

NATIONALISM IN SABAH:  
A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE ROLE OF MAT  
SALLEH AND FUAD STEPHENS

BY

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## ABSTRACT

Nationalism is a concept introduced to colonial societies by Western powers, thus non-Western postcolonial elites normally justify their nationalism based on Western perspectives. In this study, the concept of nationalism is explored with regard to nationalists in Sabah, specifically Mat Salleh (d. 1900) and Fuad Stephens (1920-1976). Although nationalism is the main idea of this discussion, it focuses on Sabahans' viewpoints on the value and justification of nationalism during the British intervention in Sabah. Westerners themselves had different thoughts and understandings regarding this concept, such as in the case of old and new nationalism. This thesis examines how significant Mat Salleh and Fuad Stephens were in promoting nationalism during the colonial era in Sabah by revealing the factors, challenges, strategies, reactions, and impacts involved. This study is based on historical research analysis that deals with both primary and secondary sources to elucidate these issues. The findings indicate that for Sabahans, Mat Salleh and Fuad Stephens were significant and successful nationalists in facing a broad array of challenges during the British intervention, succeeding in uniting the people around goals of seeking their rights and Sabah in different epochs. The progress of nationalism in Sabah, especially during the British colonisation, can be assessed by comparing their two cases. Mat Salleh was fundamentally important in initiating the early phase of nationalism in Sabah, characterised by a process of trial and error, while Fuad Stephens built on this nascent nationalist consciousness to guide the maturation of Sabahan nationalism in the context of the formation of Malaysia, constructing pragmatic tactics to respond to contemporary issues. Based on this analysis, it can be said that nationalism was not a static phenomenon, because improvement or changes took due to the interplay of various internal and external factors, which affected the progress of nationalism and the form it took in Sabah.

## خلاصة البحث

كانت القومية مفهوماً قدمته القوى الغربية إلى المجتمعات الاستعمارية، وبالتالي فإن النخب غير الغربية في مرحلة ما بعد الاستعمار تبرر عادة قوميتها القائمة على وجهات النظر الغربية. في هذه الدراسة يتم استكشاف مفهوم القومية فيما يتعلق القومييين في صباح، وتحديدًا مات صالح (ت. 1900) وفؤاد ستيفن (1920-1976). وعلى الرغم من أن القومية هي الفكرة الرئيسية لهذه المناقشة، إلا أنها تركز على وجهات نظر الصباحيين حول قيمة القومية وتبريرها خلال التدخل البريطاني في هذه الأرض. كان لدى الغربيين أنفسهم أفكار وفهومات مختلفة حول هذا المفهوم، كما هو الحال في القومية القديمة والجديدة. تبحث هذه الأطروحة مدى أهمية مات صالح وفؤاد ستيفن في تعزيز القومية خلال الحقبة الاستعمارية في صباح من خلال الكشف عن العوامل والتحديات والاستراتيجيات وردود الفعل والتأثيرات التي ينطوي عليها الأمر. وتستند هذه الدراسة إلى تحليل بحثي تاريخي يتناول المصادر الأولية والثانوية لتوضيح هذه القضايا. وتشير النتائج إلى أن مات صالح وفؤاد ستيفن كانوا من القومييين المهمين والناجيب في مواجهة مجموعة واسعة من التحديات خلال التدخل البريطاني، ونجحوا في توحيد الناس حول أهداف تسعى إلى الحصول على حقوقهم وأراضيهم في عهود مختلفة. ويمكن تقييم تقدم القومية في صباح، وخاصة خلال الاستعمار البريطاني، من خلال مقارنة حالتيهما. وكان مات صالح مهمًا بشكل أساسي في بداية المرحلة المبكرة من القومية في هذه المنطقة، التي تميزت بعملية التجربة والخطأ، في حين بنى فؤاد ستيفن على هذا الوعي القومي الوليد لتوجيه نضوج القومية الصباحية في سياق تشكيل ماليزيا، وتطوير تكتيكات عملية للاستجابة للقضايا المعاصرة. واستناداً إلى هذا التحليل، يمكن القول إن القومية لم تكن ظاهرة ساكنة، لأن التحسن أو التغييرات أخذت بسبب تفاعل مختلف العوامل الداخلية والخارجية، مما أثر على تقدم القومية والشكل الذي اتخذت في صباح.

