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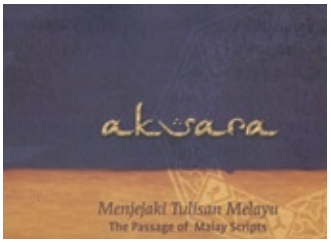

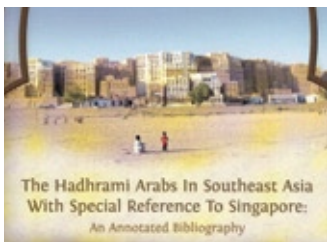

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DIRECTOR'S COLUMN

The Spotlight for this issue falls on the speech by George Yeo, Minister for Foreign Affairs, at the launch of the "Rihlah – Arabs in Southeast Asia" exhibition and conference held on 10 April. This is a very interesting speech that is peppered with delightful anecdotes of the Minister's visit to the Hadhramaut in 2007 and stories that reveal the significant contributions of the Arab and other traders to the Southeast Asian economy and society since the early 19th century.

In conjunction with the Rihlah exhibition, two publications have been published, the first is a book on the *"Hadhrami Arabs across the Indian Ocean"* and the second, a bilbliography entitled *"The Hadhrami Arabs in Southeast Asia with special reference to Singapore"*. The bibliography includes various printed materials ranging from newspaper articles to monographs in English, and other languages such as Arabic, Indonesian, Malay, Dutch and French. Kartini Saparudin, a Reference Librarian with the Lee Kong Chian Reference Library pens a bibliographic survey of known intellectual discourses on the Hadhrami Arabs in Southeast Asia. In his review, Professor Michael Gilsenan from New York University considers this bibliography a milestone and an essential tool for researchers conducting studies on the Hadhramis and their migrations over the centuries.

Erik Holmberg, our Lee Kong Chian Research Fellow writes about the less well known tragedy at the Fortune of War tavern in 1872 involving European soldiers and sailors. The essay provides interesting details about the cause and aftermath of the tragedy highlighting the status of the working class population in colonial Singapore – a subject which deserves more documentation.

In "*Unveiling Secrets of the Past through the Passage of Malay Scripts*", Mohamed Pitchay Gani unlocks the contents of *Aksara: Menjejaki Tulisan Melayu (Aksara: The Passage of Malay Scripts)* to reveal the secrets of the past in relation to the Malay language and its scripts. This publication, recently published by the National Library Singapore, is recommended to researchers, scholars and those who have a special interest in this subject. Scripts on various media from the earliest years, ranging from inscriptions on stones, tree bark, palm leaves to name a few, are captured in the book, providing a visual feast not to be missed.

On the 14th of August 2010, Singapore will play host to the inaugural Youth Olympics Games, welcoming young athletes from all over the world, competing in some 26 sporting events while participating in a cultural and educational exchange programme. Wee Tong Bao, a librarian at the Lee Kong Chian Reference Library maps out the early history of physical education and sports training in Singapore schools as a prelude to the Youth Olympic Games. The first of the two-part article features the educational curriculum and certification aspects of teacher training in both English medium and vernacular schools in the formative years.

Last but not least, Singapore's longstanding relationship with China is revisited by Vicky Gao, a Chinese Reference Librarian with the Lee Kong Chian Reference Library. The collection review of Chinese materials in relation to major milestones in the diplomatic relations with China over the last 20 years bears significance to the importance of bilateral ties between a small state and a big power in the region.

Happy reading! Do share with us your comments and feedback.

Ms Ngian Lek Choh
Director
National Library

Journey

A Story about the Past and Future

An edited transcript of Minister George Yeo's opening speech at the launch of "Rihlah - Arabs in Southeast Asia" Exhibition and Conference on 10 April.

Good morning, dear friends. I am delighted to be here to join all of you for the launch of an exhibition and a conference on the Arabs in Southeast Asia. In fact, I have been looking forward to it. The theme is Rihlah – "Journey". This is a story, not only about the past, but also about the future.

Dr N Varaprasad (Chief Executive, National Library Board) talked about the Omani dhow, which is setting sail from Cochin to Singapore this weekend. It set sail from Muscat in mid-February – a replica of an ancient dhow, which sank about 500 miles to the south of Singapore, near Belitung, in shallow waters and so quickly got covered and protected by sand. On board, there were over sixty thousand pieces of porcelain from many kilns in China, mostly Changsha. The motifs were Chinese, Buddhist, Taoist, central Asian, Arabic, because that was the Age of Tang, of Buddhist Sriwijaya, of Nalanda, of the Abbasids.

In mid-March, it arrived in Cochin. As it approached the continental shelf, a big green turtle appeared alongside. For those of you who are not familiar with the journey of the Jewel of Muscat, which was a gift from Sultan Qaboos to us, I recommend their website to you, because they give regular updates about the re-enactment of an ancient voyage – when there were no engines, when they depended only on their sails and the trade winds. And it is no wonder that the Malays have always called this region '*Tanah di Bawah Angin*' (Land Under the Wind). Because it was the trade winds which made possible the maritime Silk Road.

Minister Yeo... this is a story, not only about the past, but also about the future.

Throughout history, different groups have been plying this coastline, from Europe, all the way to China and Japan, to pre-Islamic days – in fact, probably to the beginning of history, when the sea was the original Internet, linking people together. It is a story about the Arabs, it is a story about the Indians, the Malabaris and the Cholas. It is the story about Bugis and Acehnese peoples, a story about the southern Chinese, about the Chettiar merchants, about Koreans and Japanese. And in this century, this story will be retold in a much bigger way.

A few years ago, we celebrated the 600th anniversary of the first voyage of the Ming admiral, Zheng He, himself a Muslim eunuch, who travelled all the way to the Hejaz, and went to Mecca. Each can tell the story from a different perspective, and each has learnt from the other in ways that they sometimes are less conscious of themselves. I spoke to the MFA (Ministry of Foreign Affairs) officer who was on the Jewel of Muscat, and he told me that when they arrived in Cochin, what they saw first were the Chinese fishing nets. And along the Malabari coast, there are many things in their kitchen, in their daily lives, which they ascribe to what they have learnt from China. And Zheng He's own voyages to the Indian Ocean would not have been possible without knowledge he had gleaned from the Arabs, about conditions in that part of the world, and tricks in navigation.

Minister George Yeo receiving a drop of perfume on the back of his hand by two Hadhrami teenagers. The application of perfume is a Hadhrami tradition to welcome and show respect to their guests.

Ms Yeoh Chee Yan (Chairman of NLB), Minister George Yeo, Dr N Varaprasad (CE of NLB & Chairman for Rihlah Steering Committee) and Assoc. Prof Syed Farid Alatas (Co-chairman for Rihlah Steering Committee & Head of the Department of Malay Studies, National University of Singapore) officiating the launch of the Rihlah Exhibition and Conference

When Raffles came to Singapore, Singapore was his second best choice. During the Napoleonic wars, the British had occupied Java, and he stayed there for five years. He was a great scholar, and he saw that in every major Javanese town, there were Arabs communities that supported the trading networks. He told London that the British should never give up Java. But, with the Congress of Vienna, there was no choice. So he retreated to Calcutta, from where he plotted to establish an alternative base. When he founded Singapore in 1819, one of the first things he did was to persuade Hadhrami families to come here. Syed Mohammed Harun Aljunied and Syed Omar Aljunied from Palembang were given a warm welcome, and from that time on, Singapore became the centre of the Hadhrami network in Southeast Asia – a network which goes back a long time. But because Singapore was the trading hub, and the Hadhramis being trading people, this became their centre. And then Singapore's own entanglement with the history of the Hadhramaut began.

I had the great pleasure of visiting the Hadhramaut in May 2007, with members of the Al-Wehdah, who are now here, and Dr Ho Engseng, who wrote the beautiful book, *'The Graves of Tarim'*. And I was so pleasantly surprised at how linked we are – historically, culturally, genetically, economically – to the Hadhramaut.

When we were at Seiyun, there was a historical house, a museum, and there were old pictures. And one of the pictures showed a Singapore Studebaker, an old car, which had been shipped to Mukalla, dismantled in Mukalla, backpacked on camels, brought to Tarim, and then reconstructed, complete with a Singapore "S" number plate. And of course, later, it was a Singapore Hadhrami, Alkaff, who financed the construction of the road from Mukalla to Tarim, a road which is still being used today. And it was at the Alkaff Mansion that Harold Ingram – whose daughter Dr N Varaprasad acknowledged for her support of today's event – worked out a peace agreement between the two contending houses, the Qua'itis and the Kathiris. And Harold and his wife Doreen were the first Europeans to live in the Hadhramaut. And I was just told by Dr Farid Alatas that Leila Ingram is right now in the Hadhramaut, continuing the research of her parents.

I remember the wonderful lunch hosted for me in Tarim by the Governor of Hadhramaut, who is the great great great great grand nephew of Syed Omar Aljunied, Syed Ahmed Janned Aljunied. I was sitting among relatives and friends, relatives of Habib Hassan, of our Mufti, and eating *sambal belachan* and flavours of food which we are completely familiar with. It is a land of *batik* and *sarong*. These connections are deep-rooted, and for some time, we thought they had disappeared. But they have not disappeared, because the roots are still there, and with the new spring, the plants are re-growing, re-flourishing. And this exhibition and convention is really about the story of that old connection and what it means for the future.

Since 2003, we decided in Singapore that it is in our own interest to alter our policy towards that part of the world, to revive it and to make it a part of our future. So you would have noticed in the last few years, an endless series of high-level visits between the two sides, between Singapore leaders and leaders of Arab countries, from the Maghreb, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, the Gulf, Syria, up and down.

And here in Singapore, there is an effort by the URA (Urban Redevelopment Authority) to revive the Arab quarter, to recover our Arabic roots to which the Hadhrami story is central. And the journey does not end here. This is not the terminal point. This is but the mid-point to China; and it has always been China who drove the East-West trade. A story of rise and fall of dynasties, leading to the ebbs and flows of the maritime trade. And this new flow is the biggest, most gargantuan ever.

In the wonderful new book written by Ben Simpfendorfer, Chief China Economist of the Royal Bank of Scotland – formerly he was with JP Morgan – the book is called *'The New Maritime Silk Road'*. And it begins by talking about a town in Zhejiang province, called Yiwu. And in that town are thousands of Arab companies, buying things from China, supplying to all parts of the Middle East. They are from Damascus, they are from Oman, they are of course as we expect, also from the Hadhramaut. And some of them have powerful links to Singapore.

China is rediscovering the Middle East, and the Middle East is rediscovering China. And once the trade links have re-established, as it happened once upon a time, with these trade links will also be re-established political and cultural links, and the re-mixing of blood. This re-mixing of blood is itself a fascinating story. I see here so many Hadhramis, so many with links to the Hadhramaut, with mixed blood, but who contributed hugely to the Hadhramaut and to keeping alive the many connections.

The first thing we did when we arrived in the Hadhramaut was to do the rituals, which Dr Ho Engseng described in his book. Which is, for a descendant of the prophet to say the prayers at the tomb of Syed Ahmad Isa, the Muhajir, their common ancestor, who arrived there from Basrah a thousand years ago – I think the 7th or the 9th descendant of the prophet. Syed Alwi [Aidid] – who has a Chinese mother – was a nervous wreck that day. I do not know whether he is here this morning. I could see that he was greatly stressed because all the weight of his ancestors was on his shoulders. But it was the beginning of an important ritual, which continues to be observed again and

Mr Mazelan Anuar (Librarian, Lee Kong Chian Reference Library) shows Minister George Yeo an artefact from the exhibition.

again. And which, in myriad different ways, connects different parts of the region together.

With the rise of China, with the re-emergence of India, Arab merchants will once again play an important role. But the story should not end with trade, even though is an important part of it, it should lead to better inter-cultural, inter-civilisational understanding.

I was leafing through a recent book written by Vali Nasr who had written a wonderful book called the *'The Shi'a Revival'*. His new book is called *'Forces of Fortune'*. And his main point is, to the Western audiences: "Do not equate Islam to extremism, to terrorism". That cannot explain Islam's legacy in the world. He said, look at the new middle classes, look at the new connections being made. He talked about Dubai, about the China Centre in Dubai, and about the new things that are happening. He recounted a beautiful episode when Pope Benedict, he decided, as a gesture of outreach to Muslims and to show understanding, to visit Turkey. When he was in Istanbul, he visited the Blue Mosque – which all of us know is a wonderful piece of architecture. As the Pope was leaving, his eye was drawn to the archway above the main exit, on it was white Arabic calligraphy against the black tableau – words he asked his interpreter to translate. The interpreter said it says *"Al kasib habib Allah"* – 'The merchant is the beloved of God'.

Vali Nasr used this little episode to illustrate an aspect of Islam which we often forget, between the West and the Arab world, long centuries of conflict, which are in the historical memories of both sides. Arabs today still talk nostalgically of *Al Andalusia,* when Spain was Muslim.For the Iberian peoples, much of their national characters were forged in what they called the 'Reconquista', the centuries of recovering that peninsula back into Catholicism. And when they finally succeeded in 1492, they left the shores to conquer the world. And when the Portugese came to this part of the world centuries ago, they could not separate their emotions from the local context at that point in time. It is a complicated problem; it will take time and a lot of effort to overcome. But here in our part of the world, the contact between Islam and non-Islamic Asia had been quite different, particularly the Arab contact. With the Turkic people; it is a different story in India.

But the Arabs who came here were mostly traders and religious teachers. And because they were traders, they wanted peace, they wanted diplomatic relations, they wanted trade routes to be opened. And they welcomed diversity because they saw in diversity opportunities. Unless we are diverse, why should we be trading? And sometimes the greater the diversity, the greater the trading opportunities. So we have an opportunity in Asia to tell a different story about Islam, very different from that story told from a Western perspective. And as the region rises, and as this story is told in fresh ways, I hope, maybe, that it will also have an influence on the way the West conducts its own relations with the world of Arabia, the world of Islam.

I think it is wonderful how the National Library Board, not just providing reference and lending services, has also taken upon itself the telling of stories, stories about different groups who have plied these waterways from the beginning of time, and whose activities are what makes Singapore what it is today. Thank you.

We would like to thank S. Zahra Aljunied, Senior Librarian, National Library Board, for transcribing this speech. ■

"Rihlah - Arabs in Southeast Asia" exhibition

On public display for the first time are photographs and artefacts such as treasures from ancient shipwrecks in the region, to rare musical instruments and personal documents telling the story of the migrations of Arabs of Southeast Asia.

Visit rihlah.nl.sg for more details.

Commentaries on the two publications released in conjunction with the exhibition are published on pages 24 and 31 of this issue.

1872: The Fortune of War Tragedy

A Christmas Celebration in Tanjong Pagar Turns Violent[1]

By **Erik Holmberg**
Lee Kong Chian
Research Fellow (2008)
National Library

> *A very serious affray occurred last night at a tavern called the 'Fortune of War,' on the corner of Tanjong Pagar and New Harbour roads, between some men of the 80th Regiment from the steamer Scotland, and some sailors belonging to that vessel.... a patrol of soldiers, with sidearms, was sent out from the ship to look for stragglers, but the attractions of the tavern, and the fact of it being Christmas, proved too great for them, and the patrol remained there, drinking with the sailors and others, until a late hour, when, as usual when sailors and soldiers meet at a drinking bout, the entertainment wound up with a fight. The soldiers used their bayonets, and the sailors their knives and anything else they could get hold of. One of the sailors was killed, we believe with a bayonet wound in the abdomen, and there were several wounded on both sides. ...*
>
> – *Singapore Daily Times*, 26 December 1872.

While exploring the history of public celebrations in colonial Singapore, I happened to find an account of a Christmas celebration in 1872 which sadly degenerated into a tragic and violent incident. By piecing together the news reports that appeared over several months in the pages of the *Singapore Daily Times*, it is possible to reconstruct an account of violence and bloodshed in a tavern and its judicial aftermath, as well as certain aspects of the social and criminal context within which this story played out.

It is a story which reads like something out of the lore of the Wild West of the American frontier, rather than what one might expect to find in the history of Singapore, which is today a city-state that is internationally renowned for its orderliness and safety. This forgotten tragedy in 1872 provides insights into a little-known aspect of the social history of colonial Singapore, namely: the lifestyle and recreational activities of European soldiers and sailors, their presence on this island, the nature of their criminal activities, and the responses of the colonial authorities and the local press. These insights may help to provide a more balanced view of the society of colonial Singapore, and help to clear up some possible misconceptions about this society that may exist in the present day.

Today, when we think of Europeans in the colonial Settlement of Singapore, we may imagine wealthy people who lived in mansions, where they were attended by servants. However, not all Europeans in the Settlement were wealthy and privileged; in fact, it is practically certain that most of them were working-class soldiers and sailors, whose natural habitats included taverns and the less-reputable streets and alleys of Singapore, rather than sumptuous mansions in fashionable suburbs.

