

## THE SOCIAL INTERACTION BETWEEN EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND COMMUNITIES IN NORTH BORNEO (1881- 1941)

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(Received 10<sup>th</sup> November 2020; accepted 29<sup>th</sup> November 2020)

**Abstract.** This study focusing on the social interactions between the European community and the communities in North Borneo during the era of the British North Borneo Company from 1881 to 1941. This study identifies the interrelated factors between the European community and the communities in North Borneo. This study is specific to social interaction between European community with Chinese, Indians, Muruts, Dusun and Sulu's people in North Borneo which began when these group was given the opportunity to hold positions in the British administration. Based on primary and secondary sources obtained from archives and libraries, the findings of the study found that the beginning of the relationship between the European community with the communities mentioned above is as soon as they work as subordinate workers. After that, the officials followed a lifestyle of the middle class in Europe as revealed by European administrative officials serving in North Borneo. They are not only exposed to the lifestyle of European officials', but also the image and prestige. However, what limits the social interaction between the European community and the community in North Borneo is the cultural differences and social position in society. Therefore, this study would like to see the role of European community associations and clubs in North Borneo as it can improve the relationship between the European community and the community in North Borneo because, these associations and clubs not only accept non-European members, but also organize sports and leisure to all races, religions and genders. Therefore, this study would like to see the social interaction between the European community and the community in North Borneo which can be seen not only based on their relationship in clubs and associations as well as the relationship of European men and women in North Borneo.

**Keywords:** social interaction, European community, communities in North Borneo, North Borneo

### Introduction

The association and clubs are under Social Ordinance 1915, if there is any association and club establish in North Borneo must follow the government standard order. The report consist of the name of association and club, the way of selecting member, task of every member, member admission, meeting place, financial and the regulation (North Borneo Central Archive, 1933). This is to make easier for the British Government to identify the purpose and objectives of an association and club not to break the rules enshrined in *The Societies Enactment 1919*. If the members broke the rule automatically the association and club are closed. This social club is more to sports and leisure activity that intended for leisure and for fun activities for European community. But the community in North Borneo involved as soon as European announced the organization of the sport events in newspaper and written notice. Therefore, this study would like to see the social interaction between the European community and the community in North Borneo which can be seen not only based on their relationship in clubs and associations as well as the relationship of European men

and women in North Borneo. For more understanding, these communities in North Borneo divided by two. The Asian consist of Chinese, Indian and Sulu, while the native consists of Dusun, Murut and Bajau.

## Literature Review

Until now, the writing is related to the social history especially in the North Borneo is less. However, there is no denying the existence of the writing of the North Borneo history classified as social history. One of them is *Historical Sabah: Community and Society* by Danny Wong Tze Ken, *Sabah: History and Society* by Khoo kay Kim, *End of An Era: The Borneo Reminiscences of C.F.C Macaskie, C.M.G* by Bob Reece and *Gambling Style of Government: The Establishment of The Chartered Company's Rules in Sabah, 1878-1915* by Black (1983; 1891) and Silva (2012) can be described as a social history writings although the scope is limited and discusses only one aspect. Danny Wong Tze ken discusses the social life of the European community as a ruler and the existence of the social activities in the form of sports and leisure activity. The social life of the European community is not much touched in the writing of history especially the social activities they did during their reign in North Borneo from 1881 to 1941. According to Danny Wong, the European social life full of social activities that bring their fun and for leisure time such as billiard, tennis, golf, ping pong, dance and polo are less highlighted (Ken, 2004).

According to Khoo Kay Kim, after work, European official going to leisure activities at night. They are play tennis, billiard and entertained with dance events (Kim, 1981). Wendy Stuart stated the European official visiting the club area, which is only in the shop area that time (Stuart, 1993). They are often engaged in sports and leisure activities as entertainment and hobbies in their leisure time. Nicholas Tarling also discusses that Madam Pryer, wife of the Resident of Sandakan making a sports and leisure activities as her hobby and her leisure time. She often attends to dinner, singing and dance events, not only that she used to follow the Christmas Day events and the Birthday of a Princess. Besides that, she also often followed her husband to the club as well as in the track of pony racing in Jesselton (Black, 1891).