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## DECLARATION

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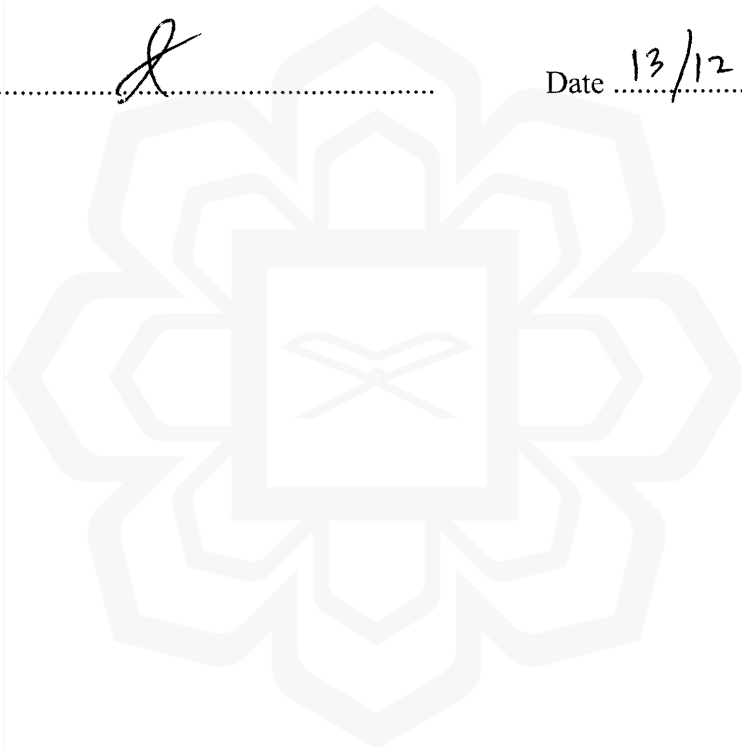
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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

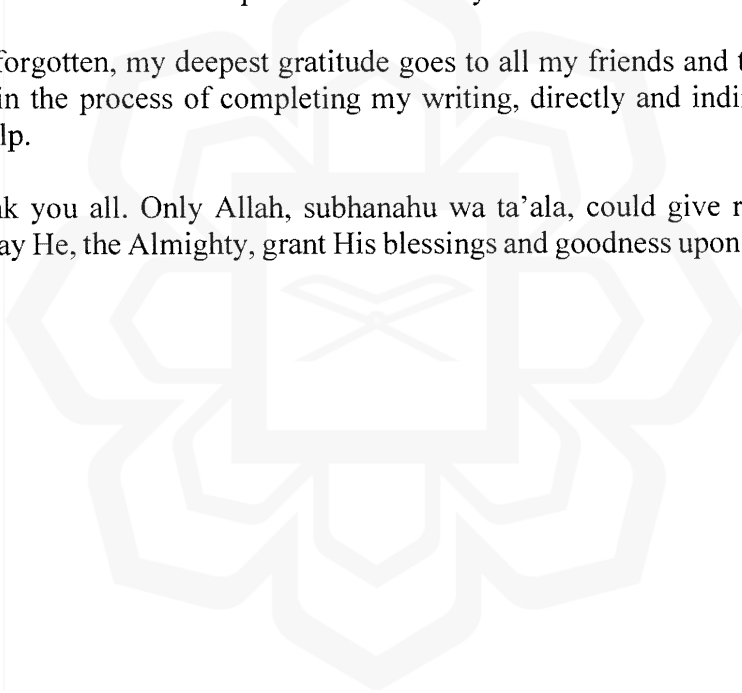
I am truly grateful to Allah the al-Mighty for giving me the opportunity, strength, patience and courage to complete this writing. It is only due to His love, mercy and grace that I have been able to complete my PhD.

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# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

This thesis studies the struggle of two leaders in uniting their people for the sake of their rights and land during the British intervention in Sabah the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Mat Salleh (d. 1900) led an armed struggle against colonial power to bring together his people, while Fuad Stephens (1920-1976) was more intellectually engaged in nation-building activities through his writing and lectures. Fuad Stephens tried to motivate his people to protect their rights and land in a peaceful manner. This thesis compares these two strategies that used in Sabah to spread nationalism and examines the causes of its changes from the aggressive to peaceful approaches.