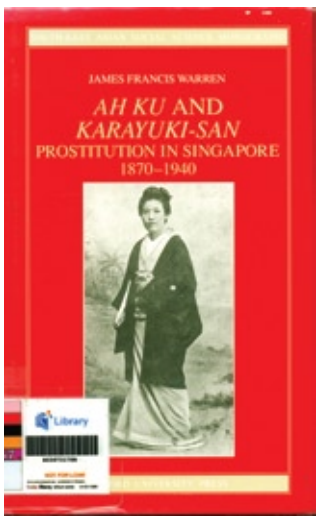
Likewise, when we think of rioting or other violence in colonial Singapore, we may think of gangs of Chinese *samsengs* (gangsters) who belonged to secret societies, fighting in the streets.[2] However, Chinese secret society members weren't the only offenders who committed acts of violence here. Not all the Europeans here were respectable law-abiding inhabitants of the Settlement, and violent crimes committed by Europeans were not unknown. Indeed, the number and variety of crimes committed by Europeans in Singapore in late 1872 and early 1873 is sufficient to suggest that European criminality was a significant component of the overall criminality in this Settlement and, hence, a feature of the local social history of crime which must not be overlooked in the study of Singapore's social past.

The respectable side of the Western presence in the Settlement has been conspicuously commemorated in the statue of Raffles, in the names of Raffles Place and Raffles Hotel,[3] in all the other streets and places which were named after prominent Westerners, and in the mansions which were the homes of wealthy Europeans, some of which still stand today. However, the involvement of some Westerners on the disreputable side of life in colonial Singapore was, quite naturally, never commemorated with monuments, for obvious reasons.[4] There was evidently a belief among the British elites in the colonial era that the presence of poor

or unemployed Europeans in Singapore and Malaya was an embarrassment which posed a threat to European prestige. Moreover, they felt that their prestige had to be sustained at all times, since it was regarded as essential to the colonial system here.[5] John Butcher has explored this topic in detail in his book *The British in Malaya, 1880-1941: The Social History of a European Community in Colonial South-East Asia*.[6] Nevertheless, there *was* a presence of working-class Europeans in colonial Singapore, and it is the task of the social historian to explore such forgotten elements of this society, in order to achieve a better understanding of the social history of this place.

The work of prominent historians on the social history of Singapore and Malaya has inspired this exploration of celebration, crime and death in Tanjong Pagar in 1872. James Francis Warren has shown how historical research can recover and retrieve the experiences and lives of largely forgotten people[7] in his classic studies of the social history of rickshaw pullers and prostitutes: *Rickshaw Coolie: A People's History of Singapore (1880-1940)* and *Ah Ku and Karayuki-san: Prostitution in Singapore 1870-1940*. John Butcher has described the situation of non-elite Europeans in Malaya, including working-class train drivers and unemployed rubber planters, and also analysed the significance of a well-known European murder case, in his book *The British in Malaya, 1880-1941: The Social History of a European Community in Colonial South-East Asia*.[8]

The lives of Chinese immigrant labourers, including their experiences in China which motivated them to leave their homeland, the process of emigration and the social problems which they experienced in Singapore and Malaya, have been vividly depicted by Yen Ching-hwang in *A Social History of the Chinese in Singapore and Malaya 1800-1911*.[9] While Chinese immigrant labourers comprised the bulk of the labouring-class population of Singapore in the 19th and early 20th centuries, we should not forget the other, less numerous sections of the working-class population, including those who were from Europe.



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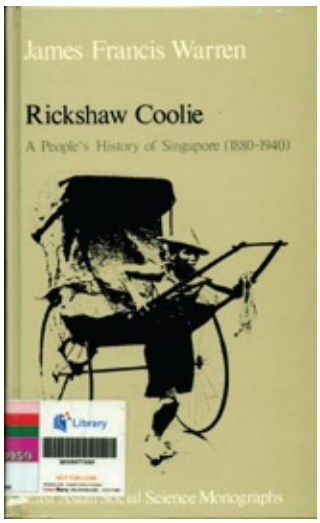

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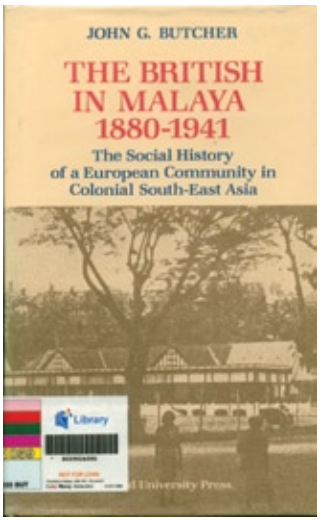
YULETIDE CELEBRATION AND TRAGEDY

The setting of the bloodshed on Christmas Day in 1872 was a tavern called the "Fortune of War" in Tanjong Pagar, in an insalubrious swampy locality near the harbour, which seemed to have been devoted at least in part to the refreshment of seafarers. We can imagine what this area was like in the 1870s, thanks to a description of the place written by a visitor who landed here five years after the deadly Yuletide brawl. When the American naturalist William Hornaday arrived in Singapore on 20 May 1878, he described a stinking creek of slime along the road between the harbour and Chinatown, and he noted several taverns with nautical names in this area.[10]



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The imagery of Tanjong Pagar in the 1870s that Hornaday thus bequeathed to us – an image of seafarers' taverns and a slimy, reeking stream – sets the stage for the picture of holiday celebration and deadly violence that emerges from the microfilmed pages of the *Singapore Daily Times.*

The first of several reports on the bloodshed at the Fortune of War tavern on the night of Christmas in 1872 appeared in the *Singapore Daily Times* on the following day. This account explains how the soldiers and sailors happened to engage in what seemed to have been a friendly Christmas celebration together, complete with alcoholic refreshments, before the party turned ugly. The report goes on to recount how the men in the tavern attacked and wounded a European police officer when he tried to stop the brawl, and how reinforcements finally arrived and brought the situation under control.

In the words of the *Singapore Daily Times*: "A very serious affray occurred last night at a tavern called the 'Fortune of War', on the corner of Tanjong Pagar and New Harbour roads[11], between some men of the 80th Regiment from the steamer *Scotland*, and some sailors belonging to that vessel. There was, we hear, a fight between a sailor and a soldier in the afternoon at this tavern, which resulted in the arrest of the parties. In the evening, a patrol of soldiers, with sidearms, was sent out from the ship to look for stragglers, but the attractions of the tavern, and the fact of it being Christmas, proved too great for them, and the patrol remained there, drinking with the sailors and others, until a late hour, when, as usual when sailors and soldiers meet at a drinking bout, the entertainment wound up with a fight. The soldiers used their bayonets, and the sailors their knives and anything else they could get hold of. One of the sailors was killed, we believe with a bayonet wound in the abdomen, and there were several wounded on both sides. There are two men, a soldier and a sailor, lying wounded on board the steamer, and two or three others in the hospital. The police arrived while the

fight was going on, and Corporal Barrow, a European police officer, while endeavouring to make arrests and stop the row, received two or three bayonet scratches and was pretty well beaten. Reinforcements arrived, however, and a number of combatants were arrested, and several others were taken into custody this morning from on board the steamer for having

Street Scene At Tanjong Pagar Road (1890). Gretchen Liu Collection, courtesy of National Archives of Singapore.

been concerned in the fight. Among the trophies secured by the police are, an old-fashioned cutlass covered with rust, and with spots of blood on it, – a jack knife with a pointed blade about four inches long, and a heavy iron belaying-pin. The police are inquiring into the affair, and an inquest will be held on the body of the sailor who was killed."[12]

THE AFTERMATH

The *Singapore Daily Times* later continued the narrative of the incident at the Fortune of War tavern, picking up the story where it left off with the arrival of police reinforcements and the arrest of the perpetrators, and detailing the removal of the dead sailor to the hospital and the subsequent autopsy. Surprisingly, it appeared that the sailor actually died as a result of one or more persons stepping on him, rather than from his multiple wounds. It would seem that the immediate cause of the sailor's death might have been a boot, rather than a bayonet. The *Singapore Daily Times* reported that: "After the fight, the man was picked up and taken to the hospital, but he died before reaching there, – in fact he died immediately. In this case, it was most extraordinary that though the deceased man had no less than ten bayonet and contused wounds on his body, Dr. Hampshire, who made the *post-mortem* examination, would be able to tell them that not one of these wounds was sufficient to cause death, but that death was caused by the rupture of an artery, which was very probably done by his being trampled upon. There was, however, the probability that the man was stunned by one of the wounds he received, which caused him to fall."[13] Thus, the sailor was apparently knocked to the floor of the tavern, whereupon one or more persons trampled or stomped upon him so severely that one of his blood vessels burst open and he bled to death.

What do these two accounts of the brawl reveal about the newspaper and its readership? The description of the violence, the weaponry, the injuries and the precise cause of the dead sailor's exsanguination could all be indicative of the interests of the readership of the *Singapore Daily Times*, or at least the editor's perception of the readers' interests. What is perhaps more interesting, however, is a rather important detail which was omitted from both reports: that is, the dead sailor's name. The names of the soldiers who participated in the brawl were, however, published in the newspaper. According to the *Singapore Daily Times*: "Ten soldiers of the 80th regiment, named John Langman, Thomas Lovegrove, John Thomas, William Harrison, Hans Wilson, Partridge Farrar, James Walker, William Dyball, William Hanna, and Isaac Wooden, who were engaged in the fight at the 'Fortune of War' tavern on Christmas night, were on Tuesday [31 December 1872] committed by Captain Walshe, Police Magistrate, to take their trial at the next criminal session on a charge of 'Culpable Homicide'."[14]

The grand jury was empanelled at the Court House on 6 January 1873, before Chief Justice Thomas Sidgreaves. By 10 January 1873, the grand jury had found cause to charge eight of the ten soldiers with two counts of indictment: a "count for culpable homicide not amounting to murder" and a "count for culpable homicide not amounting to murder by causing bodily injury likely to cause death." The grand jury did not find cause to charge two of the soldiers, namely Hans Wilson and Isaac Wooden.[15] The remaining eight soldiers were soon tried, convicted and sentenced, as announced by a one-sentence report in the *Singapore Daily Times*: "In the case of the eight soldiers of the 80th, tried on the 20th January, for having caused the death of a sailor at the 'Fortune of War' tavern on Christmas night, the jury found the prisoners guilty on the second count, for rioting, and the Sergeant, John Langman, was sentenced to two years, and the other seven to nine months, rigorous imprisonment."[16]

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The violent death of a sailor at the Fortune of War tavern – together with various other criminal activities that took place around the same time – highlights the multiracial nature of the underclass of colonial Singapore *circa* 1872. While this essay has focused on the criminal activities of soldiers and sailors who were likely members of the British working class present in colonial Singapore, it should not be forgotten that there must have been many other British soldiers and sailors who were law-abiding and who, therefore, left even fewer footprints in the historical record.

The same must certainly have been true with regard to the Chinese who made up the majority of the working-class population, as well as the Indian and Malay inhabitants of colonial Singapore. Most of them must have been law-abiding, and therefore less visible historically, if not actually invisible, in the historical narrative. After all, if most of the Asian working-class people were *not* basically law-abiding, then the Settlement would have been totally ungovernable. Indeed, it would have descended into total chaos, which

would have been contrary to the interests of local Asian elites and European elites alike. Yet, given the limited information available for law-abiding working-class people in Singapore in the early 1870s, we may thus be left to rely largely upon the records of their law-breaking brethren, Asians and Europeans alike, with which we can try to gain some sense of the nature of colonial working-class life on this island.

It might not be too much of an exaggeration to conclude that the lives of working-class Asians and Europeans in colonial Singapore are largely invisible in the historical record, except for when they engaged in criminal activities and, in some cases at least, when they died. James Francis Warren has shown how the Coroner's Records of colonial Singapore, which are available for the years from 1883 to 1940, can shed a great deal of light on the lives and deaths of working-class people, by providing historians with rich sources of information.[17] For the years prior to 1883, the crime reports published in the local newspapers may help to fill in some of the gaps, as the preceding pages have endeavoured to demonstrate. Fortunately, the newspapers are available on microfilm in the Lee Kong Chian Reference Library in the National Library Building.

Asians and Europeans alike were well represented among both the most respectable and the most disreputable elements of this colonial society, and probably at every social stratum in between. These facts drive home the point that the cosmopolitan population of this island was characterised at least as much by *class divisions* as it was by racial identities, and that these class divisions transcended the racial and ethnic categories within the population. Asians and Europeans alike were members of the underclass and the working class here, as well as the middle class and the elite class.[18]

Studies of the social history of colonial Singapore (and probably of other colonial societies as well) should endeavour to avoid the temptation of simplistically reducing or essentialising the local population and its experiences into racial or ethnic blocs. To echo a point which David Cannadine has made in his book *Ornamentalism*, the concept of *class* was at least as important as *race* within the history of the British Empire – and this may well have been true with regard to other empires, too.[19]

At the top of the social hierarchy of colonial Singapore was a multiracial elite class, within which political power was officially controlled by a few Europeans, but the bulk of the wealth and property was apparently controlled by Asian elites. At the base of the social pyramid was a multiracial underclass which included European soldiers and sailors, as well as Chinese labourers and Malay and Indian policemen. The criminal element within this underclass was kept in check by the enforcers of the colonial system, including European soldiers and Asian policemen, but some of these uniformed enforcers were themselves prone to violence and crime.

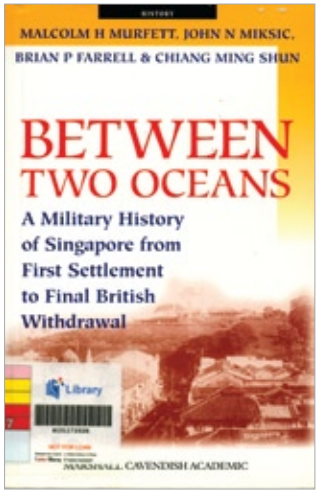
The diverse elements of this colonial society coexisted in an uneasy yet manageable equilibrium that provided the setting for the continued economic and social success of the wealthy Asians and their European co-elites who together comprised the colonial elite class, while the continuity of the economic success of the Settlement legitimised the social and political system. The continual, even *routine*, incidence of violent crime in Singapore provided a constant reminder of the necessity of the colonial state as a bulwark against disorder; and the reliable success of this state in keeping crime and disorder down to a manageable level justified the continuity of the state and contributed to the legitimation of the British Empire.

Most of the Europeans who set foot on Singapore soil during the colonial era must have been soldiers and sailors; indeed, most of the Europeans who lived here for any length of time during that era were probably the British soldiers who were garrisoned here at Tanglin Barracks and other places on this island. Yet most of them left almost no trace in the published histories of Singapore – and, it would seem that they left few footprints in the written records, such as the contemporary newspapers.

Only when they disgraced themselves and dishonoured their professions by committing crimes did they find their way into the newspapers – but even then, their activities and their presence were apparently, for the most part at least, deemed too unimportant or unremarkable to deserve attention in historical accounts, with a few notable exceptions, such as the excellent recent military history of Singapore entitled *Between Two Oceans*[20] and the personal memoirs of armed forces personnel who served here during World War II.

Such exceptions aside, the relatively small number of Europeans who comprised the usual cast of characters in the historical narrative of colonial Singapore was merely a privileged minority within a local European population, which was itself a tiny minority within the mostly Chinese population of multiracial Singapore. According to the 1871 census, this island had a total population of 97,111, including 54,098 Chinese, 19,250 Malays, 9,297 "Klings or Natives of Southern India," 1,925 "Europeans and Americans," and 1,414 "Native Prisoners," as well as "Bugis, Boyanese and others."[21]

It was not the skin colour of these Europeans that determined their prominence or absence in the documentary record and the historical narrative, nor was it their nationality; the British soldiers and sailors who brawled in the Fortune of War tavern were likely just as European and just as "white" as any of the Europeans here. What distinguished the Europeans who were remembered from those who were quickly forgotten was their social class or status within the local social structure. Likewise, wealthy local Chinese elites



and other Asian elites of the colonial era were (and still are) celebrated and remembered in print and in the names of streets and places, while the working-class masses of the Chinese majority were largely forgotten, at least until James Francis Warren painstakingly recovered the details of their lives from the crumbling pages of the coroners' records.

An exploration of how the killing at the Fortune of War tavern during a Christmas celebration in 1872 was reported in the local newspaper at the time (together with some consideration of the social and criminal context of this incident) supports David Cannadine's argument that class divisions were at least as important as racial divisions in the British Empire. Moreover, this case study of celebration and criminality supports the conclusion that much can be learned about the nature of the social history of colonial Singapore from the pages of the local press, and even about the long-forgotten people who lived on the margins of that society.

The image of the European section of the local population which emerges from this research is quite different from the preoccupation with a small group of elite Westerners who comprise the cast of characters in the standard works on Singapore's colonial history. Instead, this study has uncovered traces of colonial Singapore's European underclass, allowing a glimpse of an almost totally forgotten aspect of the underside of this colonial society, and showing that even the tiny European population was more socially diverse than we might expect.