Meanwhile, after the First World War, European began to be active in sports and leisure activities, at this time involving the communities in the North Borneo. They participant occurs when European community advertises it in the newspaper. Many European clubs were established in North Borneo with their own objective and purposes. The objective of this club is to promote a good relation between European and communities in North Borneo. Besides that, guaranteeing the continuity of sport event and leisure activities in North Borneo (Ken, 2004). There are so many clubs that established in the North Borneo such as Gymkhana for the pony racing, Yi Yi Club for the gambling activities, Riffle Club, Girl Guide Association, Jesselton Sport Club, Sandakan Club, Golf Club and Tennis Club (Keith, 1998). Through the establishment of this social club has led to widespread social relations among European community with the communities in North Borneo. Especially when the organization of sport and leisure activities carried out by club members involves general participation and various categories are opened.

From this view, European wants to make a good relation between European community and communities in the North Borneo because it can make guarantee their reign in North Borneo and maintain their good relationship. Ian Black states that

European does not hinder social life existing in North Borneo (Black, 1983). For example, cockfighting that involves gambling activity among the community in North Borneo and gambling activities in the Three Sandakan Road (Powell, 1921). Besides that, when club held a sport event such as pony racing and football it shows a crowded people in the track place. European hopes to make the track place a public meeting agent. The involvement of the various races and religions showing support and it is mean that sports event has a positive impact in North Borneo. This is the support expected by BNBC (Suart, 1993).

The literature review makes some understanding about the social interaction between European community and communities in North Borneo. This has helped the study in understanding the social relations between them in North Borneo through the association and clubs and the organization of sports event and leisure activity. The questions to answer who, where, how and why have answered this study as well.

## **Materials and Methods**

This research method is used by explaining the study of the social interaction between European and communities in North Borneo using a qualitative approach. The meaning of qualitative same as a data, which means it more to picture, sentence, the process of finding the data for the understanding purposes in the title of study and the differences from every resources that found (Braun and Clarke, 2013). This study uses two sources namely primary sources and secondary sources.

The primary source is the important tools to builds a interpretation and support the writing. It is original data that have not been processed yet. According to Louis Gottschalk, the primary sources is the content are still new, has not been translated into other languages and the first sources of information is obtained (Braun and Clarke, 2013). The sources include document, official letters, notes, reports, diaries, letter in archives such as *North Borneo Central Archive (NBCA)*, *Colonial Office*, *British North Borneo Herald*, *North Borneo News*, *Kinabalu News*, *Sabah Times* and *Official Gazette*.

Besides that, the secondary sources are a data that has been processed based on primary sources. It has interpreted in the form of articles, book, magazine and journals. This method is more a library search that includes the collection and analysis of secondary resources. It refers to data that has been written by previous researchers. In Sabah, there are several libraries such as University Malaysia Sabah library, Sabah State Museum Library and Sabah State Library.

## **Results and Discussion**

### ***The social interaction between European community with Asian***

#### ***Club and association***

In the North Borneo, the highest position in government controlled by European community, and there are some of European took another position in professional and technical section (North Borneo Central Archive, 1933). Besides, in the estate section there is a clear racial hierarchy, which mean European community hold position as manager and assistant manager estate. A small number of Eurasia and Indian are conductor and office staff. Most of the labour force is Tamil and Javanese (Oscar Cook: 1924:48). However, before European comes to North Borneo, Sulu belong to upper

class. Mostly, they hold position as mandore in log concession, landlord, shopkeeper, rich and a leader (Cook, 1924). Besides, immigrants such as the Chinese and Indians settled in urban areas and economic centres. They are known as successful traders, professional and the upper class for having wealth (Butcher, 1975). Unfortunately, the existence of this group is only a shadow and is not recognized by the British. Based on the power of politic, the British is the supreme power that determine of the social class. The most important is throughout the government, British who decides whether non-Europeans are eligible to hold high positions in government or not (Butcher, 1975).