Prior to British colonization, Sabah was ruled by the Brunei sultanate.<sup>1</sup> Part of the land was ceded to the Sulu sultanate in return for the latter's assistance in suppressing an insurrection,<sup>2</sup> thus the land was divided into two parts, under the control of the Brunei and Sulu sultanates. From the 16<sup>th</sup> century the colonial scramble for Southeast Asia noted the existence of northern Borneo, and the Portuguese, Spanish, and Americans wanted to establish permanent settlements in Sabah, but it was ultimately the British who established hegemony in the immediate neighbourhood.

In 1759 Alexander Dalrymple, a servant of East India Company at Madras and an experienced traveller in the Eastern Seas, suggested that Sulu was a perfect strategic location for the British to extend their reach, followed by Borneo as an alternative. In June 1760 his plan was approved by the Governor and Council of Madras, and he

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<sup>1</sup> Tregonning, K.G., *A History of Modern Sabah: North Borneo 1881-1963* (Singapore: University of Malaya Press, 1965), 104.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

immediately set sail for the Sulu Archipelago to put the idea into execution. Contemporaneously, during the intra-colonial Seven Years War (1756-1763), Britain seized Manila from Spain in October 1762, freeing the dispossessed and rightful heir to the Sulu sultanate from captivity.<sup>3</sup> In gratitude for reinstatement by the British, the Sulu sultanate ceded all of northern Borneo to the East India Company in June, 1764, from Kimanis to Terusan Abai, together with Labuan, Palawan, and Banggi.<sup>4</sup> However, the British settlement in this region was temporary, and it was destroyed by the Sulus and the Illanus. As a result, the British abandoned it for a while, and this pioneering British grab in 1764 was abortive.

The perceived stagnation of Brunei and its latent resources attracted the attention of Western adventurers, including Claude Lee Moses, the American Consul to the sultanate, who saw the enormous economic potential of Sabah.<sup>5</sup> He borrowed from Europeans in Singapore to secure a ten-year trading concession in Kimanis from the sultanate, which he subsequently sold to two American merchants in Hong Kong, Joseph W. Torrey and Thomas B. Harris, and a Chinese partner, Wo Hang, who later withdrew and was replaced by Lee Assing and Pong Ampong.<sup>6</sup> In October 1865, the four of them agreed to take over the concession and establish the American Trading Company of Borneo.<sup>7</sup> However, their investment in this land was unsuccessful. In 1875, with the expiration of the concession, Torrey returned to Brunei with Baron von Overbeck, the Austrian Consul General in Hong Kong,<sup>8</sup> who subsequently purchased all the rights possessed by Torrey in the American Trading Company of Borneo. Like his

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<sup>3</sup> Hernando, O.M., "The Philippine Claim to North Borneo" (Ph.D. thesis, Kansas State University, 1966), 12.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 15.

<sup>6</sup> Tregonning, K.G., *Under Chartered Company Rule: North Borneo 1881-1946* (Singapore: University of Malaya Press, 1958), 104.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

predecessors he also ran into financial difficulties with the investment, and failed to raise capital in London. He consequently sold his major shareholding to Alfred Dent in 1881.

Dent was savvy enough to seek British guarantee of his investment by seeking a British royal charter for Sabah, which implied protection and numerous privileges as a British company, without direct control, interference, and supervision. He was granted a royal charter for the British North Borneo Company (BNBC) by an Order in Council in August 1881, published later in November of the same year.<sup>9</sup> In 1888 it became a British Protectorate, but remained aloof from direct British rule, which had incorporated India and the Straits Settlements directly into the British Empire (governed from the Colonial Office) in 1858. Consequently, while neighbouring states in Malaya began to receive numerous forms of socio-economic development alongside British colonial domination, the kind of free market excesses and mismanagement of the historical East India Company continued in the anachronistic set-up of the BNBC, which retarded social development. This impasse was only resolved after WWII, when Sabah became a crown colony in 1946, acknowledging the inability of the BNBC to redevelop the land due to a lack of capital. Over the following 17 years some tentative development occurred, although the main British interest in Malaya was to contain Communist insurgency and reduce its overstretched military commitments as soon as feasible.<sup>10</sup>

The British had thus managed to establish a permanent foothold in Sabah and definitively ended the historical role of the Brunei and Sulu sultanates in northern Borneo. They used this as an ancillary interest in their control and protection of the

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<sup>9</sup> Tregonning, K.G., *A History of Modern Sabah: North Borneo 1881-1963* (Singapore: University of Malaya Press, 1965), 27.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 223.

wider Malaya region. However, their era was also associated with and contributed to the emergence of Sabah nationalism and nationalists.

