking about and require pretty strict supervision.

(xi) There are a number of additional tasks on which Aborigines can be employed, but if Aborigines are engaged as porters they should be considered for some added remuneration if any number of these are taken on. The following are examples:

(1) Clearing areas for airdrops or helicopter landings. Preparing aircraft strips.

(2) Cutting jungle paths. Paths should be cut only as a last resort as the noise of cutting travels an enormous distance. Usually a way can be found around most obstacles, but when cutting is essential the Aborigines can do it much more expertly and quickly than British troops.

(3) Climbing trees for wireless aerials.

(4) River crossings. There are various ways in which rivers can be crossed. Most rivers in the hills are not particularly deep but are exceedingly swift and very slippery from water-worn granite boulders. The following methods of crossings aided by Aborigines are suggested:

(*a*) Section crosses with weapons only to cover main crossing.
Porters cross and deposit loads.
Porters return and carry across troops' packs and equipment, leaving troops with weapons only.
Troops across.

(*b*) Aborigines fell tree and cross with loads and troops' equipment.

(*c*) Aborigines carry across line of toggle ropes.

(*d*) Aborigines build high level bamboo bridge (in cases where river is in a ravine). This will take several hours and not all groups can build these bridges.

(5) Carrying wounded men. The Aborigines can prepare a stretcher with bamboo poles and a ground sheet. Carrying the stretcher is a difficult task. In average jungle at least eight men are required, and these cannot manage any other loads. As the average jungle path is narrow, an additional cutting party of at least four is required to produce the stretcher and in really difficult country it may be necessary to increase the carrying party to sixteen. Frequent halts will be essential and in rough country a stretcher party can only be expected to travel for six hours between camps. A full day's rest will be needed every fourth day.

(6) Raft building. River travel is not recommended, but most of the Aborigines along the main rivers are adept raft-builders. A single raft will support up to ten full-equipped men and two raftsmen, and will require two to three hours to build provided the materials—bamboos and poles—are immediately to hand. Rafts cannot usually be taken up

river again, and arrangements should be made for the Aborigines to sell the bamboos. If this is not done some additional compensation should be given, unless the Aborigines are specifically employed for raft-building. A suggested rate is $5 per raft and an additional $1 per day of river travel.

(7) Booby traps. Most Aborigines are capable of producing a pretty formidable spring pig spear and a few of these adapted to operate at waist height could be placed around camps in non-Aboriginal areas. They should be destroyed before evacuating the area. A bandit hooked up in one of these devices should be credited to the Aborigines and the appropriate reward claimed on their behalf.

(xii) On return to camp at the end of operations Aborigines should be paid off as soon as possible and if they were originally picked up offered transport arrangements to return them to their own homes. Names of particularly useful Aborigines should be noted for future employment.

4.—Presents for Aborigines.

From time to time a little bribery is necessary, and the question of suitable presents for Aborigines arises. The Aborigines like children will accept gratefully almost anything, and the problem is to give them something that is useful to them and not particularly useful to the bandits. The list that appears below does not claim to be exhaustive, but covers most requirements. Presents should be given in bulk to the community headman who can be expected to make a fair distribution and not to individuals other than small casual gifts for services rendered. Presents that must not be given are military clothing and equipment and tinned food, unless the tins are opened before being handed out.

Tobacco	This should be the tinned or packaged local tobacco.
Salt	The coarse local salt. It presents something of a problem in porterage and requires to be put into sealed tins.
Jungle knives ...	The local pattern, not military jungle knives which are too heavy for Aborigines.
Sarongs	Cheap chequer patterns for the men flowery types for the women. The latter can be bought in rolls at a reasonable rate.

Tin plates and mugs.
Cooking pots.
Small mirrors.

Plastic haircombs and hair slides.
White facepowder and lipstick.
Fish hooks.
Chains and cotton for fishing nets.
Beads* and cheap white metal earrings.
Good quality small penknives with a tin opener.
Dyes for *mengkuang*.†

For pure amusement value the cheap Japanese walking animals go down well, but break very easily, and also popular are magic sparklers. These latter get damp very quickly and need to be kept in a drying tin.

Not all Aborigines like sweets and chocolates, but biscuits are appreciated.

The one thing that the Aborigines in the jungle cannot readily obtain is medical treatment, and although they have their own remedies for many complaints, medical attention is usually welcomed. The chapter on health will give some idea of things likely to be met, and a small selection of drugs carried in will amply repay the trouble in transport. Aborigines prefer things that can be rubbed on externally rather than injections or pills, and if these are in gay colours, like gentian violet, so much the better. Supplies of drugs must not be left with the Aborigines.

A suggested medical pack might contain:
Bandages of various sizes.
Cotton wool.
Lint.
Dettol or any other good disinfectant.
Sulphanamide cream.
Eye drops.
Zinc or sulphur ointment.
A.P.C.
Quinine.
Cough mixture.
Sulphaguanidine.
Stavarsol.
Benzol benzoatic lotion.
Gentian violet cream.

Aborigines do not usually like having their teeth extracted, but a qualified doctor could well include a small dental kit in his pack.

* These for *Senoi* and Negritos should be the small Italian made seed beads sold for about $4-5 a pound. Red, white and dark blue are the most popular colours.

† Details of these dyes can be obtained from branches of Imperial Chemical Industries.