Before the First World War, British North Borneo Company (BNBC) opens employment among non-European especially elite and aristocrat. The BNBC wants to train a young man to replace European official involved in war and become district officer or assistant district officer (Cook, 1924). Besides, in 1920 and 1930, Police Department recruits a new for replace the European police that whether promoted as commissioner, pension and leaving the North Borneo (North Borneo Central Archive, 1933). Almost a non-European that recruit is Asian which is Chinese and Indian because, they fluent in English and living in urban area. Therefore, Chinese and Indian are revealed and followed middle class European lifestyles' that from European officials serving in North Borneo. They follow the European middle class lifestyle due to image and prestige.

According to Danny Wong Tze ken, Asian has a desire to be a member of a European association in North Borneo especially for those are upper class and middle class. For example, in 1887, Fung Ming Shan is own to Fung Ming Shan & Co in Sandakan. He is member of North Borneo Council which is the first legislature was made 22 April 1877 in Sandakan. Tsen En Fook is advisor and assistant of *Chinese Chammer of Commerce* and on his lap during his absence by Goh Kim Swee. The existence of *Chinese Chammer of Commerce* early 1891 and well received by the governor of E.P. Gueritz. The governor suggests that this association aims to increase trade in North Borneo (Ken, 1998). Beside that, in 1913, Chee Swee Cheng, Chinese towkay in North Borneo used to be partner with European in establishing *Jesselton Ice and Power Company* to supply electricity in Jesselton. Che Swee also has a close relationship with European official and often invited to government houses during official events including a dinner (Ken, 2004). Sulu people who are close with European, received titles and position from European such as Haji Datu Ansarudin, chief of Sulu, also Pryer supporters. Banjer before this a slave, he promoted to British agent in West Cost and got a title of recipient in 1887 (Rutter, 1985). European takes the Sulu people become the chief and give their position in each area is to maintain order.

Although, no communication problems occur between European and Asians because of they are often communicate each other during work especially in giving instructions to them. The conversation between Oscar with Iman in Semporna for example " *Why were you so sure Simamankau was across the Trusan (channel)?...Imam menjawab "because the Angai bird".."Angai Bird?" Oscar Cook bertanya.."Yes Tuan". "Boy" I called out, "bawah makan" (bring food)". "Trimah Kasih Amat" (many thanks, Amat).. "Tipada Tuan" (it's nothing Tuan)* (Cook, 1924). But, this situation is different from the wife of an Asian officer who is not fluent in English. This make them uncomfortable associating with European. Therefore, in 1920, Asian wife who come to European events are small number among the wives of rich towkay in Sandakan.

Some of the European club does not accept non-European members and some did. This is because, there are exclusive club that only reserved for police, European women and strict rules such as *North Borneo Gun Club*, *Girls Guide Association* and *Yi Yi Club* (North Borneo Central Archive, 1933). Clubs that open for non-European member such as *Gymkhana*, *Jesselton Sport Club*, *Sandakan Recreation Club* and *Tennis Club*. Asian member in *Gymkhana* club such as Seah Quee Boon, Hock Ho Guan, Chi Nam, leong Hin, Sarjan Shere Singh and Hadji Ibrahim. In *Tennis Club* also consists of Asian member, Boon Lye, Teck Seng dan Dato Timbang. This club led by Mr H. Baxterd and A.C Pearson (North Borneo Central Archive, 1933). *Sandakan Recreation Club* also have Asian member which is Thomas Chan. Kirkman and Norayan through the election of members in 1933 (Rules of The Sandakan Club, R.O.S 703/15 British North Borneo). In the *Recreation Club Sport*, the member consists Ah Yin and T. Ah Chong as a field keeper. There are also Sulu who is external member and often participate in the sports event that organized by the club in North Borneo. As state below;

*“The Jesselton Sport Club held its Annual General Meeting on the 25<sup>th</sup> February. There was a record attendance, many of the Outstaion members came in from the Interior and Beaufort.”* (North Borneo Central Archive, 1933)