### **1.1 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM**

This study explores the issue of Sabahan nationalism including different ethnicities, focusing on the two key figures of Mat Salleh and Fuad Stephens, of Bajau and Kadazan ethnicity, respectively. These well-known Sabahan nationalists are generally respected by all Sabahans and revered for their seminal contributions to the postcolonial Sabah. These two figures were chosen because they managed to attract the attention not only the Sabahans and the British, but other outsiders too. Mat Salleh became a centre of attraction in 1894, and before him no Sabahans had been considered worthy of international regard. After he was killed in 1900, none of the subsequent Sabahan national leaders achieved the same stature with the exception of Fuad Stephens. Thus, it can be said these two figures were the most vital nationalist leaders able to inspire and motivate their people to fight together for the Sabahans and Sabah.

Comparing both of them, the progress of nationalism in Sabah can be understood in terms of the early phase of Mat Salleh, and its growth under Fuad Stephens. Their responsibilities as nationalists were important in bringing together all people from different backgrounds in Sabah during the British intervention, and ultimately in freeing the land from British colonial domination. Understanding these issues is essential to comprehend the development and progress of nationalism in this state, which was very slow to emerge compared to other parts of Southeast Asia, with a relatively small number of nationalists. Some of the main reasons that contributed to this scenario were the need for education and peaceful conditions for national consciousness to emerge.

The differences between the two eras are there due to the historical contexts, but elements of demographic and geographical similarities were similar during the times of Mat Salleh and Fuad Stephens, and can even be seen nowadays. Furthermore, the essential characteristics of charismatic national leaders are also similar, such as knowledge, skills, and vision to lead people in pursuit of a shared national goal. All of these features can be found in both figures, who during the British colonization era managed to gain the attention of the people from the neighbouring lands and the Europeans.

This study is also timely in presenting an academic analysis of Mat Salleh in particular as a nationalist, as some recent critiques have accused him of being a self-serving opportunist, despite the high regard in which he was held by his contemporaries in the Sabahan nationalist movement, and his ongoing importance in the national story. This study focuses on the nationalist activities of the two eponymous figureheads during two distinct eras of colonization: Mat Salleh in 1894-1900, and Fuad Stephens in 1946-1963. This study is limited to 1963 only, because after that the administrative of Sabah was handed over from the British to the Sabahans. Due to this transfer, nationalism faced a new phase in its progress in the context of Malaysia, but this period is beyond the focus of the current study.

## **1.2 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES**

The aims of this study are as follows:

- 1) To study the background of two Sabahan nationalists.
- 2) To identify the goal of their struggles in protecting Sabah and uniting the people.

- 3) To explore the challenges faced by both of them from the side of locals and colonial powers.
- 4) To determine the pattern of the approaches of Mat Salleh and Fuad Stephens in the struggle against British colonial power.
- 5) To examine the reaction of local people and outsiders.
- 6) To analyse the impact of their struggles in socio-political development.

### **1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

The study is guided by the following research questions:

- 1) What were the differences and similarities between Mat Salleh and Fuad Stephens, the two key Sabahan nationalist leaders?
- 2) Why did they decide to protect Sabah and unite the people?
- 3) How did the people of Sabah and colonial powers react to both nationalists in carrying out their mission?
- 4) Why were different approaches used by them?
- 5) How did the people of Sabah, the British authorities, Malayan leaders, and others react towards these two figures?
- 6) How did both of them affect socio-political development in Sabah?

### **1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY**

This study is important because it explores the concept and understanding of the people in Sabah regarding the nationalism during the era of colonization. By getting information about this, the relation of approaches used by Mat Salleh and Fuad Stephens to strengthen their missions and visions can be known. The approaches used by them affected the level of support they received from the people of Sabah. Additionally, it

investigates the factors and findings on nationalist movements in Sabah during the different eras of British colonization: Sabah under British protectorate (1888-1946) and as a Crown Colony (1946-1967), during which eras Mat Salleh and Fuad Stephens were active in Sabahan nationalism, in 1894-1900 and 1946-1963, respectively. The movements led by Mat Salleh and Fuad Stephens were influenced by the British policies over the region in those eras. By studying both nationalists, we can see the role of the British and how the nationalistic awareness among the people in the region was enhanced longitudinally from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century to the 1960s.