The Christmas bloodshed in 1872 reveals the underside of celebratory activity, the potential for violence inherent in the combination of alcohol and weapons, and soldiers and sailors, even at Christmas. Evidence from public celebrations, as from a Christmas celebration in Tanjong Pagar that turned ugly, offers opportunities to learn not only about the activities of elites, but of working-class and underclass people as well. The preceding pages give some idea of the wealth of information on the social history of Singapore which may be found in the Lee Kong Chian Reference Library, where the collections housed within the halls of this futuristic structure contain tragic tales of brutal crimes that were committed when Singapore was a frontier settlement, on a par with the Wild West.

The author wishes to acknowledge the contributions of Dr. Ernest C.T. Chew, Visiting Professorial Fellow, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore, in reviewing this article. ■

ENDNOTES

1. This article is a condensed version of a longer essay, both of which were submitted to the National Library of Singapore in fulfillment of the requirements of my appointment as a Lee Kong Chian Research Fellow in 2008. I am very grateful to Clement Liew, Assistant Professor Syed Muhd Khairudin Aljunied and Professor James Francis Warren, each of whom inspired me to attempt to retrieve the history of some of the forgotten people of colonial Singapore – including those who sometimes found themselves on the wrong side of the law. I am also grateful to Senior Reference Librarian Nor-Afidah Abd Rahman of the Lee Kong Chian Reference Library for her assistance, and to Deputy Director Johnson Paul, Assistant Director Dr. Narinder Kaur Bawa Singh, Veronica Chee, Pat Ng, Angelina Phoon, Sandy Huey Jing Toh, Akshata Ramchandra Patkar, and the many other people at the National Library who helped me in various ways.

2. Edwin Lee, *The British As Rulers: Governing Multiracial Singapore 1867-1914.* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1991), pp. 23-47. Call no.: RSING English 959.57022 LEE - [HIS].

3. Regarding the founding of the Settlement of Singapore by Sir Stamford Raffles, see, for example: Ernest C.T. Chew, "The Foundation of a British Settlement," in: Ernest C.T. Chew and Edwin Lee, editors, *A History of Singapore*. (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1991, third impression 1997), pp. 36-40. Call no.: RSING English 959.57 HIS - [HIS].

4. In 1986, James Francis Warren pointed out that there was no monument to rickshaw pullers in Singapore. See: James Francis Warren, *Rickshaw Coolie: A People's History of Singapore (1880-1940)* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 326. Call no.: RSING English 301.4444095957 WAR.

5. See: John Cameron, *Our Tropical Possessions in Malayan India: Being a Descriptive Account of Singapore, Penang, Province Wellesley, and Malacca; Their Peoples, Products, Commerce, and Government* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1865), p. 281. Call no.: RRARE English 959.5 CAM, also available on microfilm reel NL11224. Reprint edition, Singapore: Ascanio Books, 2007, Call no.: RSING English 959.503 CAM. Also reprinted as *Our Tropical Possessions in Malayan India* with an Introduction by Wang Gungwu (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1965). Call no.: RCLOS and RSING English 959.5 CAM.

6. John G. Butcher, *The British in Malaya, 1880-1941:The Social History of a European Community in Colonial South-East Asia* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1979), pp. 127, 128, 132, 157, and 223. Call no.: RSING English 301.4512105951033 BUT.

7. Regarding the recovery and retrieval of the lives of prostitutes through historical research, see: James Francis Warren, *Ah Ku and Karayukisan: Prostitution in Singapore 1870-1940* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 389. Call no.: RSING English 306.74095957 WAR.

8. John G. Butcher, *The British in Malaya, 1880-1941: The Social History of a European Community in Colonial South-East Asia* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1979), pp. 93-96,127-133, 233-238. Call no.: RSING English 301.4512105951033 BUT.

9. Yen Ching-hwang, *A Social History of the Chinese in Singapore and Malaya 1800-1911* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 1-10, 112-116, and 222-258. Call no.: RSING English 301.45195105957 YEN.

ENDNOTES

10. William T. Hornaday, *Two Years in the Jungle: The Experiences of a Hunter and Naturalist in India, Ceylon, the Malay Peninsula and Borneo* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1885), Parts III and IV reprinted as: *The Experiences of a Hunte and Naturalist in the Malay Peninsula and Borneo*, with an Introduction by J.M. Gullick (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 3.
Call no.: RSING English 910.4HOR.

11. New Harbour was renamed Keppel Harbour on 19 April 1900, in honour of Admiral of the Fleet the Honourable Sir Henry Keppel, while the road leading to this harbour was named after Admiral Keppel fifteen years earlier, according to C.B. Buckley's *Anecdotal History*, p. 493.

12. *Singapore Daily Times*, 26 December 1872, p. 2.

13. *Singapore Daily Times*, 7 January 1873, p. 3.

14. *Singapore Daily Times*, 2 January 1873, p. 2.

15. *Singapore Daily Times*, 11 January 1873, p. 2.

16. *Singapore Daily Times*, 1 February 1873, p. 2.

17. James Francis Warren, *Rickshaw Coolie: A People's History of Singapore (1880-1940)* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. x and 5-8.

18. I refer to classes as *working*, *middle*, and *upper* or *elite*, merely because these terms have been widely used, and because I find them useful for explanatory purposes in the current context. I am *not* arguing that there are a fixed number of social or economic A classes, or that the boundaries between different classes are necessarily definite and fixed. However, the concept of *class* seems to have sufficient social reality to be useful in discussions of societies and social structure, despite the difficulty in finding clear-cut class definitions – indeed, it seems likely that such clear boundaries will never be found, because they do not exist today, at least not in modern industrial or post-industrial societies. Still, the uncertainty over the number and definition of classes within a given population does not prevent us from thinking about societies in terms of class.

19. David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism: How the British Saw Their Empire* (London: Allen Lane, The Penguin Press, 2001), pp. 9-10,
Call no.: R English 305.52 CAN.
I am grateful to Associate Professor Maurizio Peleggi for urging me to read *Ornamentalism* in 2002.

20. Malcolm H. Murfett, John N. Miksic, Brian P. Farrell, and Chiang Ming Shun, *Between Two Oceans: A Military History of Singapore From First Settlement to Final British Withdrawal* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 95,
Call no.: RSING English 355.0095957 BET.

21. See the report on the census of Singapore Island taken on 3 April 1871, in: *Singapore Daily Times*, 16 May 1873, p. 4.

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Call no.: RSING English 959.57 BUC - [HIS]

2. Butcher, J. G. (1979). *The British in Malaya, 1880-1941: The social history of a European community in colonial South-East Asia*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.
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3. Cameron, J. (1865). *Our tropical possessions in Malayan India: Being a descriptive account of Singapore, Penang, province Wellesley, and Malacca; their peoples, products, commerce, and government*. London: Smith, Elder and Co. (Reprint in 2007).
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4. Cameron, J. (1965). *Our tropical possessions in Malayan India*. With introduction by Wang Gungwu. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press. (Originally published in 1865).
Call no.: RSING 959.5 CAM

5. Cannadine, D. (2001). *Ornamentalism: How the British saw their empire*. London: Allen Lane.
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6. Chew, E. C. T. (1991). The foundation of a British Settlement. In Ernest C.T. Chew and E. Lee (Eds.), *A history of Singapore* (pp. 36-40). Singapore: Oxford University Press.
Call no.: RSING 959.57 HIS - [HIS]

7. Hornaday, W. T. (2007?). *Two years in the jungle: The experiences of a hunter and naturalist in India, Ceylon, the Malay Peninsula and Borneo*. [Whitefish, MT]: Kessinger Publishing. (Originally published in 1885).
Call no.: RSEA 915.4 HOR [TRA]

8. Hornaday, W. T. (1993). *The experiences of a hunter and naturalist in the Malay Peninsula and Borneo*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press. (Reprint of Pts. 3 & 4. Originally published in 1885 as: Two years in the jungle: the experiences of a hunter and naturalist in India, Ceylon, the Malay Peninsula and Borneo).
Call no.: RSING 910.4 HOR

9. Lee, E. (1991). *The British as rulers governing multiracial Singapore 1867-1914*. Singapore: Singapore University Press.
Call no.: RSING 959.57022 LEE - [HIS]

10. *Singapore Daily Times*, 1872-1873.
Microfilm no.: NL 349 & NL 350

11. *The Straits Calendar and Directory* (1873). Singapore: Commercial Press.

12. Warren, J. F. (1993) *Ah Ku and Karayuki-san: Prostitution in Singapore 1870-1940*. Singapore: Oxford University Press.
Call no.: RSING English 306.74095957 WAR

13. Warren, J, F. (1986). *Rickshaw coolie: A people's history of Singapore (1880-1940)*. Singapore: Oxford University Press.
Call no.: RSING 301.4444095957 WAR

Physical Education and Sports in Singapore Schools

Through the Last Millennium (Part I)

By **Wee Tong Bao**
Librarian
Lee Kong Chian
Reference Library
National Library

INTRODUCTION

The year 2010 marks a significant milestone in Singapore's sports calendar, in particular, youth sports, as Singapore will be hosting the first Youth Olympic Games in August. Though a young nation state, the development of its physical education and sports in Singapore has come a long way since colonial times.

The laissez faire arrangements of the early years that left schools to determine their own programmes for physical education changed in the years following independence when there was greater emphasis on physical training in schools leading to the creation of a national physical education syllabus.

In the early years, physical education was not considered a part of a school's formal curriculum and was left to the initiative of the school's administrators. This was symptomatic of the way schools were organised in the colonial days, when most schools were administered by the private sector and the government operated only a handful of English and several dozen Malay schools. By and large, there were mainly two branches of education: English medium schools (Lun, p. 3) and vernacular schools where students were instructed in the vernacular languages of Malay, Chinese or Tamil. While the English schools were mainly the concern of the government and Christian missions, the private sphere administered the vernacular schools, with the exception of government Malay schools. Under this variegated system of schools, there was no central body overseeing the general development of physical education in schools and, as a result, disparities occurred among the various branches of schools then. In the early days, "gymnastics" or "hygiene" was considered physical education (Koh, p. 4).

Pupils from Bukit Panjang Government School attending a Physical Education (PE) lesson (1950). Courtesy of National Archives of Singapore.

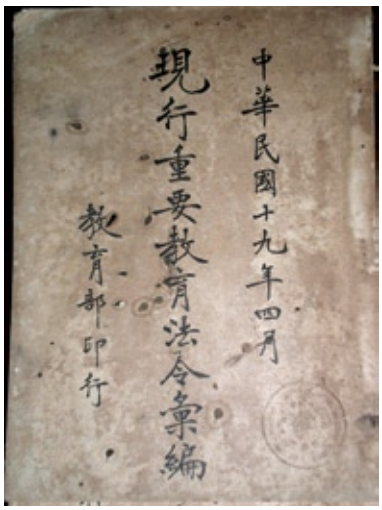
THE FORMATIVE YEARS, 1916 - 1924

Physical education in schools in the pre-war period was pretty dismal as physical training in schools was largely an ad hoc affair. In 1916, students in English schools were usually given physical exercises, "often to the accompaniment of music". Games were not much encouraged because there was simply "not enough ground available for school recreation purposes" (*SSAR*, 1916, p. 260-62). This lack of space for physical education lessons in schools persisted throughout the 1920s (*SSAR*, 1922, p. 211).

Other obstacles that prevented physical exercises from being more widely conducted then included the lack of interest on the part of teachers who did not recognise the "value of drill". It was also noted that "the sarong which often gets very loose round the waist while the boy is drilling is quite unsuitable for this type of exercise" (Ibid, p. 260).

A sports day at Malay Girls' School (1950). Ministry of Information and The Arts (MITA), courtesy of National Archives of Singapore.

This poor state of physical exercises and activities in schools was addressed at the 1918 Education Conference held in Kuala Lumpur. The conference encouraged more games to be played in schools and implored educators to improve the overall state of physical education. For this to happen, two conditions had to be met – changing the attitude of schools' administrators towards games and physical education and making available space for such activities. The conference advocated the organising of "inter-school and inter-state competitions" (*SSAR*, 1918, p. 601). Following this, "a very successful meeting (inter-school sports)" … was held on the Singapore Cricket Club grounds" in 1920 (*SSAR*, 1920, p. 260). The vision conceived at the 1918 conference also prompted private organisations to offer their assistance and facilities. The Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) also opened its swimming pool to schools. By 1920, 2,117 boys had swum in that pool. The Physical Education Director of the YMCA, J.W. Jefferson, also conducted a drill class for teachers "based on the 1919 Syllabus of Physical Exercises issued by the English Board of Education" (Ibid.). From the 1920s, School Swimming Championships were held and more organised games were introduced to the schools: volleyball, basketball, football and cricket. By 1921, it was noted that classes for physical training had become "part of the regular curriculum" in some schools (*SSAR*, 1921, p. 206).



Current Rules on Education. All rights reserved, Ministry of Education, China, 1930.

In addition to the swimming championships, more inter-school competitions were starting to be organised. In August 1922, an Inter-School Athletic Meeting was organised and vernacular schools took part for the first time in the Sir Arthur Young Cup (*SSAR*, 1922, p. 212). In fact, inter-school competitions continued to gain more attention in the following year. In the swimming championship, a cup was presented by A. E. Braddeley. Inter-school matches included football and volleyball. Considering that the two sports were introduced to schools only in 1921, it was noteworthy that it had reached a competitive standard within the span of two years (*SSAR*, 1923, p. 111). By 1924, additional school competitions had been introduced, such as Drill and Organised Games Competition, Inter-school Sports and an Inter-school Swimming Carnival (*SSAR,* 1924, p. 189).

Another milestone in the development of Physical Education in schools in 1924 was the appointment of a Superintendent of Physical Education for the Straits Settlements (*SSAR*, 1924, p. 184). His main duty was to train teachers and to provide supervision to schools for sports and games (Ibid.).

PROGRESS AND STANDARDISATION, 1925 - 1932

Lesson plans for indoor and outdoor games. All rights reserved, The Commercial Press (Shanghai), 1947.

One of the practices started by the new Superintendent of Physical Education was to have all government schools follow the syllabus of physical education as used in England (*SSAR*, 1935, p. 216). This was to correct the discrepancies he observed in the standard of work among different classes in schools (*SSAR*, 1925, p.216). However, as he had split his attention among the schools of the Straits Settlements, progress on this front was slow. Nevertheless, he was able to introduce a new physical education textbook, "Kitab Senam" (Ibid, p. 224), to all government Malay schools. By 1927, the Superintendent of Physical Education was also able to conduct refresher courses for teachers who held the Elementary Physical Training Certificate (*SSAR*, 1927, p. 163).

In 1927, the post of Superintendent of Physical Education was upgraded to Chief Superintendent of Physical Education (Straits Settlements). In 1928, classes were conducted by the Assistant Superintendent of Physical Education for students-teachers and certified teachers in English schools (*SSAR*, 1928, p. 225). A training class was also started for the students in the normal class. Overall, "distinct improvement was noted in both boys' and girls' schools" (Ibid, p. 229) and this was due to the change in the mindset of school principals who started showing greater interest in the arrangement of outdoor activities for students (Ibid, p. 230).

By the late 1920s, it was common for schools to conduct organised physical exercises and games. In the girls' schools and Malay vernacular schools, folk dancing gained popularity. Five out of six girls' schools offered it as part of their physical training. In the Malay vernacular boys' schools, "Malay folk games were taught and played daily in the lowest classes of all schools" (Ibid, p. 238) and "Rhythmic Exercises were practiced by these pupils … [who used the] … adaptation of *pantun* or Malay lullaby" to accompany their physical activities (Ibid, p. 238). The Assistant Supervisor in Singapore also provided simple Swedish exercises for use in the Malay girls' schools (Ibid.).

By 1929, almost all schools made time for "at least three twenty minutes periods of Physical Instruction in the course of a week for each class" (*SSAR*, 1929, p. 913). The perseverance of the Superintendent of Physical Education and his assistant in conducting lessons paid off as "nearly all the teachers, men and women, had qualified themselves to teach physical exercises and were putting into practice fairly satisfactorily the general principles which they have been taught" (*SSAR*, 1929, p. 913). By this time, four of the girls' schools were holding their own sporting meets (Ibid, p. 922). It is believed that the "house" system instituted in the girls' schools at this point played a role in enhancing the level of enthusiasm for sports among the students. From 1930, daily Physical Education lesson plans were available in Malay boys' schools during break time (*SSAR*, 1930, p.740).

A female Supervisor of Physical Education was added to the Education Department in 1930. She was tasked to oversee the physical training in girls' schools (namely, the English and Malay girls' schools) (*SSAR*, 1930, p. 768). Thus, with the Assistant Superintendent of Physical Education and the new female Supervisor of Physical Education, the department was able to conduct regular training courses for trained teachers as well as normal class students (*SSAR*, 1930, p.763-764).

Similarly, some teachers in Chinese vernacular schools attended a post-primary physical training course at the Nanyang Physical Training School (*SSAR*, 1930, p.767). The Chinese vernacular schools in Singapore at times continued to look towards China for curricular support. As early as 1930, China's Ministry of Education issued a syllabus on education, covering various aspects such as overseas Chinese education, syllabus for physical training, attire, etc (Ministry of Education, China, 1930). Textbooks on physical training were also published for schools in and outside China, for example,《初中学生文库课外运动田径》(Track and Field for Lower Secondary Students). In contrast, English schools still did not have any centralised institutions for physical training at this point (*SSAR*, 1931, p. 833), although teachers of English schools could attend "refresher courses" organised by the Education Department (*SSAR*, 1932, p. 778).