The selection of members in European club is selective because it is based on class. If they are officer that held high position compared to European, they must join the club. Besides, the family's aristocrat and elite are involved in business as well as senior officer in department. No matter they are from German, Australia, Asiatic and Eurasia (North Borneo Central Archive, 1933). A local member also mentioned in *Jesselton Sport Club*, this club have ten members which are five European members, two members among Eurasia and three members selected from the local community (*British North Borneo Herald* :1938: 129). This is linked to the financial resources of the club is through club members. The members will pay insurance, entrance fee, postage and subscription fees (North Borneo Central Archive, 1933). It is a sign of support for the club because all the assets in the club house belong to the members. For example, tennis and billiard tables, library, court, lounge, restaurant (North Borneo Central Archive, 1933). Including lamps, tables, chairs and cards, chess and dominoes for gambling activities (North Borneo Central Archive, 1933). However, the establishment of this club benefits to the administrators. The financial report given by governor to British in London. The purpose is to identify the potential of clubs either profitable or otherwise (North Borneo Central Archive, 1933). Besides, the report will include in government gazette as it can have a both good and bad effect on the area. Therefore, the club will open a wider membership space to make more profits through subscription chargers and entry fees from members.

The club seen play the important role to the relationship between European and Asian. All the sport events and leisure activities that organized by the club is based on the past. Undeniably, the club improve the facilities in that area and all races can meet directly or indirectly especially when sports event described in Danny Wong Tze ken writing (Ken, 2004). European believes that the club maintain a good relation between European and Asian. One of the objectives of the club is to promote the relationships of members with different races and religions as emphasized in the writing of Benjamin B. Cohen (Cohen, 1824). This statement was supported in the British Press, the club is a partnership for members to archive the goals and common interests among them

(*British North Borneo Herald* 1899, *Report of the Committee of the North Borneo Turf Club, Annual General Meeting to be Held on the 9<sup>th</sup> February: 1899:48*). For example, the businessman not only go to the club for leisure time, but also meet their partners to discuss their business matters (North Borneo Central Archive, 1933). This is also proved the *General Meeting* become an official medium for members and shareholder as partnerships and work together to organize social activities in the form of sport and leisure (North Borneo Central Archive, 1933).

This situation highlighted during the successful organization of sports held in Kudat in conjunction with the celebration of the 28<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the charter in North Borneo. Chinese towkay, European and Mr E. Barraut has contributed money to make a sport success. In football matches between Fat and Lean got support from the audience who came including Chinese, European and their wives as well (North Borneo Central Archive, 1933). In cricket activities, European prefers players over Indians because they work in professional fields and good at playing cricket. Besides that, in shooting activities, European wants to attract Pathan and Sikh to get involved in this shooting event. It is the way of European to train police force to be proficient in use of weapons (North Borneo Central Archive, 1933).

The club also act organize dance event to the European and Asian. This attracts women who love dance activities to come to the event and hold a dinner party. During this event, Chinese and European women spend all the time dance, eat, drink and chatting. Women also have their own club named Girl Guide Association. At first, women's movement is limited to domestic matters only. Therefore, European women set up the club to promote relationship among them in North Borneo. At the same time, a method to entertain themselves, while expanding the social relations of women between other districts through teams and competition (North Borneo Central Archive, 1933). As discussed in *Kinabalu Magazine* 1951, the women's club becomes a method for women to meet, picnicking and chatting (North Borneo Central Archive, 1933). Golf Club also organize golf event in North Borneo, Sarawak and Labuan. Ismail who is Asian was involved in golf match fight with Macaskie in Jesselton (North Borneo Central Archive, 1933). Gymkhana popular organize pony racing in North Borneo also involving Asian. Kilat, Sabah, Zambao and Sombong are belong to the Sulu and Chinese horses, while Dandy, Macaroni, Ginger and Toy are belong to European horses (North Borneo Central Archive, 1933). However, there is a question that arises whether this club achieve the goal.