In addition, this study is significant because no study has undertaken a comparative analysis of Mat Salleh and Fuad Stephens as nationalists. This is because all previous studies adopted a chronological approach focusing on either one of these figures, or simply adumbrating the roles of both in history, without comparing them in the context of nationalism, as this study does, in order to explore their roles in nationalism and anti-colonialism from a broader perspective. By doing this, it can be understood the reasons of similarities and differences occurred in relation to the different time and contexts in which the figures operated. It is hoped that these efforts will provide an impetus for others to conduct further research on the history of Sabah, to address the chronic lack of academic analyses of Sabahan history in general.

## **1.5 LITERATURE REVIEW**

Nationalism is the fundamental element to provide a sense of national belonging. This study compares the roles of two nationalists in Sabah from different eras, as explained previously. Various modern studies deal with both nationalists individually or in chronological series, but no comparison has been undertaken. Nevertheless, existing

literature offers many leads and insights on these two pioneers of contemporary Sabahan nationalism.

*Datu Paduka Mat Salleh Pahlawan Sabah (Hero of Sabah): 1894-1900*<sup>11</sup> is a comprehensive book about Mat Salleh, giving information about the relationship between him and the BNBC. This book is valuable because it deals with primary sources such as pictures, newspaper reports, and government documents. Besides that, this book was published by the State Archive of Sabah, thus the validity of the primary sources can be trusted. This study portrays him positively, such as by mentioning him as a nationalist, patriot, and hero because of his efforts to fight the British for the sake of his land and the nation.

Ian Donald Black's *Native Administration by the British North Borneo Chartered Company, 1878-1915*, explores the role of Mat Salleh from the point of view of the BNBC.<sup>12</sup> It is largely based on primary sources held in the Public Record Office in London from the BNBC and British government papers. In his perspective, Mat Salleh was not a nationalist which may embed colonial bias against the nativist role of Mat Salleh.

P.J. Granville-Edge's *The Sabahan: The Life and Death of Tun Fuad Stephens*<sup>13</sup> discusses the significant and prominent figure of Fuad Stephens for Sabahans, giving detailed information about his background and career. In terms of sources, she mainly dealt with primary sources, specifically interviews with people who were close to Fuad Stephens, such as his wife, Toh Puan Hajjah Rahimah Stephens. This book is valuable

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<sup>11</sup> Sabihah Osman, Ismail Ali, Baszly Bee, and et al., *Datu Paduka Mat Salleh Pahlawan Sabah (Hero of Sabah): 1894-1900* (Kota Kinabalu: Arkib Negeri Sabah, 2007).

<sup>12</sup> Black, I. D., "Native Administration by the British North Borneo Chartered Company, 1878-1915" (Ph.D. thesis, Australian National University, 1970).

<sup>13</sup> Granville-Edge, P.J., *The Sabahans: The Life and Death of Tun Fuad Stephens* (Kuala Lumpur: Caxton Printing Sdn. Bhd., 1999).

for my study because it covers many personal and in-depth details about Fuad Stephens. This study emphasizes the important role of Fuad Stephens in building up nationalism among the Kadazans and Sabahans after WWII. From this study, readers can understand why Fuad Stephens was a nationalist and *Huguon Siau*<sup>14</sup> too.

K.G. Tregonning's *Under Chartered Company Rule: North Borneo 1881-1946*<sup>15</sup> is also an important source for this study. This study gives valuable information about the land of Sabah when it was a protectorate under the BNBC. He deals with the important resources regarding this land. His sources directly came from the British colonial power. It is an important source because the author consulted the documents from the BNBC and British government papers housed in the Colonial Office Library in London, and the Jesselton Archives. Besides the archival materials, several interviews with important people like R.K. Hardwick are included, drawing upon the latter's 50 years of knowledge of Borneo. In addition, W.K.C. Wookey read the first draft of this book and gave his remarks. However, this study concentrates on Mat Salleh<sup>16</sup> only, with no information regarding Fuad Stephens or the broader late colonial implications of Sabahan nationalism.