DIFFICULTIES & DEVELOPMENTS IN THE 1930s

While significant progress had been made, several reversals occurred in the 1930s when the Great Depression greatly impacted the education scene. The posts of Assistant Superintendent of Physical Education and female Supervisor of Physical Education were removed in 1932 (*SSAR*, 1932, p. 765-766). By 1933, the post of Chief Superintendent of Physical Education was also abolished and replaced by that of Superintendent of Physical Education (*SSAR*, 1933, p. 623).

Rules and regulations for sports meets. All rights reserved, The Commercial Press (Shanghai), 1948.

Despite the minimal training and supervision

provided, the range of sports played in schools expanded to include boxing. The sport was played in Outram School and St. Andrew's School, and the two schools played against each other during a contest on 2 August 1930 ("Contests at Outram School Next Thursday", *The Straits Times*, 2 August 1930, p.13). At the same time, the town convent also started a hockey team (*SSAR*, 1933, p. 637) and badminton was played whenever suitable space was available (Ibid, p. 654).

Lesson plans for track and field sports.
All rights reserved, The Commercial Press (Shanghai), 1947.

On the whole, most schools had physical education lessons and had tried to provide organised games as best as they could. The usual games such as association football, cricket, hockey, volleyball, basketball, badminton and tennis were played in secondary boys' schools (*SSAR*, 1932, p. 796). In junior schools, swings, see-saws and chutes were the main physical exercise facilities. Over in girls' schools, mainly organised games were provided as none of them had full-size playing fields. Dancing and singing games were taught in smaller schools while "netball, tennis, badminton and rounders were played at the larger schools" (Ibid, p. 793).

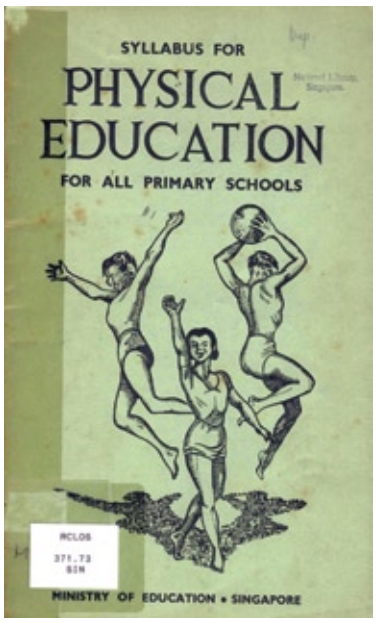
The government and the Chinese schools started the first Combined School Sports Meet in 1936. More than a thousand students from 69 schools participated in the two-day event held at Jalan Besar Stadium (*ST*, 1 Aug 1936, p.15).

Syllabus for physical education for all primary schools in Chinese.
All rights reserved, Ministry of Education, 1959.

Though stretched, the Education Department continued to provide support and guidance to the schools where it could. Lesson plans were made available to teachers in 1933 when the Board of Education made available a syllabus (*SSAR*, 1934, p. 785). In 1936, a special course in folk dancing was conducted for teachers in English girls' schools (*SSAR*, 1936, p. 261).

As much as the Education Department tried to maintain the standard of physical training, the development of physical education was still handicapped by three key factors, namely, shortage of well trained teachers, lack of equipment to properly carry out the stipulated lesson plans and shortage of facilities like halls or rooms to carry out indoor floor exercises (*SSAR*, 1937, p. 188). In times like this, the teaching community received assistance from other agencies such as the Singapore Municipality which permitted the use of vacant lands near schools for students to play basketball, volleyball and badminton (*SSAR*, 1936, p. 265).

In 1938, when the economy improved, an Assistant Superintendent of Physical Education was again recruited. The year was also noteworthy for another reason: the traditional clothes worn by boys for physical training in the Malay schools were finally replaced by shorts and shirts, "the uniform common to many schools" *(SSAR*, 1938, p. 652). By this time, "Annual Sports [meets] were held by practically all schools" (Ibid, p. 709). And as much as the Education Department could, it extended assistance to the Chinese schools by organising inter-school sports among them (Ibid, p. 710).



All rights reserved, Ministry of Education, 1957.

TRAINING AND SYLLABUS DURING THE RECOVERY YEARS, 1940s

After the Japanese surrender in 1945, the re-establishment of schools and education in Singapore was placed under the British Military Administration (BMA). R. M. Young was made the Deputy Director of Education while R. W. Watson-Hyatt, the Assistant Director for Chinese schools. They had an uphill task as many school buildings had been destroyed or damaged and there was a general "lack (of) furniture, books and equipment" (AR, 1946, p. 5). Hence, classes were conducted in overcrowded classrooms while students had difficulty finding transport to and from school (Ibid.). Nevertheless, by the end of 1945, there was a total enrolment of 38,719 students in 37 English, 66 Chinese and 21 Malay schools (Ibid.). And "physical training was resumed as much as the limited space and shortened school hours allowed" (Ibid, p.14).

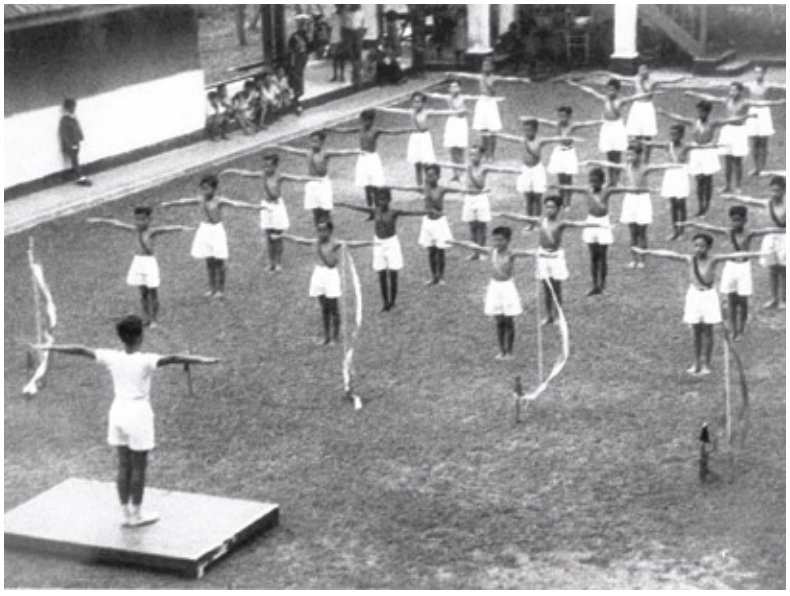
One of the first measures taken at this point to reinstate Physical Education in schools was to deploy "guru khas" (visiting teachers) who assisted with the implementation of games and physical training in Malay boys' schools (AR, 1947, p. 61). A probationary Assistant Supervisor of Physical Education was also appointed for Malay girls' schools. The first batch of Normal class student-teachers for English schools received 22

half-hour lectures in physical training while Chinese school teachers attended a vacation course (Ibid, p. 63). The Education Department also issued copies of the official training syllabus to all English schools and a revised syllabus to Malay boys' schools by the end of 1947 (Ibid.).

At this time, help and guidance for vernacular schools came in the form of demonstration classes conducted by the staff of the Education Department and a simple syllabus given to Tamil schools which had the least resources (Ibid, p. 62). By 1949, despite the language barrier, the former European female Superintendent of Physical Education was asked to conduct classes for women teachers in Chinese schools. A new training syllabus was used for these classes (AR, 1949, p. 107). An example of such a syllabus issued by the Education Department was the《华校小学体育教材》(Lesson Plans for Chinese Primary Schools) published by the Inspectorate of Chinese Education（马来亚联合邦：华文副提学司公署发行）. A more substantive syllabus in Tamil was also prepared in 1949 (Ibid, p. 108).

The use of a physical education curriculum in vernacular schools had been largely left to their own discretion. As a result, the development of the physical education curricula among schools had been uneven in the early years. Chinese schools, for example, had benefited from the wider publishing tradition of Chinese school textbooks which included physical education materials. However, this was not the same for Tamil schools.

In 1947, among the textbooks available outlining lesson plans for physical training were《团体游戏》(Group Games);《我们的球戏》(Our Ball Games);《户内外游戏》(Indoor & Outdoor games);《几种球类运动》(Some Ball Games);《几种技巧运动》(Some Gymnastics Moves);《我们的田径运动》(Our Track and Field Sports);《国术讲话》(Lessons on Martial Arts);《运动会》(Sports Meets). In 1953, the Nanyang Siang Pau Press printed《实用体育行政》(Practical Physical Training Administration).



Physical training display during education week at Bukit Panjang Government School (1952).
Courtesy of National Archives of Singapore.

LESSON 1

Activity	Lesson	Teaching Notes
I. A. ..	Free run, stop, find place alone.	In free run, encourage children to use all available space. Aim at lightness and quick response to "Stop."
	(*a*) Run, steer own course (motor cars, aeroplanes, etc.)	(*a*) Bring in use of red and green bands as traffic signals in steering own course.
	(*b*) Long sit, stretch and bend ankles ("Hello and Good-bye"). Free skip.	(*b*) In long sit position the legs are straight and children may support themselves with hands on floor (teacher might start both the free skip and the skip jump in this first lesson. Small steps on toes for free skip.)
	(*c*) Skip jumps on the spot.	(*c*) Show softness and easy ankle movement in the skip jump.
T. M. ..	(*a*) Crouch, stretch up with hands above head (tall as a chimney) and relax to crouch again. Walk behind teacher, drop down to relaxed crouch when teacher turns round. Skip into space.	(*a*) Knees are bent forward and hands rest on floor at sides of legs for crouch. In relaxed crouch head and shoulders are relaxed forward.
	(*b*) Prone kneel, rub all over body with one hand then other (cat wash). Crawl on hands and feet. Stop and arch back ("Angry cats").	(*b*) Encourage as much twisting and turning as possible. Keep one hand on floor. In "Angry Cats" place hands on floor, lift the hips then lift the head as this leads up to correct head position for crouch jumps, etc.

A physical education lesson plan. All rights reserved, Ministry of Education, 1957.

WINDS OF CHANGE, 1950s

Fundamental changes occurred in the 1950s. In 1951, the Education Department awarded a scholarship to Joseph David to study at the Loughborough Physical Education College (AR, 1951, p. 90). He returned from his studies in 1954 and became one of the first of many specialists in the field. It was important for the professionalisation of the teaching of physical education to have properly trained and certified teachers to plan, organise and administer a properly developed curriculum. In 1955, physical education was finally offered as a subject in the Teachers' Training College (established in 1950). In the triennial survey of the Ministry of Education, it was reported that there were six specialists in physical education in Singapore – four were based at the Teachers' Training College while the remaining two were attached to the Education Inspectorate (Triennal Survey, 1955-57, p. 141). A new syllabus was also issued in 1957 to replace the one that had been in use for some time. It outlined 56 lesson plans for primary schools, including guides to teachers and the equipment required. A Chinese edition of this syllabus was made available in 1959.

To be continued in the next issue

Part 2 will cover the national syllabus for physical education and specialist training for teaching staff and administrators. In addition, the role of various agencies in promoting competitive sports and encouraging students to participate in regional and international events since independence will be covered. ■

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Note: for items with location code "RCLOS", user can request for them at the Information Counter on Level 11 of the Lee Kong Chian Reference Library

Unveiling Secrets of the Past

through the Passage of Malay Scripts

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"They neither built pyramids of copper,
Nor tombstones of bronze for themselves […],
But they left their heritage in their writings,
In the exhortations that they composed."

From the ancient Egyptian 'Praise to the scribes'[1]

INTRODUCTION

Early civilisations have left behind vestiges of their existence such as artefacts and monuments that glorify their achievements and accomplishments. Their scripts especially allow modern researchers to peer into the soul of their civilisations. Tham[2] deduced that there are interplays between language and culture, and between culture and the environment, with regards to the Malay language and its scripts. Such synergies can be observed in the journey of the Malay manuscript from its earliest form to its modern day script. Consequently the interaction culminates with the oldest Malay script in the world, the oldest manuscript in Southeast Asia, and, more importantly resurrecting new insights on ancient stone inscriptions.

The Tarumanegara Stone in west Java is believed to bear the oldest known Malay script dating as far back as AD 400. Such stone inscription artefacts are widely found in and about the Indonesian islands of Sumatra: Kota Kapur in west Bangka (686), Karang Brahi between Jambi and Sungai Musi (686), Kedukan Bukit in south Sumatera (683) and Talang Tuwo in south Sumatra (684).

Forming part of the Austronesian language family, which includes Polynesian and Melanesian languages, Malay is widely used in the Malay Archipelago among about 300 million speakers in Indonesia, Malaysia, Brunei and Singapore as well as a diaspora in Thailand and other parts of Southeast Asia, Asia, East Timor and the Malay people of Australia's Cocos Keeling Islands in the Indian Ocean. It is understood in parts of the Sulu area of the southern Philippines and traces of it are to be found among people of Malay descent in Sri Lanka, South Africa and other places.

UNLOCKING THE SECRETS

Unlocking secrets of the past through critical interpretation of artefacts related to the Malay world is the thrust of the book *Aksara: Menjejaki Tulisan Melayu (Aksara: The Passage of Malay Scripts)* published by the National Library Board, Singapore, in 2009.[3] Edited by Juffri Supa'at and Nazeerah Gopaul, this book (Aksara[4]) traces the development of the Malay language from its earliest known source in AD 2 to the present. The evidence is captured in the form of manuscripts, books, magazines and newspapers. This coffee table book is divided into four parts: (i) the history and development of the Malay language, (ii) the coming of Islam, (iii) colonial encounters, and (iv) Singapore and modern writing. Each part is developed with a research paper on the subject and pictures of related artefacts. While this compilation may not be comprehensive, it is a valuable addition that forms an outstanding collection of bibliographical reference. The book documents the Malay heritage in the Archipelago and contributes to the effort of generating more discussions and research into the world of the Malay language, literature, scripts and publications.

Tanjung Tanah Manuscript, 14th century. Believed to be the oldest existing Malay manuscript in the world, recording the legal system of the Kerinci people in Sumatra. (Aksara, p. 55)*

EVOLUTION OF THE MALAY LANGUAGE AND SCRIPTS

Two thousand years ago, the Malay language probably started out with only 157[5] words. Today, there are about 800,000

Malay phrases in various disciplines. Since AD 3, the Malay language has undergone six stages[6] of evolution: ancient form, archaic form, classic form, modern form, Indonesian form and the Internet form. These changes in forms derived from various influences that spread across Southeast Asia through colonisation and developments of new socio-political trends that come in tandem with globalisation.

Such waves brought with them changes to the Malay scripts as well. Scripts developed from the earliest known Rencong script, similar to the Indian script commonly used in Sumatra, the Philippines, Sulawesi and Kalimantan, to that of the pre-Islamic period, namely the Pallava, Kawi and Devanagari scripts. Later they develop into the Jawi script from the Arabic scripts and the modern Latin alphabet known as Rumi script. The Malay language evolved from ancient to the archaic form with the penetration and proliferation of Sanskrit into the local Malay language soon after the coming of the Hindu civilisation to the Malay Archipelago. This was evident in the earliest stone inscriptions found in Kedukan Bukit dated AD 683 written in the Pallava script. The ancient form was also found in the Tarumanegara Stone written in ancient Malay and Javanese as well as the seven edits or *yupas* (long stone) discovered in Kutai, Kalimantan[7] in AD 400.

Transcription in Pallava script describes the punishment for evildoers and traitors. (Aksara, p. 45)*

It is the coming of Islam to Southeast Asia that elevated the Malay language to be the *lingua franca*. The infiltration of Arabic vocabulary into archaic Malay language turned it into the classical Malay whose usage spanned the golden age of the Malay empire of Malacca and Johore Riau. This period witnessed the flowering of Malay literature as well as the professional development in royal leadership and public administration. The Arabic language brought with it the Jawi script that became an enduring trend in the teaching and learning of Islam, especially in the Malay Archipelago, till this day. The Jawi script survived the test of time even after the coming of the colonial masters and the introduction of the Romanised (Rumi) script around the 15th century.

The modern Malay language emerged in the 20th century with the establishment of Sultan Idris Teacher Training College (SITC)[8] in Tanjong Malim, Perak in 1922. In 1936, Za'ba, an outstanding Malay scholar and lecturer of SITC, produced a Malay language grammar book entitled *Pelita Bahasa* that modernised the structure of the classical Malay language and became the basis for the Malay language that is in use today. The change was to the syntax, from the classical passive form to the current active form. Today the Malay language has evolved into its most complex form in the cyber and electronic world.