### ***European men and Asian women***

The social relationship between European men and Asian women is linked to the world of prostitution and mistress. Danny Wong Tze ken described these activities are concentrated in urban area like Sandakan and Jesselton, also take place in the estate area. This prostitution activity is done by Asian women such as Chinese and Japanese who are frequently subscribed not only by European officials, but also others nation in North Borneo (Ken, 2004). Yutaka Shimomoto also explained the prostitution activities that took place in North Borneo as a result of migration activities. Through the migration activities many Japanese investors, workers and prostitutes came to North Borneo. In 1891, Sandakan recorded the highest number of prostitutes 398 Chinese women and 73 is whore. Besides, Sandakan and Kudat has 34 Japanese and Chinese brothels (Ken, 2004). The popular brothel is Sandakan NO.8 founded by Kinoshita

(Shimomoto, 2010). Nine in Sandakan, two in Kudat and each Jesselton, Tawau and Tenom (Ken, 2004).

Besides, according to Sir Malcom Watson, almost European officials that working outside the area have mistresses. This is because, most of these mistresses work as maids in bungalows owned by European officials. According to a census report in 1901, found that as many as 18 Japanese were recorded working as maids, and there may be among them being concubines. This statement supported by Agnes Newton Keith, besides the Japanese women, Chinese women also used to be maids known as *amah* (Keith, 1998). For example, European official who have mistress work as assistant manager in the Darby & Co Company. His wife name is Kinoshita Kuni or known as Okuni who came to Sandakan in 1880. Recorded in 1916, a total of six *Karayuki-San* was concubines to European men, four to Malay, each Chinese and India (Ken, 2004). This happen due to shortage of European women in North Borneo in early 1900. European official choses Asian women as life partner or companions during their stay in North Borneo.

Before the First World War, European official in the estate mostly have mistress. This is due to official who feel lonely will buy the mistress from brothels. Factors that why official in the estate having their mistress because they don't have a women friend. In addition, this area do not have entertainment like in town or city. Tennis, dance event, go to the club and no such thing to entertain their life in that area, and they focused on their daily work (Cook, 1924). Beside that, European men involved in having a mistress because of forced circumstances. According to John Butcher, European official in the estate area less than ten percent have a mistress. He added, this happen not because of love, but physical attraction possessed by Asian women is difficult to avoid (Butcher, 1975). Therefore, it is the reason why European official fall into having a sex and have Asian women. However, in 1909, Lord Crew, assistant colonies in the liberal government of Asquith, issued a circular letter banning foreign official involved in women's problem (Butcher, 1975). Most European official who own mistresses either leave or decide to marry. In 1930, prostitution ended around 1930 because of the economic problem and regular customer out of the North Borneo (Ken, 2004).

### ***The social interaction between European and native***

#### ***Club and association***

As early 1882, many of writing that mentioned about the tension between European and Indigenous people especially Murut, Dusun and Bajau. European described them as a primitive people or nomad people. They are do piracy, slavery and have a practice beheading (Cook, 1924). This situation is contrary to European life. European trying to abolish the practices has got resistance from the Indigenous people. After that, the situation getting worst to their relationship when NBCC tried to introduce a new system such as taxes that burned the community in North Borneo and disturbing the existing system their already have. Many of the resistance of Dusun, Murut and Bajau were recorded in North Borneo until 1900. Mat Salleh was the one of the opponents when strangers to the district, who were sent to collect the tax (Tregonning, 1965).

At first, European over to Iban rather than Murut, Dusun and Bajau. Treacher describes Bajau is unfaithful, liar and robber because of their background is popular as pirates, gambler and rebels. There were also some fierce and lawless on the West Coast.

Dusun and Murut described by Hugh Clifford as a drunken and lazy (Tregonning, 1965). This situation can be seen in the recruitment of police in North Borneo is mostly from the Iban. Iban been chosen because they are more responsible and peace (*Table 1*).