*A History of Modern Sabah: North Borneo 1881-1963*<sup>17</sup> is the continuation of K.G. Tregonning's *Under Chartered Company Rule: North Borneo 1881-1946*. The contents of this book are similar, except for the last chapter,<sup>18</sup> in which he discusses Fuad Stephens by focusing on his role in politics.<sup>19</sup> However, the discussion is not as

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<sup>14</sup> *Huguon Siau* means "the brave leader."

<sup>15</sup> Tregonning, K.G., *Under Chartered Company Rule: North Borneo 1881-1946* (Singapore: University of Malaya Press, 1958).

<sup>16</sup> See Chapter 11, *Under Chartered Company Rule: North Borneo 1881-1946*, 245-266.

<sup>17</sup> Tregonning, K.G., *A History of Modern Sabah: North Borneo 1881-1963* (Singapore: University of Malaya Press, 1965).

<sup>18</sup> *Under Chartered Company Rule: North Borneo 1881-1946* consists of 12 chapters, while *A History of Modern Sabah: North Borneo 1881-1963* consists of 13 chapters and the difference only the last chapter.

<sup>19</sup> See Chapter 13, *A History of Modern Sabah: North Borneo 1881-1963*, 239-247.

in-depth as his treatment of Mat Salleh, because he only mentions Fuad Stephens in a general way. Furthermore, neither of these works by Tregonning provide a comparison between the two key nationalists in Sabah, Mat Salleh and Fuad Stephens. However, his works are still crucial and vital for this study because a lot of important information regarding the process of colonization of Sabah by the British can be found. Thus, it gives a picture of why the latent hostility of the Sabahans towards the British changed to admiration and support. Actually, it can be linked towards the progress of nationalism, which was anti-British and then changed to be pro-British, due to historical circumstances discussed in the following chapters. Besides that, it can be said that anyone who wants to conduct research on Sabah will usually use his works as the main reference.

Abdullah Zakaria Ghazali's *Malaysia 500: Khazanah Insan Aset Negara*<sup>20</sup> refers to influential individuals in Malaysia. There are many books in this series, but the relevant book is No. 5, which focuses on warriors among the people. Mat Salleh is one of them mentioned in this book. The author mentions native legends, including that Mat Salleh possessed magical power, and it was claimed that he could blow fire from his mouth; aside from such cultural arcana, this book does manifest the living role of Mat Salleh in local nationalist consciousness.

Barbara Watson Andaya and Leonard Y. Andaya in their *A History of Malaysia*<sup>21</sup> provide information relating to the states of Malaysia, and they also discuss the state of Sabah before and after it became a British Crown Colony. Focusing on nationalists, this book covers prominent figures in this region. In addition, it gives more information regarding the nationalists before World War II. The most pertinent

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<sup>20</sup> Abdullah Zakaria Ghazali, *Malaysia 500: Khazanah Insan Aset Negara* (Kuala Lumpur: Arus Intelek Sdn. Bhd., 2013).

<sup>21</sup> Andaya, B.W., & Andaya, L.Y., *A history of Malaysia* (Hampshire: Palgrave, 2001).

information for this thesis can be found in the fifth and seventh chapters, which focus on specific time periods, without comparison between the two prominent nationalists before and after Sabah became a Crown Colony, and their long-term role in Sabahan history. Additionally, both chapters are about Malaya in general, and the book is generally lacking in specific history on Sabah.

Cecilia Leong's *Sabah: The First 100 Years*<sup>22</sup> is an important source containing relevant information regarding Mat Salleh. She discusses the issue of Mat Salleh in chapter five under the title "The Mat Salleh Rebellion". In this chapter, she mentions the reactions of colonial power and local people towards him. Besides that, she provides a chronology of Mat Salleh's rebellion from 1894 until February 1, 1900. The chronology in this study helps understand how serious the role of Mat Salleh was in terms of the challenge he posed to the British, and how important Sabah was to him. In terms of sources, she presents primary and secondary sources to support her arguments. For primary sources, she took information from newspaper reports, diaries and documents from archives. However, she gives general information regarding Fuad Stephens.