UNVEILING THE INSCRIPTIONS

Ancient manuscripts are records written on raw and unfinished materials such as stones, palm leaves, stelae, bark and bamboo. Paper, too, became the medium of inscription for these manuscripts. The raw materials basically recorded the daily activities of the king and the people, warnings, punishments, journeys, instructions and guidance, as well as mystical elements of the king and his royal family. Perhaps beneath these recorded inkings lay much untapped potentials for a better life. For example the Pustaha Laklak manuscript (14th century) written in the Batak script on a tree bark is a book of divination or healing written by the *datu* or *guru* (Batak magicians and healers) to record magical rituals, mantras, recipes and almanacs. The Sureq Baweng manuscript (18th century) written in the Bugis script on a Javanese palm leaf contains *poda* or advice on mantras, information about how to defend oneself against bad omens, moral values and guidance for men seeking wives. Finally, the Surat Buluh manuscript (date unknown) written in Batak on bamboo is a Batak calendar. It is a divine instrument used to identify auspicious days for certain activities.

Perhaps such artefacts hold the key to some of life's unexplained phenomena that have become of popular interest in anthropological research. In his research on Srivijaya kingdom stone inscriptions in Kota Kapur (686), Karang Brahi (686), Kedukan Bukit (683) and Talang Tuwo (684), Casparis (1975:27) concluded: "...they not only mark the beginning of the first great Indonesian (Malay) empire but also that of national language and of a script fully adapted to the new requirements[9]."

UNVEILING THE MANUSCRIPTS

Important records of the early years of Singapore's history after the British had set up a trading port in Singapore were well documented and elaborated on by Munsyi Abdullah in his autobiography "Hikayat Abdullah" published in 1843 in Jawi script. In fact, this book is a pragmatic document of the Malay language and the social situation of the people and the rulers then with candid yet critical

Surat Buluh Manuscript, a diviner's instrument to identify auspicious days. (Aksara, p. 51)*

Jawi Peranakan*, the earliest Malay newspaper published in the region. (Aksara, p. 200)

accounts and observations of events. But, more importantly, is the true account of the concerns raised by Temenggong Abdul Rahman of Singapore prior to the founding of Singapore as documented in a letter from him to the Yang di-Pertuan Muda Riau (date unknown) written in Jawi script. The letter was written in light of the stiff competition between the British and the Dutch to secure influence in the region. The letter depicted a helpless Abdul Rahman who was administering Singapore when the British East India Company came looking for a new trading port in the Malay Archipelago. He wrote to the Riau ruler to alert him that two high-ranking British company officers, William Farquhar and Stamford Raffles, had landed in Singapore.

Nevertheless, the Temenggong finally capitulated to the British through the Treaty of 1819 written in Jawi and Rumi scripts. It was signed by Tengku Hussein and Abdul Rahman with the East India Company (EIC) recognising Abdul Rahman as sultan of Singapore and establishing EIC's trading port in Singapore. The letter sparked a key hypothesis to engage in further research to uncover the actual scenario of the founding of Singapore. A closer scrutiny may just bring to light some unexpected conclusions.

The establishment of the British port in Singapore led to its development as an important publishing centre of the East, starting with the setting up of the Mission Press in 1819. With Munsyi Abdullah working closely with Stamford Raffles as his aide, many documents in Malay were printed, including bibles that were translated into the Malay language by Munsyi Abdullah himself. The earliest translated bibles into the Malay language published by Mission Press were: The Substance of Our Saviour's: Sermon of the Mount (1829) written in Rumi script, *Kitab Injil al-Kudus daripada tuhan Isa al-Masehi* [The Holy Bible of the Lord Jesus] (20th century) and *Cermin Mata Bagi Segala Orang yang Menuntut Pengetahuan* [The Eye Glass] (1859), both written in the Jawi script. It is noteworthy that the production of some bibles were in the Jawi script instead of Rumi.

Another interesting observation is that Munsyi Abdullah, a Muslim, together with Rev. Claudius Henry Thomsen, who arrived in Singapore in 1815, translated the bible into Malay. Further research into the prominent Muslim figure Munsyi Abdullah will indeed be beneficial in understanding the link between religion and secularism. Inter-faith collaborations and intellectual pursuit were nothing new to Singapore when it became the centre of Malay films and publications. Entertainment magazines written in Jawi script such as *Majalah Hiboran* and *Mastika* flooded the market from 1956 onwards, together with novels such as *Pelayan* [Hostess] (1948) and *Tidaklah Saya Datang ke Mari* [Nor would I be here] (1952) also written in Jawi script. This is on top of text books published in Jawi for educational purposes.

During the early years of Malay civilisation, documents were passed and preserved through oral tradition as Winstead[10] has noted: "literature strictly came into being with the art of writing, but long before letters were shaped, there existed material of literature, words spoken in verse to wake emotion by beauty of sounds and words spoken in prose to appeal to reason by beauty of sense." Prior to 1600, there was no collection of Malay writing in the world. According to Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas,[11] the earliest Malay manuscript was a translated work written in 1590, Aqaid al-Nasafi. Legends, myths and folklore were constructed orally and presented through story tellers or *penglipur lara*. With the coming of the colonial masters and advent of the printing machine, such genres were successfully printed into story books known as *hikayat, kisah* or *cerita,* all of which relate to stories and popular narratives.

The Malay Annals or *Sejarah Melayu* is a very important document that puts together legends, myths and history of the Malays in an acceptable form that traces the Malays' origin and royalties as well as their meetings with other countries such as China and strategic alliances. It becomes a vital document because the iconic character Hang Tuah is adorned as the ultimate Malay warrior. Phrases like *Ta' Melayu hilang di dunia* (Malays will never vanish from the face of this earth), believed to be

uttered by Hang Tuah, live on till today and became a dictum for many Malay leaders and activists in their oratorical debuts.

UNVEILING PIONEERS OF MODERN MANUSCRIPTS

The first Malay newspaper to be published in Malaya was *Jawi Peranakan* (1876-95). Published in Singapore by an Indian-Muslim named Munsyi Muhammad Said Bin Dada Mohyiddin, it used the Jawi script. The first Malay newspaper to be published using Rumi script was *Bintang Timor* (1894) under the Chinese Christian Union with Ong Siang Song, a Chinese Peranakan, as writer. Prior to these, Munsyi Abdullah of Indian-Arab origin, wrote and published his travel log *Kisah Pelayaran Abdullah* in 1838 and *Hikayat Abdullah* in 1840.

Interestingly, the pioneers in Malay journalism, publication and research were mainly non-Malays. In fact, the early dictionaries on Malay language were researched and produced by colonial masters such as the Dutchman Herman von de Wall who researched and published the Malay-Dutch dictionary: *Maleisch-Nederlandsch Woordenboak* Volumes 1 & 2 in 1877-84 Dictionary of the Malayan Language, in two parts, Malayan and English and English and Malayan by William Marsden in 1812 Malay-French dictionary: *Dictionnaire Malais-Francais* Volumes 1 & 2 by Pierre Etienne Lazare Favre in 1873, 1875. An Arab, Syed Sheikh Al-Hadi, wrote and published the first novel in Malay titled *Hikayat Faridah Hanum* [Story of Faridah Hanum] in 1925. However, it is considered an adaptation from a Cairo publication rather than an authentic Malay novel.[12]

In 1920 Nor Ibrahim[13] wrote the earliest Malay short story *Kecelakaan Pemalas* [Curse of the Lazy One] which was published in the *Majalah Pengasoh* [*Pengasuh* Magazine]. The first Malay novel *Kawan Benar* [True Friend] (1927)[14] was written by Ahmad Rashid Talu. The father and pioneer of modern Malay journalism was Abdul Rahim Kajai.[15]

The Hiboran and Mastika* entertainment magazines were very popular as they fulfilled the needs of various categories of readers. These reflected the trends, fads and fashion during that period. (Aksara, p.220)

UNVEILING GATEKEEPERS OF THE SCRIPTS

A cosmopolitan city, Singapore embraces modernity and a globalised city outlook, and yet is also an abode for ancient scripts. Apparently, there are many individuals who have preserved the scripts that may have been passed on to them by their forefathers. These include manuscripts such as the 18th century Qur'an; a 1921 Power of Attorney document; 1951 Jawi dictionary; 1958-86 school textbooks and 1957-64 story books. The Aksara documents not only the history of Malay scripts but also individuals who have developed their own archives of these priceless antique literary materials. It soon becomes evident that many individuals in Singapore hold such valuable sources of knowledge and history. Among them are Ahmad Sondhaji Muhamad, Harun Aminurashid, Ahmad Murad, Ahmad Lutfi, Imam Syed Hassan Bin Muhammad Al-Attas (Ba'alwie Mosque), Koh Seow Chuan and Mahmud Ahmad. Aksara has become a modern-day index not only for artefacts but its sources as well, which include the National Library of Indonesia, Vietnam History Museum, Singapore National Library Board, National Library of Malaysia, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, National Museum of Singapore, British Library and the Malay Heritage Centre Singapore.

CONCLUSION

Aksara endeavours to be the most contemporary reference while documenting classics. This is very much the case in its listing of the Dr Uli Kozok treasure from University of Hawai'i. Known as the Tanjong Tanah Manuscript, it is the oldest Malay manuscript in the world found in 2002 in Jambi, Indonesia by Dr Uli Kozok. It was written in the later Kawi scripts[16] on the bark of a mulberry tree.

According to Kozok, the translation of the manuscript, and the analysis of the language it is written in will provide new insights into the early Malay legal system, the political relationship between the coastal Malay maritime kingdoms with the upstream communities in the Bukit Barisan mountain range, as well as into the development of the Malay language since this is the oldest existing substantial body of text available in the Malay language.

The Malay civilisation may not have left behind majestic monuments or fascinating artefacts, but its heritage continues to be relayed on to our generation through its enchanting and spellbinding *aksara* (scripts) in more than 10,000 manuscripts[17] to be deciphered and interpreted to unveil secrets of the past. ■

ENDNOTES

1. Vladimir Braginsky (2004) p.1
2. Tham Seong Chee. (1977) p. 16
3. Following an exhibition by the National Library Board in 2007 that traces the evolution and transformation of the Malay writing system.
4. "Aksara" means script in Malay. It is a Sanskrit word absorbed into Malay vocabulary.
5. Noriah (1998:58-60) explained that the archaic Malay language had 157 Malay words or Austronesia language in its natural form.
6. Mohamed Pitchay Gani's thesis (2004) produced the six stages of Malay language evolution of which the most contemporary level is the Internet language. Prior to this finding, Abdullah Hassan (1994:7-9) identified four stages of evolution. Mohamed Pitchay has added Indonesia language and the Internet language as two more important stages of evolution to the Malay language.
7. Hashim Musa. (2003) p. 27
8. SITC is the first teacher training college in Malaya proposed by Deputy Director of Malay Schools, Sir R.O Winstead. Before SITC, there was the Malay Training College in Telok Belanga (Singapore) in 1878, relocated to Telok Ayer in 1884 and closed in 1895. There was also a Malay Training College in Malacca (1900) and Perak (1913). These two colleges were amalgamated to form SITC. It was designed to provide teacher training and education to only the highest achieving Malay students in pre-independent Malaya. In 1997, it was upgraded to become the Sultan Idris Education University.
9. Casparis (Hashim Musa, 2003:29) classified the scripts found in the Srivijaya manuscripts as the later type of Pallava scripts and much more developed compared with the earlier scripts. As such, it is also classified as the Bahasa Melayu Tua or the ancient Malay language.
10. Winstead, R.O. (1969) p. 1
11. Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas. (1988) p. 6-8
12. W. Roff (1974) p. 451
13. Othman Puteh & Ramli Isin (2003) p.3
14. A.M. Thani, Sarah Saadon & Suhaimi Hj Mohammad (2005) p. 163
15. A.M. Thani, Sarah Saadon & Suhaimi Hj Mohammad (2005) p. 80
16. It is believed to be the oldest existing Malay manuscript because it is written in the later Kawi scripts. The manuscript is a legal code of 34 pages completely written in Malay except for the first and last few sentences, which are written in Sanskrit. The material the text is written on is bark paper produced from the bark of the mulberry tree, and the script is an Indian-derived script, which developed locally in Sumatra. Kozok found the manuscript in 2002. It had been kept in a private collection in a remote part of Sumatra where villagers regard it to be a sacred heirloom with calamity befalling the village should it be removed.
17. Vladimir Braginsky (2004) p.1

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*Images reproduced from Supa'at, J. & Gopaul, N. (Eds). (2009). *Aksara menjejaki tulisan Melayu = Aksara the passage of Malay scripts.*

- Kota Kapur Stone. Source: replica from the Museum National Indonesia.
- Jawi Peranakan. Source: National Library Board.
- Surat Buluh Manuscript. Source: National Library of Indonesia.
- Tanjung Tanah Manuscript. Source: Dr Uli Kozok, University of Hawai'i.

Bibliography, A Treasure Trove on Hadhramis in Southeast Asia

Much to Discover[1]

By **Kartini Saparudin**
Librarian
Lee Kong Chian
Reference Library
National Library

INTRODUCTION

Although there has been increasing interest in the Hadhrami communities of Southeast Asia, there has yet to be a single bibliography dedicated to this subject. Therefore, two years ago, a team comprising of librarians and library officers from the National Library, Singapore embarked on a project to compile a bibliography on the Hadhrami Arabs in Southeast Asia. Initially, we thought that literature on the subject would be limited but we were in for a surprise when we found a vast though scattered literature on the subject. It was then that we saw the value this bibliography could bring to researchers and scholars in the field.

The bibliography was published in conjunction with the National Library Singapore's *Rihlah – Arabs in Southeast Asia Exhibition*. Entitled *The Hadhrami Arabs in Southeast Asia with special reference to Singapore*, it documents resources held by the Lee Kong Chian Reference Library as well as the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies (ISEAS) library and the Central Library of the National University of Singapore (NUS).This bibliography is useful as a guide for research but is not exhaustive. Apart from showcasing the resources in these libraries, this aims to be a resource for academics and librarians to further redefine new areas for research and collection development.

Hadhrami tea set.

This is not the first listing on the Hadhrami Arabs in Indonesia. There was Hisyam Ahmad's *Bibliografi studi masyarakat Arab di Indonesia* (1981).[2] It comprised a six-page listing with key highlights by specialists on Indonesia such as Snouck Hurgronje, J.M van der Kroef and Anthony Reid. As his bibliography was written in 1981 and limited to Indonesia in scope, a more comprehensive and updated bibliography seemed timely as scholarship on Indonesia has since expanded greatly.

Apart from Hisyam's list, there are existing bibliographical listings that capture the scope of publishing efforts in the Malay world. Although these bibliographies were not focused on the subject of Hadhramis *per se*, these listings reflect the publishing efforts by Hadhramis in the region, because of the dominance of Hadhramis in the publishing industry in the Malay world. The Hadhramis were involved in publishing both Arab language materials for their communities, and Malay publications for the wider Malay market. This is demonstrated in William Roff's *Bibliography of Malay and Arabic periodicals published in the Straits Settlements and Peninsular Malay States 1876-1941: With an annotated union list of holdings in Malaysia, Singapore and the United Kingdom* (1972); and in Patricia Lim's *Singapore, Malaysian and Brunei newspapers: An international union list* (1992). Roff lists 15 Arabic periodicals from Singapore and Lim lists 13 such titles, also in Singapore.[3]

In Indonesia, there is Natalie Mobini-Kesheh's listing of 36 periodical titles. Her article *The Arab periodicals of the Netherlands East Indies, 1914-1942* includes data of known holdings, in a form consistent with Roff's bibliography.[4] The bulk of these holdings are found in the Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia (National Library of Indonesia). There are 14 titles which are now also accessible on microfilm at the library of the Royal Institute for Linguistics and Anthropology (KITLV) in Leiden. Additional holdings at the library of the Leiden State University (LU), and some private collections in Indonesia, are also included, although Mobini-Kesheh is quick to add that the listing is far from exhaustive.

Over the decade, a few researchers are beginning to provide details on the publishing output of the Hadhrami communities in Southeast Asia, going beyond territories defined by different colonial experiences. Kazuhiro Arai's "Arab" periodicals in the first half of the 20th century in Southeast Asia in the *Journal of Sophia Asian Studies*[5] combines both Roff's and Mobini-Kesheh's bibliographic listings. He presents a more holistic way of looking at the publishing industry, while reducing the discrepancies found in Roff's and Mobini-Kesheh's data. Arai's list also includes Jawi literature in Southeast Asia, as do Roff's and Mobini-Kesheh's.[6] However, the writer admits that his list requires further checking for researchers' accessibility.

Like Arai, David Hirsch creates a list of Hadhrami-published periodicals in his article *Hadrami-Arabic press in Southeast*

Asia: A historical survey. From visits to contacts and libraries in Southeast Asia, and even the United Kingdom, he lists and acquires Southeast Asian and Arabic vernacular publications of the Hadhrami communities in Singapore, Penang, Johor, Surabaya, Jakarta and Kuala Lumpur. This list also reflects 28 Hadhrami titles that are currently housed in the University of California (UCLA)'s library.[7]

In addition to bibliographical listings of Hadhrami periodicals, other basic forms of bibliography exist as reference lists of scholarly literature. Some of them are from theses such as Mohammad Redzuan Othman's *The Middle East influence on the development of religious and political thought in Malay society, 1880-1940* (1994). Theses or reference lists from secondary literature serve as a starting point for this bibliography. Rather than merely building upon existing bibliographies or reference lists, this bibliography includes unexplored articles found in dailies, serials and ephemera published in the 19th and 20th centuries that are in our collection.