**Table 1.** *The police based on races.*

Year	Frequency
1883	3 European 50 Sikh 50 Somalia 20 Malay 30 Dayak
1898	5 European 2 Eurasia 6 Sulu 25 Malay 2 Bisaya

*Source: Black (1983).*

When slavery system vanished from the North Borneo in 1903, the piracy and beheading successfully overcome. Treacher the first governor of North Borneo acted to recruit officers in 1887. At that time, many among the European officers were recruited and some did not want to serve. After that, BNBC creates a new administration by opening certain positions to non-European such as local officer and police based on descent. The official that recruit must the people in North Borneo or native of Sulu. This administration creates to reduce the cost of recruiting European because the recruitment of locals is cheaper. Besides, they have skilled in custom and language among them because they used to be chief and tax collector during the Sulu and Brunei Sultanate in North Borneo before (Black, 1983). As report Treacher to Dent ‘We are trying to govern the native through their headman’ (Tregonning, 1965). So that the beginning of village administration was establish through the headman and chief authority. After that, the Village Administration proclamation of 1913 and the Native Administration Ordinance of 1937 have increased the power of the headman and chiefs and were guaranteed throughout NBCC’S era in North Borneo.

There are many native people got a title from that year such as in Sugut and Labuk River, Haji Durahim as a chief representative of the government. The headman of Bajau, Pangiran Subudin in Papar got position as a chief in Tuaran in 1884. In May 1935, The Native Chiefs’ Advisory was called to honorific title of *Orang Kaya Kaya* (O.K.K) by Jardine and Malcolm were those from Tawau, Semporna, Kinabatangan, Lahad Datu, Sandakan, Kudat, Kota Belud, Papar, Mampakul, Inanam, Sipitang, Beaufort, Pensiangan, Tambunan in the interior, seventeen chiefs in all (Tregonning, 1965). The most outstanding headman is O.K.K Mohammed Saman, who was elected unanimously chairman of every Native Chief Advisory Council (Tregonning, 1965). Moreover, the recruitment of these officers was also due to the shortage of European official especially in the interior. However, in 1981, this system was failed when some of the local officer that making a mess rather than securing the situation (Rutter, 1985). According to Tregonning, in 1910, the payment of every headman must be stop and five dollars was a negligible sum (Tregonning, 1965).

BNBC focussed to the communities in North Borneo, which is the European official learns and respects custom, and also the taxes imposed is not burdensome. Besides that,



government takes a labour from these communities by contract, if more than 30 labours they need a license (Rutter, 1985). Next, BNBC also focused to fixing relationship gaps through the organization of sport events and leisure activities. Moreover, there is so many sport activities that held by European's club in North Borneo to attract the native and to make a good relationship between them. If we see, the European is not a discriminator to the races in the North Borneo. Every sports event and leisure activities are open and divided by categories, which mean European will divided sports events such as pony racing and football by four or five categories based on participation. Also, European will open a sports event and leisure activities for the native as well that involves the community daily activities. For example, Murut get involve in *sumpit* activity. European organizes this activity because Murut reliable in *sumpit* activity. Not only that, dance event not a problem to European. European used to invited to the Murut cultural dance by the chief of Murut. So does the Bajau people, as we know Bajau people is famous for their culture as a sailor in North Borneo. European organizes boat racing because European knows the Bajau people are good at using boats. So, European, Bajau and other races involved in this activity as well. For example, Mr Bayley with his Dingy Roaring's boat and Mr Flint with his Flirt's boat (North Borneo Central Archive, 1933). European wants to attract the attention of people who live in the interior such as Bajau, Murut and Dusun, this is an effective way of social interaction through sports and leisure activities. Through this activity they will together as participants indirectly lead to good relationships.

Besides the sports event and leisure activities, European focussed in plantation, flowers and foods. The Bajau people famous with native market in Kota Belud, Dusun in Tempasuk and Inanam. Native market becomes a centre of trade among native in North Borneo. There is so many things that sell in native market such as tobacco. This tobacco comes from Dusun villages to sell in the native market. It is so cheap and strong that growing in the mountains and Ranau district. They also sell foods such as crab, fish, and prawn brought from Usukan and Abai. Vegetables and fruits such as pineapple, mango, banana, coconut and etc. The important is in native market they do cockfighting. So, European focus this native market to make their influence getting stronger. Early 1906, this native market tried to develop called as *Industrial Show* and *Agri-Horticultural*. Eventually, town and market become centre of attention because it is as a collection centre as mentioned above included handicraft and etc. NBCC wanted it an industry as desired (North Borneo Central Archive, 1933).