Colin N. Crisswell's *The Mat Salleh Rebellion Reconsidered*<sup>23</sup> consists of the background of Mat Salleh, his resistance, and the response of the British towards him. Like the others, Crisswell also states that Mat Salleh was credited with supernatural powers, including the ability to make himself invulnerable to weapons. In his work, we can see the role of W.C. Cowie, the Court of Directors of the Chartered Company<sup>24</sup>, in handling the Mat Salleh revolt. Before discussing the revolt by Mat Salleh, Crisswell

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<sup>22</sup> Leong, Cecilia, *Sabah: The First 100 Years* (Kuala Lumpur: Percetakan Nan Yang Muda, 1984)

<sup>23</sup> Crisswell, C.N., "The Mat Salleh Rebellion Reconsidered", *The Museum Sarawak Journal*, vol. xix, no. 38-39: 155-165.

<sup>24</sup> Kaur, A., *Economic Change in East Malaysia: Sabah and Sarawak since 1850* (New York: Springer, 2016).

mentions the reasons the British sought to strengthen their grip over Sabah. The region was important for them because of its strategic location on the main shipping route from Singapore to China. In this study, the author explains the connection between three important regions in Borneo Island: Brunei, Sabah, and Sarawak. However, the reactions from this revolt focus on the British element only, with no consideration of the local people.

Colin N. Crisswell's *The Establishment of a Residency in Brunei 1895-1905*<sup>25</sup> studies the British intervention in Brunei, Borneo Island. Brunei is the main focus because it has a huge territory.<sup>26</sup> The British not only had to deal with the Brunei Sultanate and Mat Salleh, but also other colonial powers. The resistance led by Mat Salleh challenged the British in the controlling potential harbour and supplying places. However, the discussion is limited to the economic factors.

Dayu Sansalu's *Kadazandusun di Sabah: Pendidikan dan Proses Pemodenan, 1881-1967*<sup>27</sup> focuses on the lives of the Kadazandusun community before and after World War II by referring to their lives in terms of cultural, socio-economic, and political aspects. The interesting point in this book is its clear explanation regarding the development of nationalism by using dialogue and writing. He touches on the role of Fuad Stephens in bringing together the Sabahans. The author also explains the ways and methods used to spread the idea of nationalism to the people. However, this book is limited to the nationalists that belonged to the Dusun and Kadazan communities only. As a result, there is no information related to Mat Salleh.

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<sup>25</sup> Crisswell, C.N., "The Establishment of a Residency in Brunei, 1895-1905", *ASEAN Studies*, vol. x, no. 1: 95-107.

<sup>26</sup> Sabah was under the control of Brunei Sultanate.

<sup>27</sup> Dayu Sansalu, *Kadazandusun di Sabah: Pendidikan dan Proses Pemodenan, 1881-1967* (Selangor: Dawama, 2008).

Fausto Barlocco's *Between the Local and the State: Practices and Discourses of Identity among the Kadazan of Sabah (East Malaysia)*<sup>28</sup> puts priority on the main native community in Sabah, the Kadazans. He examines the factors and effects of sense of belonging towards nation building. Through this study, the readers will find the meaning of nationalism among the Kadazans, who aimed to obtain greater recognition for their interests within the colonial state and, once it became clear that the British were about to grant independence, to mobilize and unite the Dusunic people to prepare for self-rule. Barlocco discusses Fuad Stephens in Chapter Three, "The Formation of Kadazan and Malaysia Cultures in Sabah (1953-2007)". From this chapter, the readers will know that he used the media to spread his thoughts. Unfortunately, he did not mention Fuad Stephens specifically. However, it cannot be denied that from this study important information about Fuad Stephens can be retrieved, particularly the concept of using the pen rather than the sword to disseminate national consciousness and react to the British agenda.

Herman James Luping in his study entitled *The Kadazans and Sabah Politics*<sup>29</sup> discusses the political system in Sabah related to the Kadazan community. In this research, the author touches on nationalism among the Sabahans. He also includes Mat Salleh and Fuad Stephens in the first chapter, "The Kadazans". Even though he discusses these two figures, there is no comparison made between them. However, either directly or indirectly, the role of the British in shaping Sabahan nationalism during the eras of Mat Salleh and Fuad Stephens can be clearly seen. This work is important to my study because it provides valuable information related to Fuad

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<sup>28</sup> Barlocco, F., "Between the Local and the State: Practices and Discourses of Identity among the Kadazan of Sabah, East Malaysia" (Ph.D. thesis, Loughborough University, 2008).

<sup>29</sup> Luping, H.J., "The Kadazans and Sabah Politics" (Ph.D. thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1985).