We would like to address this growing need for an organised bibliography in the midst of growing scholarship on the subject. In addition, this compilation is possibly the first fully annotated bibliography to bring together different subjects on the Hadhrami community in Southeast Asia.

As evidenced by a compendium of secondary literature from conferences,[8] the creation of new knowledge on this subject matter is increasingly regional. This is due to a long history of shared socio-political experiences in Southeast Asia. Tagliacozzo terms this the *longue durée*[9], an expression referring to the length of shared history of the region, as explained by Fernand Braudelian.

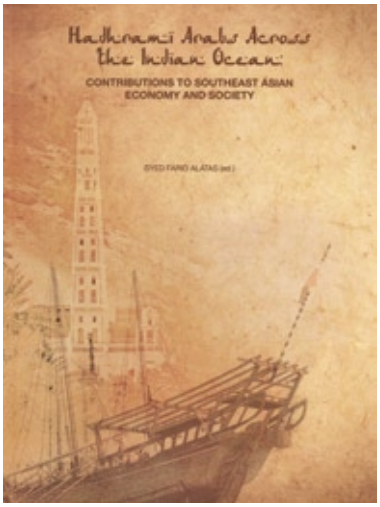
Apart from addressing scholarship based on this regional scale, there are practical reasons for the birth of this bibliography. First, many of the previous listings focused on holdings in overseas libraries. None showcased the richness, or limitations, of the libraries of Singapore. Singapore was a historical point of reference for wealthy Hadhrami Arabs as well as home to their publishing efforts. Furthermore, these Singaporean Hadhrami Arabs are interconnected to the wider network of Hadhramis in Southeast Asia.

Another pragmatic reason, as shown in listings by Roff and Mobini-Kesheh, the literature on the Hadhramis forms only a subset of a larger documentation of works on other ethnic groups such as the Malays. Thus, the tendency is to overlook Hadhrami sources within a larger corpus of Malay-Muslim literature. This bibliography is an attempt to highlight what lies hidden within this body of Malay literature and present it meaningfully.

Challenges

One of the key challenges in the compilation of this bibliography was defining the scope of Hadhrami contributions to Southeast Asia within the vast body of Islamic literature in Southeast Asia. For example, the contributions of Hadhramis to Islam in Southeast Asia and Islamisation in the region in the 19th and 20th centuries are not mutually exclusive. As the *oeuvres* on Islamisation are too broad to be included in this bibliography, the selected Islamic literature of the region is directed at the role Hadhramis play.

The second challenge was defining the subject categories for the bibliography. No amount of planning or conceiving "standard" categories can replace the arduous process of reading and rereading the annotations for a more systematic, effective and meaningful way of grouping the literature on the subject. The parameters we have used to define the Hadhrami community for the purpose of this bibliography include perspectives from both the academic and the community. Such perspectives are merely guidelines to primarily frame and organise the materials selected for this bibliography. For this reason, we hope others find these subject categories useful.



The next challenge is maintaining consistencies in the spelling of Arabic terms, especially Arabic names in English. Apart from the terms used by authors and editors in the titles, we attempted to standardise these names and terms as much as possible. The different names and terms that were derived reflect the varying transliterations used in numerous time periods and various colonial experiences of Southeast Asian places and civilisations during the *longue durée*. Annotations follow the spellings that authors employed in their writings. For this, we seek our readers' indulgence in the inconsistencies they may come across.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC SURVEY

The study of Arabs in Southeast Asia is a study of Arab diasporas and communities living across the region. These diasporas are transnational or, for the pre-colonial era when nation-states had yet to exist, translocal.[10] These Hadhrami diasporas retained their cultural identity based more on kinship and *nasab* (lineage) which formed the basis of a unique type of *'aṣabiyya* and less on language. According to Bajunid, the maintenance of this *'aṣabiyya* varies through three distinctive time periods in Southeast Asia: the pre-colonial, colonial and the post-colonial. Sources written on the subject also reflect this maintenance of identity, or threats to such displays of identity.[11]

Arabs in pre-colonial Southeast Asia

During the pre-colonial period, Islam played a dominant role in traditional centres of the Muslim world in Southeast Asia. Arabs were looked upon as custodians of Islam. General recognition of this paved the way for Arabs to intermarry with locals from the upper-class communities.[12] This did not in any way dilute the core Arab identity that was based on patrilineal descent as projected by the existence of Arab clan names at that time. Who these Arabs were, is still open to question.

Although sources from the period acknowledge the presence of Arabs in the region during the pre-colonial period, most sources do not reflect Arabs of this period as predominantly Hadhramis.

Definition

A Hadhrami Arab is a person who belongs to a sub-grouping within the wider race or ethnic group known as "Arab" and originates from Hadhramaut, Yemen. Hadhramis are known for their entrepreneurial traits and their role in propagating Islam in Africa, Asia and Southeast Asia.[13] Their mass migration to these areas reportedly occurred in the 19th and 20th centuries. Abushouk mentions that many Hadhrami migrants during this time went to Southeast Asia.[14]

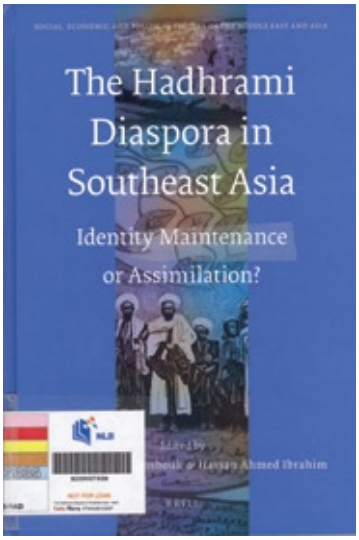
There is a general consensus among scholars that permanent overseas Hadhrami emigration into Southeast Asia was a fairly recent phenomenon in the 19th and 20th centuries. However, for Yusof A. Talib, who wrote a comprehensive bibliographical essay in French reviewing European writings on Hadhrami emigration, the occurrence of Hadhrami emigration into parts of the Indian Ocean such as the islands of Zanzibar, Madagascar, Comores and the Malay Archipelago, was not a recent trend.[15]

However, this hypothesis remains to be established because of a lack of statistical data and the impermanence of small-scale Hadhrami movements. In addition, even if small migration occurred before the 19th century, the very scale would not warrant this human movement as a historical event or prominent enough to be recorded in the history books. G. R. Tibbetts posits such human movements as "semi-permanent settlements [that] were established by roving merchant populations."[16]

Tibbetts' own life-long work strengthens this hypothesis as he acknowledges the Arabs' presence and trade in Southeast Asia was as early as in the 5th and 7th centuries. Gleaning from Arab and Chinese sources documentary evidence proved that there were conclusive trade relations between "South Arabia" and China via the sea route. While Tibbetts establishes the presence of Muslim settlements in Southeast Asia, he remains doubtful that permanent Arab colonies were set up in Southeast Asia for trade or missionary work. Instead, he posits that these were semi-permanent settlements. Without going into the argument of Islamisation of Southeast Asia here, the foundation of Tibbetts' work, which was largely based on Arabic and Chinese sources, proved that there were other alternatives to European sources. These sources pinpoint Arabs' existence in Southeast Asia pre-19th century.

Tibbetts' work on this type of Arabic travel literature was laudable, as it did not dismiss the value of these Arab literary works in illuminating the presence of Arab traders in Southeast Asia. However, these sources would be considered doubtful by Rankean scientific standards. These sources were based on interviews with Arab merchants and sailors who made long voyages between Malaya and ports of the Persian Gulf. These were fanciful tales woven by sailors, while some were even more difficult to verify with other comparable foreign works. Tibbetts concedes that European scholars only began to recognise the Arab contributions to the study of this period of Malayan history in the last hundred years.

The issue of whether these Arabs were Hadhramis still remains. There are scholars who refrain from commenting on this. Ulrike Freitag notes the tendency in "some Hadhrami literature to retrospectively claim a major role in Islamisation, notably of Southeast Asia, which was earlier ascribed to Muslims of Indian and Persian origins".[17] Furthermore, Abdul Rahman Tang Abdullah states that the *Malay Annals* do not associate Islamisation in the Malay courts with Hadhrami Arabs but with Arabs who came from Hijaz. He posits that the local royal families had already established their superior royalty prestige from the Hijaz clan,[18] and, hence, were not invested in such claims that Hadhramis took Islam to the royal courts in Southeast Asia.



Scholars from the other side of the camp, notably of Hadhrami origins, however, further ask who these Arabs, who intermarried and established *ṭarīqa-s* in the region before the 19th century, were.[19] This calls into question the so-called historical myth of the *wali songo* (nine saints of Java), to which The *Babad Tanah Jawi* attributes the conversion of Java to Islam. Douwe Adolf Rinkes, the Dutch scholar, revisited the burial sites and also re-examined classical Indonesian literature that purportedly pointed to the existence of the nine saints of Java, but he did not come to any concrete conclusions about the identity of these nine saints. This departs from the opinion held by some scholars that some, if not all, of the saints were Hadhrami Arabs.[20]

Farid Alatas asserts his position from a socio-historical standpoint that "the question of Hadhrami origin is important not merely for the sake of historical accuracy, but because it laid the foundations for the *ṭarīqa* which was firmly established by Hadhramis during the 18th century."[21] Alatas demonstrates that Hadhrami sources contain genealogies of the *wali songo* who lived in Java during the 15th and 16th centuries. Moreover, he argues that many indigenous works portray these "saints" as historical personalities.

The Hadhrami Arabs were not the only groups of people from the Middle East who appeared to enjoy the lucrative trade in Southeast Asia. There were Persians, Armenians, Syrians, Muslim Druze and Oriental Jews who also arrived on the scene.[22] Still, the question of whether the Hadhramis continued Islamisation from the work of others since the 19th century remains a source of contention among scholars in Hadhrami studies. In general, scholars tend to agree that Indians, Indians of Arab origin and Arabs who came to the region by India, carried out large-scale Islamisation of the Malay-Indonesian Archipelago.[23]

The Colonial Era: 19th and early 20th Centuries

The colonial period was marked by a growth of Hadhrami diasporas in the Malay world, especially after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. Steamships plying the Red Sea, Indian Ocean and the Straits of Malacca further facilitated travel and communication. Paradoxically, it was colonial geopolitics that provided the documentation on the history of Hadhramaut and other polities across Southeast Asia. This is certainly true in the 19th and 20th centuries of Hadhrami emigration. More importantly, literature from this period made explicit mention of Hadhrami Arabs in the region.

The Dutch civil servant and scholar of the 19th century, L. W. C. Van den Berg, prepared the seminal report *Le Ḥadhramout et les colonies arabes dans l'archipel Indien*.[24] It was in French as French was the more popular European language than Dutch. Although the volume was based on interviews of overseas Hadhramis living in Batavia (Jakarta) and travel literature on Hadhramaut, *Le Ḥadhramout* provides a vivid description of the geography and history of Hadhramaut as well as the history of the Hadhrami emigration into Southeast Asia. Berg did not visit Hadhramaut when he published the report at the end of 1886 in Batavia, but his report was an important reference for European powers at that time. This report remains as one of the most cited sources on the history of Hadhrami emigration into Southeast Asia for its methodology. This was also a landmark report, being the first time that the Arabs in the Malay Archipelago were identified as Hadhramis. In addition, Berg had the support of reputable Hadhramis based in Batavia, especially the well-known Sayyid 'Uthmān who, at the time of Berg's publication, had 38 publications to his name.[25]

Fifty years after Berg's report, the British published *A report on the social, economic and political conditions of the Hadramawt* in 1936. It was written by William Harold Ingrams, a first political officer in the British colonial service before the three-year British occupation of Hadhramaut. Subsequently, written reports on the socio-economic and political conditions of Hadhramaut were published regularly in the Colonial Reports series by the British Colonial Office.[26] Three years after the report, Ingrams toured Malaya, Java and Hyderabad in 1939 and came to Singapore specifically to speak with members of the Hadhrami community. He was there to allay any anti-British sentiments that could have resulted from British intervention in the affairs of Hadhramaut in 1934. Before 1934, the British were only interested in preventing other foreign powers from staking their interests over Hadhramaut.[27] This dialogue distinguished Singapore as a site for highly political discussions and negotiations.

R. B. Serjeant's work *The Sayyids of Hadramawt* is another noteworthy source for its refreshing and original presentation for its time.[28] This work was based on an inaugural lecture that was given at the University of London on 5 June 1956. Academic monographs rely heavily on colonial reports, but Serjeant departs from this methodology as he also employs a healthy range of published and unpublished sources of the Sayyid families. What arises from this study of hagiographies, genealogies and sources in the British archives is a convincing and lively tale of the well-organised Sayyid groups. The study also clarifies the relationship between the Sayyid and the non-Sayyids. The understanding of such intra-group psychology and organisation in Hadhramaut helps us understand intra-group dynamics and politics in Indonesia.[29]

Serjeant's other work *Historians and historiography of Hadramawt* for the Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies presents the author's knowledge of printed historical literature of Hadhramaut, which he saw during his first tour to Hadhramaut in 1947-48. These include source materials from pre-Islamic inscriptions, documents on the Islamic period, Hadhrami chronicles, genealogical works, historical materials of the 19th century, materials on the Alawi-Irshadi dispute, historical works by Sayyids, social history, works thought to be no longer extant, and historical manuscripts of the Awlāqi territory. Some of these materials reside in Southeast Asia and/or were produced by Hadhramis who were connected with Southeast Asia.[30]

The Hadhrami elites were active in politics and international relations before the arrival of Europeans. Hadhrami individuals achieved powerful positions in Riau, Melaka, Aceh and Minangkabau.[31] These elites collaborated with indigenous rulers and acted as intermediaries between them and European colonisers. Because of their connections, the colonial powers feared that the emergence of Pan-Islamism would threaten their stake in the region.[32] As a result, Arab loyalty to the colonial powers was questioned from time to time and essentially, politically motivated movements were seen as products of Pan-Islamism and, therefore, essentially anti-colonialist in nature. Such suspicions motivated a corpus of Orientalist works by Dutch and British officers.[33]

The increase of Hadhramis in the region during the colonial period produced a sharp dichotomy between overseas Hadhramis and "pure" Hadhramis living in Hadhramaut. The need to retain their genealogies further reinforced this sense of separateness among the overseas Hadhramis. British and Dutch policies also contributed to this segregation between the Hadhramis and other racial categories. The Dutch policies of segregation divided the Dutch East Indies into three broad racial categories: Europeans, *Vreemde Oosterlingen* (Foreign Orientals) and natives. The Arabs were part of the Foreign Orientals category. The British had their own categories for the natives. In British Malaya, the context was slightly different from the Dutch East Indies, as the Arabs were not forced to live in special neighbourhoods. What further distinguished Arabs in British Malaya and Arabs in the Dutch East Indies was that Arabs in the Dutch East Indies drew heavily on the idea of Hadhramaut as a source of inspiration with the rise of Indonesia's national consciousness.[34]

Post-colonial period

After the emergence of Southeast Asian independent nation-states, the Hadhrami identity remained visible despite a certain level of indigenisation that had taken place over the decades. The Hadhramis were involved in the process of nation-building as they forged a role as citizens of resident

states. Due to the legacy of their predecessors and partly because of their colonial heritage, the Arabs retained their ethnic identity through the maintenance of ethnic associations, clan names and intermarriage. The success of assimilation according to Milton Gordon's proposed seven variables provides the most comprehensive criteria for discussing the case of Hadhrami diasporas in Southeast Asia. As a result, there is a proliferation of articles on the subject of assimilation of different Arab communities in Southeast Asia, written by scholars as well as Hadramis.

Islam plays a major in the Hadhramis' assimilation in the communities they reside in. In the past, the Hadhrami elites were looked upon as custodians of Islam. However, after the evolution of the nation-states, Hadhramis shared this important role with other Muslim groups.[35] Sources that deal with the establishment of Muslim bodies and Islamic leadership within the state reflect such power dynamics between Muslims within a state.