### ***The European men and native women***

The relationship between European men and native women described in Oscar Cook writing. As early 1882, European officials mostly went into the interior to explore the villages and meet with the local chiefs for their duty. Throughout this duty, European get services from locals to accompany them as bag carrier, guide and language translator. Among the bag carrier is a Dusun women (Cook, 1924). Besides that, mostly the local is a translator because the dominant language was Malay and Bajau at that time (Ken, 2004).

The social interaction between European men and local women not much discussed. However, there is discussed in Oscar Cook writing, he stated that Murut was famous as drunker held a *Tapai* drinking event. European men participation to this *Tapai* drinking event with ugly Murut women (Cook, 1924). However, *Tapai* drink was worrying the government because this drink was not good for women especially for breastfeeding.

Not only that, it can causes commit a crime for the drunker while in the influence of *Tapai* drink (Cook, 1924). Described as well, the European doctor that serves in the interior used to treat Aing's wife who want to give a birth (Cook, 1924). The relationship between European men with Native women mostly refer to security and health as mentioned above. This happen because many European administrative officers are stationed in the interior such as in the professional section like doctors and lawyer, also in technical section like public works officer.

When the government introduce land tax in the North Borneo, especially for the landlord that not to cultivation land from one-fourth of the land every four years and cultivate in the same area in every four years. This system causes the landlord reluctant and lazy to cultivate their land (Cook, 1924). Most young people are also not interested in the paddy cultivation and do not want to continue the hereditary activities, for them this system is troublesome. They chose to involve in gambling and easy to become a prostitute especially Dusun and Murut women (Cook, 1924). This situation occurs due to financial problems and had to sell his daughter to a brothel. This fact is supported in Oscar writing, according to him mostly local people borrow the money from Chinese for buy their clothes, oil, tobacco and foods. The Chinese shopper often taking advantage for making them debtors (Cook, 1924). Besides that, most of the people in the interior are Muslim called Mohammeden. Therefore, it limits the interactions between European men with native women, for example Bajau women will not associate and come to a party like dance event unless they get permission from their husbands (Cook, 1924).

European official serves in North Borneo used to have partnership or companion with the native women, especially who are serve in the interior. This situation occurs because of they did not have European friend and sociable with the locals. According to Danny Wong Tze Ken, most of them as cadet officer and assistant manager in estate found their women friend from the native. The number of European women that coming to North Borneo recorded less. As many 49 European women in North Borneo, each 20 European women in Sandakan and Jesselton, two in Kudat, three in Tawau and four in Lahad Datu. As we can see, the lack of European women in North Borneo causes European official searches the native women as their companion. For example, Agnes Keith's husband had a local woman before they are getting married. Besides that, Alexander R. Dunlop, who is resident in the interior that comes to North Borneo in 1884 have a local woman as he companions before getting married in 1906. Danny Wong added, most of the relationship between them ended when these European official found their women friend such as Keith and Dunlop or they are out from North Borneo (Ken, 2004).

## Conclusion

As the conclusion, the social interaction between European community and the communities in the North Borneo started in the workplace when NBCC opens the position to non-European in government in the North Borneo. However, this is not a guarantee for a good relationship between them. This social interaction limits on official business and lead to good communication between them. But as we know, the expanding of the social relationship between them is through clubs and associations. From this club, their social relationship leads to commitment either in terms of energy or money. They are together in the track as participant and as a member to succeed a

sports and leisure activities that organize. From that view, religious and racial differences are not a measure of the social relationship gap between European and communities in North Borneo. In fact, social class in every implementation of sport event and leisure activities remain emphasized by the European community.

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