The status of the Arabs in the communities differs from state to state. In Malaya, and later Malaysia, the Hadhramis are recognised as *bumiputeras* (indigenous people of Malaysia) and enjoy the same privileges conferred upon Malays under the Federal Constitution. Similarly, in Indonesia and Brunei where Hadhramis still qualify for special privileges under the respective constitutions. In Singapore, however, Singapore Hadhramis maintain their special position in the republic's social landscape but are not accorded the same rights as the Malays based on its policies of meritocracy, positive discrimination and multiculturalism.[36] Several debates were held through the Singapore media in the 1980s that saw Arabs positioning themselves apart from the Malay community in Singapore.[37]

Nevertheless, the contributions of the Arabs towards their "host societies" have been tremendous. This has paved the way for further assimilation of the Arabs into the different communities. The economic impact of the Arabs on Hadhramaut was once tremendous; Ingrams estimated in 1934 that the total remittances pouring into Hadhramaut from abroad annually was a staggering total of 630,000 pounds sterling (equivalent to SGD 1.3 million). It was said that Hadhramaut became dependent on remittances from the diasporas, particularly from Southeast Asia.[38]

The impact of the Hadhrami emigration on the introduction and spread of commercial laws and techniques in the diasporas is evident. The setting up of Islamic institutions such as the Shariah court in Southeast Asia, for instance, was partly encouraged by legislative history of colonial powers. The establishment of the Shariah court in Singapore and Malaysia was also greatly influenced by Hadhrami Shafi'i legal texts at a time when other Muslims in the region preferred to be ruled by the Hanafi school of jurispudence. Rajeswary Brown starts in this direction of scholarship,[39] although more could be done to examine if influence originated from the Hadhrami Shafi'i legal texts.[40]

LIMITATIONS

Due to time constraints, it was not possible to include articles from important primary documents such as the *Utusan Melayu* and other Malay and English sources published in Singapore. We made the decision to focus on *Berita Harian* and Arabic newspapers that were published in the 1920s-30s. *Utusan Melayu* would have had interesting insights for us as it was seen as a deliberate attempt to wrest power from Arab dominance in Malay publishing in Singapore.[41]

In addition, we would recommend for future projects to include documents from the National Archives of Singapore (NAS) containing information on the Arabs. This bibliography only includes bibliographical references on oral interviews done by the archives and a reference to Paul Kratoska's index to British official records.[42] We also recommend Jane Priestland's *Records of Islam 1908-1972: British documentary sources* (Vols. 1-12) which has a plethora of British official documents for areas such as Indonesia and Africa but little on Singapore.[43]

There are vast collections of Dutch sources which we lacked access to. The Dutch sources chosen reflect the holdings in Singapore libraries and are often primary documents on the subject of Arabs and Islam in Indonesia. It would be good if a bibliography focusing on the Netherlands East Indies or Indonesia could be published in the future.

Journals that indicate statistics on population and demography of Singapore are too numerous to be included in this bibliography.

Apart from the publishing efforts by the Hadhrami communities in Southeast Asia, many of these sources that are available are manuscripts. These can be found in the Al-Ahqaf Library in Tarim, Hadhramaut; Jam'iyyat Khayr Library in Jakarta, Indonesia; and the Arabic legal documents of the Koh Seow Chuan Collection in the Lee Kong Chian Reference Library, National Library Singapore. The collection in Singapore comprises power-of-attorney documents, title deeds and wills. As mentioned earlier, many of these sources are still in private hands. This bibliography is a call for private donors to come forth and deposit their valuable copies with us or to provide them on loan for digitisation.

CONCLUSION

We hope scholars and heritage seekers interested in the Hadhramis in the Indian Ocean and Southeast Asia can benefit from this bibliography. In time, a more comprehensive, more organised, well-indexed and extensive bibliography may better reflect the true breadth and depth of works written on the subject. ■

This article was first published in the above mentioned bilbliography.

ENDNOTES

1. The author would like to thank the following for their feedback on this article: Michelle Heng, Timothy Pwee, Noryati Abdul Samad, Syed Farid Alatas and Bouchaib Slim.

2. Ahmad, Hisyam. (1981). *Bibliografi studi masyarakat Arab di Indonesia* [Microform]. Bandung: Dokumentasi, Lembaga Kebudayaan, Universitas Padjadjaran. Not available in NLB.

3. See Roff, William R. (1972). *Bibliography of Malay and Arabic periodicals published in the Straits Settlements and Peninsular Malay States 1876-1941: With an annotated union list of holdings in Malaysia, Singapore and the United Kingdom*. London: Oxford University Press. Call no.: RCLOS 016.0599923 ROF; Lim, Patricia Pui Huen. (Compiler). (1992). *Singapore, Malaysian and Brunei newspapers: An international union list.* Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies. Call no.: RSING 016.0795957 LIM - [LIB].

4. Mobini-Kesheh, Natalie. (1996). The Arab periodicals of the Netherlands East Indies,1914-1942. *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, *152*(2), 236-256. Call no.: RU R 572.9598 ITLVB, Online: http://kitlv.library.uu.nl/.

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6. There are many listings of periodicals in Malaya, Singapore and Indonesia. These are written in the Malay language.

7. Hirsch, David (David G.). (2005, August 26-28). Hadrami-Arabic press in Southeast Asia: A historical survey. *Proceedings of the International Conference on Yemeni-Hadramis in Southeast Asia: Identity Maintenance or Assimilation?* (pp. 363-373). Kuala Lumpur: International Islamic University Malaysia. Hirsch admits that the list and thus, the collection at UCLA are not exhaustive as many of the Hadhrami *émigré* materials are still in private hands.

8. Examples are Ahmed Ibrahim Abushouk & Hassan Ahmed Ibrahim's *The Hadhrami diaspora in Southeast Asia: Identity maintenance or assimilation?* (2009), Eric *Tagliacozzo's Southeast Asia and the Middle East: Islam, movement, and the longue durée* (2009), *Ulrike Freitag's Indian Ocean migrants and state formation in Hadhramaut: Reforming the homeland* (2003), Huub de Jonge & N. J. G. Kaptein's *Transcending borders: Arabs, politics, trade and Islam in Southeast Asia* (2002) and finally, Ulrike Freitag & W. G. Clarence-Smith's *Hadrami traders, scholars, and statesmen in the Indian Ocean, 1750s-1960s* (1997).

9. O' Fahey, R. S. (Rex S.), & M. I. Abu Salim. (1992, November-1993, March). A Sundanese in Indonesia: A note on Ahmad Muhammad Surkitti (p. viii). *Indonesia Circle*, Call no.: RSEA 959.8 IC.

10. Abushouk, Ahmed Ibrahim. (2009). Al-Manar and the Hadhrami elite in the Malay-Indonesian world: Challenge and response. In Ahmed Ibrahim Abushouk & Hassan Ahmed Ibrahim (Eds.*), The Hadhrami diaspora in Southeast Asia: Identity maintenance or assimilation?* (pp. 159-189). Leiden; Boston: Brill.), footnote 3 of p. 2. For more explanations on the Hadhrami identity in connection with Ibn Khaldun's concept of 'aṣabiyya, see Alatas, Farid, Syed. (1997). Hadhramaut and the Hadhrami diaspora: Problems in theoretical history. In Ulrike Freitag & W. G. Clarence-Smith (Eds.), *Hadhrami traders, scholars, and statesmen in the Indian Ocean, 1750s-1960s* (pp. 19-34). Leiden: Koninklijke Brill. Call no.: RSEA 304.809533 HAD

11. Omar Farouk Bajunid. (n.d). The dynamics of Islamic, Arabisation and localization in the Malay World, *Malay Studies: Working paper series*, Ctoria University of Wellington, 1-32, 7.

12. Mobini-Kesheh, Natalie. (1999). *The Hadrami awakening: Community and identity in the Netherlands East Indies, 1900-1942*. Ithaca, N.Y: Southeast Asia Program Publications, Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University. Call no.: RSEA 959.8022 MOB. Sharifah Zaleha Syed Hassan. (2005, August 26-28). History and the indigenization of the Arabs in Kedah, Malaysia. *Proceedings of the International Conference on Yemeni-Hadramis in Southeast Asia: Identity Maintenance or Assimilation?* (pp. 40-67). Kuala Lumpur: International Islamic University Malaysia. Not available in NLB; Omar Farouk Bajunid. (1978). The Arabs in Penang. *Malaysia in History*, *21*(2), 1-16. Not available in NLB.

13. Muhammad Hasan Al-Aydrus reinforces this in his 1996 work *Penyebaran Islam di Asia Tenggara: Asyraf Hadramaut dan peranannya*. Al-Aydrus' confident assertion that Islamisation in Southeast Asia, especially in Indonesia happen through the original nine wali or saints of Islam through the progeny of Ahmad bin Isa, who are mostly Hadhramis. Drewes makes this a subject of his study by looking at classical Indonesian texts.

14. Arai, Kazuhiro. (2002).

15. Y. A. Talib (Yusof A. Talib). (1974). Les Hadrami et le monde Malais: Essai de bibliographique critique des ouvrages europeens sur l'emigration hadhramite aux XIXe et XXe siecles. *Archipel*, 7, 41-68. Call no.: RSING 959.005 A

16. Tibbetts, G. R. (Gerald Randall). (1956). Pre-Islamic Arabia and South East Asia. *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, *29*(3), 182-208. Call no.: RCLOS 959.5 JMBRAS; Tibbetts, G. R. (Gerald Randall). (1957). Early Muslim traders in South-East Asia. *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, *30*(1), 1-45. Call no.: RCLOS 959.5 JMBRAS; Al-Najdi, Ahmad ibn Majid, & Tibbetts, G. R. (Gerald Randall). (1971). *Arab navigation in the Indian Ocean before the coming of the Portuguese: Being a translation of 'Kitab Al-Faw a'id fi us ul al-bahr wa'l-qaw a'id' of Ahmad b. Majid Al-Najdi.* London: Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland. Call no.: RCLOS 527.09165 NAJ; Tibbetts, G. R. (Gerald Randall). (1956, April). Arabic works relating to South-East Asia. *Newsletter* (Malayan Library Group), *1*(4), 79-86. Call no.: RCLOS 020.5 MLG

17. Abushouk, Ahmed Ibrahim. (2009). Introduction. In Ahmed Ibrahim Abushouk & Hassan Ahmed Ibrahim (Eds.), *The Hadhrami diaspora in Southeast Asia: Identity maintenance or assimilation?* (p. 17). Leiden; Boston: Brill. Call no.: RSEA 305.89275335 HAD.

18. Abdul Rahman Tang Abdullah. (2009). Arab Hadhramis in Malaysia: Their origins and assimilation in Malay society. In Ibrahim Abushouk Ahmed & Hassan Ahmed Ibrahim (Eds.),*The Hadhrami diaspora in Southeast Asia: Identity maintenance or assimilation?* (pp. 45-56). Leiden; Boston: Brill. Call no.: RSEA 305.89275335 HAD.

19. See section 2.5 of the bibliography for the works.

20. Rinkes, Douwe Adolf. (1996). *Nine saints of Java.* Kuala Lumpur: Malaysian Sociological Research Institute. Call no.: RSEA 297.092 RIN

21. Alatas, Farid, Syed. (1997). Hadhramaut and the Hadhrami diaspora: Problems in theoretical history. In Ulrike Freitag & W. G. Clarence-Smith (Eds.), *Hadhrami traders, scholars, and statesmen in the Indian Ocean, 1750s-1960s* (p. 33). Leiden: Koninklijke Brill. Call no.: RSEA 304.809533 HAD.

ENDNOTES

22. The Persians were mostly traders. Some of them were Christian missionaries who were in the Philippines and the areas of the Malay Archipelago such as Java, Sumatra, Sunda and Maluku.

23. Alatas, Farid, Syed. (1997), p. 32.

24. Berg, Lodewijk Willem Christiaan van den. (1886). *Le Ḥadhramout et les colonies arabes dans l'archipel Indien*. Batavia:
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Call no.: RRARE 325.25309598 BER, Microfilm no.: NL7400.

25. Kaptein, N. J. G. (2009). Arabophobia and Terekat: How Sayyid Uthman became advisor to the Netherlands colonial administration. In Ahmed Ibrahim Abushouk & Hassan Ahmed Ibrahim (Eds.), *The Hadhrami diaspora in Southeast Asia: Identity maintenance or assimilation?* (pp. 38).
Leiden; Boston: Brill.
Call no.: RSEA 305.89275335 HAD.

26. Most of the British archival records are available in the India Office Record (IO) in the India and Oriental Office in the British Library, London and Public Record Office (PRO) in Kew, London. These are records of the British administration in Aden and correspondences of the Colonial Office and the Foreign Office. For Dutch sources, the documents are in the Collectie G. A. J. Hazeu (Hazeu Collection) and Collectie R. A. Kern (Kern Collection) in KITLV, Leiden, Netherlands and the Oriental Collection of the Leiden University. Some of the other colonial sources on Hadhrami exist in Seiyun Archives (SMA).

27. Nurfadzilah Yahaya. (2009). Tea and company: Interactions between the Arab elite and the British in cosmopolitan Singapore. In Ahmed Ibrahim Abushouk & Hassan Ahmed Ibrahim (Eds.), *The Hadhrami diaspora in Southeast Asia: Identity maintenance or assimilation?* (p. 71).
Leiden; Boston: Brill.
Call no.: RSEA 305.89275335 HAD

28. See (86). Serjeant, R. B. (Robert Bertram). (1981). The Saiyids of Hadramawt. In *Studies in Arabian history and civilization* (Section VIII). London: Variorum Reprints.

29. See Abushouk, Ahmed Ibrahim. (2007). Al-Manar and the Hadhrami elite in the Malay-Indonesian world: Challenge and response. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, *17*(3), 301-322. Call no.: R 950.072041 JRASGB. Non-sayyid Hadhramis were thought to have descended from Quraysh tribes.

30. See Serjeant, R. B. (Robert Bertram). (1962). Historians and historiography of Hadramawt. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 25(1/3), 239-261. Call no.: RU R 950.05 BSOAS, Online: Available from NLB's e-Resources - JSTOR.

31. See Reid, Anthony. (1969, December). Indonesian diplomacy: A documentary study of Atjehnese foreign policy in the reign of Sultan Mahmud, 1870-1874. *Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, *42*(2), 74-114. Call no.: RCLOS 959.5 JMBRAS. Kathirithamby-Wells, J. (2009, October). 'Strangers' and 'stranger-kings': The sayyid in eithteenth-century maritime Southeast Asia. *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, *40*(3), pp. 567-591.
Call no.: RSING 959.005 JSA; Khoo, Salma Nasution. (1990). The legacy of Tengku Syed Hussain. *Pulau Pinang*, *2*(2), 12-14, 16-17. Winstedt, Richard Olof, Sir. (1932). The early ruler of Perak, Pahang and Aceh. *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, *10*(1), 32-44.
Call no.: RRARE 959.5 JMBRAS, Microfilm No.: NL26239; Winstedt, Richard Olof, Sir. (1932). The Temengongs of Muar. *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, *10*(1), 30-31.
Call no.: RRARE 959.5 JMBRAS, Microfilm no.: NL26239.

32. See section 3.3. The first use of the term "Pan-Islamism" was by Franz von Werner in *Turkische Skizzen* (1877). For more on literature on the term, see footnote 1 of Mohammad Redzuan Othman. (1996). Pan-Islamic appeal and political patronate: The Malay perspective and the Ottoman response. *Sejarah*, 4, 97-108.

33. See 3.5 of bibliography.

34. Algadri, Hamid. (1984). *C. Snouck Hurgronje: Politik Belanda terhadap Islam dan keturunan Arab*. Jakarta: Sinar Harapan Agape Press. Not available in NLB; Algadri, Hamid. (1994). *Dutch policy against Islam and Indonesians of Arab descent in Indonesia*. Jakarta: Pustaka LP3ES Indonesia. Call no.: RSEA 305.6970598 ALG; Algadri, Hamid. (1996). *Islam dan keturunan Arab: Dalam pemberontakan melawan Belanda*. Bandung: Penerbit Mizan Anggota IKAPI. Call no.: R Malay 959.802 ALG; Algadri, Hamid. (1999) *Mengarungi Indonesia: Memoar perintis kemerdekaan Mr Hamid Algadri.* Jakarta Lentera.

35. See Section 4.

36. See footnote 9 of this article.

37. See section 3.2 of the bibliography.

38. See Abushouk, Ahmed Ibrahim. (2009). p. 10. For the Alkaff family's use of their wealth to finance charitable activities and other political and social reforms, see Aljunied, Syed Muhd. Khairudin. (2009). Hadhramis within Malay activism: The role of Al-Saqqaf(s) in post-war Singapore. In Ibrahim Abushouk Ahmed & Hassan Ahmed Ibrahim (Eds.), *The Hadhrami diaspora in Southeast Asia: Identity maintenance or assimilation?* (pp. 225-244).
Leiden; Boston: Brill.
Call no.: RSEA 305.89275335 HAD.

39. Brown, Rajeswary Ampalavanar. (2008). Capitalism and Islam: Arab business groups and capital flows in South East Asia. In Chris Smith, Brendan McSweeney, & Robert Fitzgerald. (Eds.), *Remaking management: Between global and local* (pp. 217-250). Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.
Call no.: RBUS 658 REM; Brown; Rajeswary Ampalavanar. (2008). Islamic endowments and the land economy in Singapore: The genesis of an ethical capitalism, 1830-2007. *South East Asia Research*, *16*(3), 343-403. Call no.: RSING 959.005 SEAR; Brown; Rajeswary Ampalavanar. (2009). The decline of Arab capitalism in Southeast Asia. In Ibrahim Abushouk Ahmed & Hassan Ahmed Ibrahim (Eds.), *The Hadhrami diaspora in Southeast Asia: Identity maintenance or assimilation?* (pp. 109-133).
Leiden; Boston: Brill.
Call no.: RSEA 305.89275335 HAD.

40. See Alatas, Farid, Syed. (1997). Hadhramaut and the Hadhrami diaspora: Problems in theoretical history. In Ulrike Freitag & W. G. Clarence-Smith (Eds.), *Hadhrami traders, scholars, and statesmen in the Indian Ocean, 1750s-1960s* (p. 25). Leiden: Koninklijke Brill.
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41. A. Samad Ismail (Abdul Samad Ismail). (1992, September). Sudut pandangan: Melayu versus Arab. *Dewan Budaya*, *14*(9), 20-21.
Call no.: RU R q301.205 DB

42. Kratoska, Paul H. (Compiler). (1990). *Index to British Colonial files pertaining to British Malaya* (Vols. 1-12). Kuala Lumpur: Arkib Negara Malaysia.
Call no. RSING 016.9595106 KRA - [LIB]

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Book Review:

Bibliography on The Hadhrami Arabs in Southeast Asia

with Special Reference to Singapore

By **Michael Gilsenan**
Kriser Professor of
Middle Eastern and
Islamic Studies
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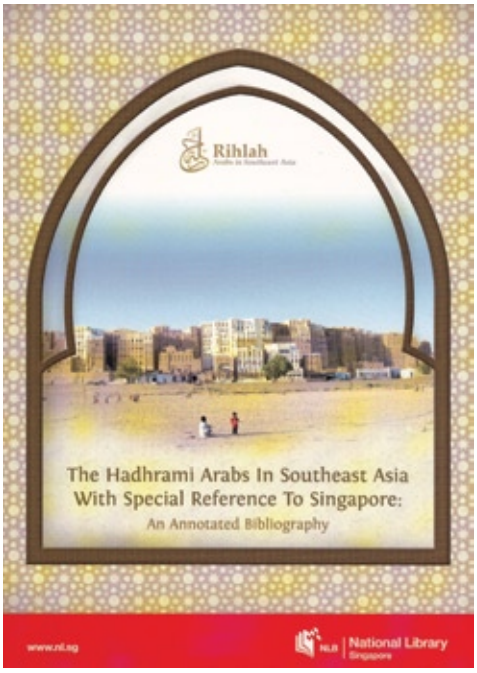
The intensive study of different patterns of Hadhrami migrations all around the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf and into Southeast Asia is a relatively recent phenomenon. As Hadhrami family and business links spread in Europe and America as well as parts of the Middle East, the complexity of our studies continues to grow with the constant branching of Hadhrami migrations and the expansion of research on new aspects of their worlds from new perspectives. Given the immense social and cultural diversity of societies such as those in Indonesia, for example, societies in very different areas of which people of Hadhrami origin have established themselves in different ways over sometimes long historical periods, the possibilities for scholarly research are as great as the topics of inquiry are many and the difficulties daunting.



Part of this growth in scholarship no doubt relates to changes in the political order in Yemen as a whole since the early 1990s, and more specifically in southeast Yemen and the valley system of the Hadhramaut itself. The unification of the country made travel to the region possible. The intellectual interest and personal generosity of Hadhramis there and access to manuscripts, documents and libraries, some of which had suffered greatly in the previous decades, allowed a certain opening up of the area to study. Greater access to Arabic sources and the possibility of conducting primary research in the region were important contributing factors.

There are many other influences. Contemporary scholarly concerns with migrations, diasporas and population movements in a globalising and transnational world, as well as with issues of social identity and ethnicity, have contributed to the multiplication of directions of inquiry. At the same time, studies of empire and colonial regimes have turned to more detailed work on different groups of subjects under British or Dutch or French rule among which figure the Hadhramis, whether in East Africa, India or the Malay Archipelago.

Two other factors play an important part. The first is the burgeoning literature on aspects of Islam and Islamic practice and history in the modern world. The second and closely linked sets of topics that have become major areas of scholarship are Islamic law in practice and the spread of versions of Sufi Orders and different currents of Sufism.

These various and changing academic concerns feed into the formation of what is by now a growing field of Hadhrami studies with its conferences, special issues of journals and courses taught in universities. Meetings may be held in many cities such as Jakarta, Kuala Lumpur, Leiden, London, Sana'a, Singapore (the venue for the remarkable exhibition whose opening is marked by the publication of this bibliography) or Vienna. The boundaries of the field(s) are fittingly porous and shifting. Scholars from many disciplines are involved: anthropology, archaeology, history (cultural, intellectual, political and social), law, Oriental studies, political science, religious studies and sociology.

Many work from inter-disciplinary perspectives. Moreover, they come from a wide variety of nationalities and links or quite distinct intellectual traditions: American, Arab, Austrian, British, Dutch, French, German, Indonesian, Japanese, Malay and Singaporean. We write, as this bibliography so clearly shows, in many different languages. And, of course, many of us lack the knowledge of several of these key languages and are unaware of different bodies of materials. If there is a field of study offering changing possibilities, there is no single

community of researchers but rather different intellectual networks of greater or lesser continuity that have greater or lesser access to the precious documentary or ethnographic sources required for study.

It is in this context that the true value of this remarkable annotated bibliography becomes clear. For it draws together under a series of headings the considerable range of materials that the National Library of Singapore has gathered covering its holdings in topics reaching from the coming of Islam to Arabic legal documents, from material culture to performing arts, and from language to genealogy. It is clearly organised and user-friendly. The annotations are a great help to any scholar, particularly as he must often rely only on bibliographies that lack such vital (and time-saving) aids to research.

The catalogue includes all kinds of written and printed materials from the most ephemeral sources newspaper articles to major monographs and edited volumes in many languages – Arabic, Malay, Dutch, English and French by no means exhaust the list – on aspects of the Hadhrami migrations over many centuries. It complements the pioneering efforts of previous bibliographers and develops on the foundations they have established.

Not the least of its qualities is that it will assuredly be maintained and updated at appropriate intervals. It will make local and international research much easier, whether for students earning their academic degrees or for scholarly publications. It will facilitate the planning and conceptualising of projects and enable us to use the magnificent facilities of the new library to the fullest while allowing those who work far from Singapore to be able to see immediately the resources that can be studied in a port city that has always been such a significant hub of Arab economic, social and cultural activity. It helps us to locate generations of Hadhramis in their different contexts of time and space and draws attention to their regional and local roles that have often been ignored.

Scholars always have to travel in pursuit of sources of whose existence they may or may not be certain, to places where they may or may not be able to find sources at all, and to libraries or collections whose own indexing and bibliography may not really help to guide them in their search. As someone who has frequently benefitted from the professional help of librarians and archivists in Singapore as well as upon the generosity and confidence of many Arab friends here who have allowed me access to papers and to their own views on Hadhrami pasts and presents, I welcome a major initiative in our field with deep appreciation. It is a milestone in our field. ■

Early Tourist Guidebooks

The Illustrated Guide to the Federated Malay States

By **Bonny Tan**
Senior Librarian
Lee Kong Chian
Reference Library
National Library

"We travel nowadays far more often and far further than our ancestors, but we do not, as they say they did, hanker for hardship. We like to see new countries, new people and new ways of living, but we like a little comfort hereto..." [1]

THE AUDIENCE: EARLY 20th CENTURY GLOBETROTTERS

By the first decade of the 20th century, round-the-world tours had become popular especially among wealthy Americans. These globetrotters often made a pit-stop at Singapore where they fueled up on Western luxuries and tasted aspects of Malayan life, travelling by train as far up as Johore's plantations before proceeding to the more exotic Far East.

Malay houseboats on Pahang River at Kuala Lipis.
An illustrated guide to the Federated Malay States, 1910, p.84.

To attract these tourists to stay on longer, government agencies in the region began publishing travel guides, lauding the attractions of their respective colonies and opening up sites for visits. In 1908, *Java: The wonderland* was released by the Java Tourist Association[2] and at about the same time the famed Cook tourist agency included Java in its world-tour itinerary.[3] By 1909, strong colonial support led to the opening of the Angkor ruins to tourists.

The Federated Malay States, however, had yet to become a priority for Western tourists although the Straits Settlements remained convenient stopovers. The only known guides to the Malay Peninsula were the *Jennings' Guides* (1900), offering descriptions of Singapore, Penang, Malacca and the Malay States, published by the Singapore Passenger and Tourist Agency.[4]

Even as late as 1929, it was still felt that tourists pouring into the region had little knowledge of it nor desire to explore it, only because of a lack of information and incentive rather than the country's lack of beauty: "As a country we don't advertise as much as we ought to do. We are even foolish enough to think that we have nothing to advertise – that if we inveigle people into visiting this country merely as sight-seers we shall be taking their money by false pretences. And yet visitor after visitor is astonished by the picturesqueness of the scenery, the attractions offered by the sight of many races mingling in a busy and more or less thriving community, and the real pleasantness of life here."[5]

THE CONTEXT: THE FEDERATED MALAY STATES

The *Illustrated Guide to the Federated Malay States* was one such attempt to promote the attractions of the peninsula, proving to be as much a window into the politics and people of the newly cobbled Federated Malay States as it was a guide for tourist travel.

The Malay Peninsula in the late 19th century was then a patchwork of colonial rule and control, with initially only the Straits Settlements directly under British wings. Wild animals, wild men and wild habits still prevailed in interior

Para rubber plantation, 12 and 15 year-old trees.
An illustrated guide to the Federated Malay States, 1910, p.161.

The British High Commissioner's residence and the Malay Council Chamber, Kuala Kangsar.
An illustrated guide to the Federated Malay States, 1910, p.64.

Malaya. Author and editor of the guide, C. W. Harrison highlights the fact that "[u]p to some thirty years ago those of the Native States of the Malay Peninsula which are now the Federated Malay States, had little or no dealings with the civilizations lying east and west of them. They were unknown to history, scarce visited by other races, except the Chinese, heard of only as the wild lands forming the hinterland of Penang, Malacca and Singapore….In the Straits Settlements they were known certainly as places somewhat unsafe to visit, but for treachery and blood-thirstiness they were never comparable to the islands further south from which the sea-rovers came. Merely they were shockingly misgoverned by rulers perpetually infirm of purpose..." (Harrison, 1910, pp. 4-5)

Tin mining and rubber plantations, however, were quickly transforming the landscape and society of Malaya. The guide offers details of the labour-intensive task of open-cast mining and of the Chinese coolies who worked them. "Roughly 40 percent of the world's tin comes from the Federated Malay States. 'Imagination boggles at the thought' that from this little more that (sic) twenty-five thousand square miles of country, two-thirds of which are unexplored or unworked, there should be won in a year tin worth £12,244,000…and it is primarily the revenue so derived which has made the country the wealthy land it now is, and will yet make it wealthier" (Harrison, 1910, pp. 78-79). But conflicts concerning this growing wealth began to get out of hand and the ruling sultans sought the British to alleviate this problem.

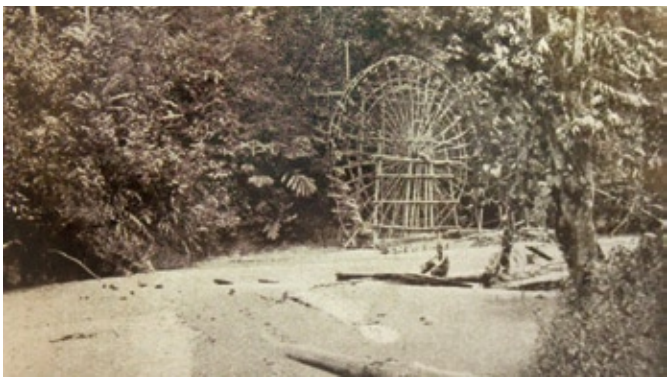
When on 1 July 1896, Pahang, Perak, Selangor and Negri Sembilan signed a treaty to form the Federated Malay States under British advisors, the British gained control over these rich industries in return for ensuring good governance and mediation over riotous conflicts which invariably arose where great wealth and anarchy were present. Meanwhile, Malayans began to taste the benefits of British influence in the development of modern infrastructure such as roads and railways as well as a strong government.

In the 1920 edition of the guide, it states that the Federated Malay States had "732 miles of railway and 2,344 miles of motor road. This makes them easy to visit, either from Penang or from Singapore… Certainly it is 8,000 miles or more overseas and takes three weeks from Marseilles, but it comes just in the middle of the grand tour between Ceylon and China or Japan and you ought not to miss it. You can rush through it in 24 hours by rail… or take the inside of a fortnight over it… " (Harrison, 1910, pp. 25-26)

THE WRITERS AND ILLUSTRATORS: PRODUCTS OF AN EMPIRE

Harrison, along with the other writers of the guide, J. H. Robson, T. R. Hubback, H. C. Robinson and F. J. B. Dykes, had all joined the Federated Malayan Civil Service around the time of the federation.[6] They were recognised as pioneers of the Federated Malay States, forging its shape while serving in more than one of the Malay States or holding a post in the main FMS government. Their writing

Chinese open-cast tin mine near Kamunting.
An illustrated guide to the Federated Malay States, 1910, p.42.



Wheel raising water.
An illustrated guide to the Federated Malay States, 1910, p.111.

carries the weight of personal experiences and the insights from their executive positions.[7]

The guide thus goes beyond giving functional descriptions of places and providing a practical itinerary. Harrison's style particularly recalls that of travelogue writers a generation prior, with anecdotal descriptions which are spiced with saucy details, frank opinions and romanticised landscapes. An early review of the book notes that a "guide book is not as a rule a production which can be described as literary. If it gives accurate information it generally accomplishes all that it claims to do, and the reader looks for nothing more. The F. M. S. therefore, is particularly fortunate in having at its service a writer of the ability of Mr Harrison, who has made his guide a book which can be enjoyed for its literary qualities alone."[8]

Harrison anchors the guide with two solid chapters – the first chapter captures the history of the Malay Peninsula along with a narrative of a tour by road, rail and boat from Penang to Singapore, with highlights of main towns in the Federated Malay States, namely Taiping, Kuala Kangsar, Ipoh, Tanjong Malim, Kuala Lumpur, Port Swettenham, Port Dickson, Klang and Seremban. In his descriptions, Harrison often takes the reader off the beaten track like his account of an adventure through Malaya's jungles: "Go fifty yards off the path and you are probably lost and can only recover it by happy chances, probably will not recover it, and most likely will be obliged… to follow one of the numerous streams down the hill and emerge at the foot on to the plain with your clothes torn and your temper frayed...However much the modern traveller may long for a new sensation he is not advised to seek it in losing himself in the jungle." (p. 49) The advisory comes from Harrison himself having lost his way in the jungles in November 1908 during an organised raid on tin poachers in the Taiping hills, spending a night there before he was found the following morning.

The second chapter, entitled "Notes for the traveller", deals with the practicalities of touring the Malay States, from what to expect at local hotels, appropriate clothing to take along, the purchase of curios and important health tips such as how to set up one's mosquito nets. More interestingly, he gives descriptions of the agricultural and mining industries as well as of the people who work them "for the people you, as a passing traveller, will never know (for you will not leave those beaten tracks, the railway, the road, the river)." (p. 187) For example, Harrison mentions the peculiarities of the Chinese cooly (coolie) and the Malays, their food, dress, methods of work, showing an intimate knowledge of both communities. "You will see plenty of him (the Chinese cooly) in the mines and in the towns, but he is in the jungle too. You will never know him there, but think of him with his load of two bags of tin ore… Yet he is cheerful with it all and ready with a grin for anyone who, passing him, remarks sympathetically 'Hayah, chusah-lah' (Anglice – 'hard work, what?')." (Harrison, 1910, pp. 187-188)

The Malays he characterises as "senang" – a quality he sees as a strength. "This is not laziness; it is not indolence; it is not slackness; with all of which the race is unintelligently reproached. It is race-intelligence, and it means and it results in senang, and senang is the Malay for salvation, mental and physical, in this climate...The white man comes, the Chinese comes, the Indian comes, to the Malay's country, and they live their alien strenuous lives. They make material progress and show material death and sickness rates. That is their

Station Road, Ipoh.
An illustrated guide to the Federated Malay States, 1910, p.76.

Elephants carrying panniers.
An illustrated guide to the Federated Malay States, 1910, p.70.

way of being happy. It is not the Malay's way. He rejects, and in some sense despises other people's way, for the vast majority of him consists of 'people in humble circumstances,' like those described by Renan, 'in the state so common in the East, which is neither ease nor poverty. The extreme simplicity of life in such countries, by dispensing with the need for comfort, renders the privileges of wealth almost useless and makes everyone voluntarily poor…' " (Harrison, 1910, pp. 198-199)

In chapter three, Robson describes a fascinating 11-day journey by motorcar down the peninsula, beginning at Penang, traversing through Ipoh to Kuala Lumpur and ending at Malacca via Seremban, followed by a short train ride to Singapore. This pioneer motorist who was one of the first to drive a car in Malaya,[9] gives practical advice such as the appropriate type of cars to use, loading cars onto ships and trains, hiring Malay drivers and paying them.

A whole chapter of more than 20 pages on big game shooting is given by Hubback, a veteran hunter himself and who was later appointed Chief Game Warden of the FMS. Hubback advises that leopards and tigers, though fairly numerous, were less easy to hunt in the dense jungles. Instead elephants, seladang and rhinoceros made for better targets. Though Hubback advocates hunting to attract the Western traveller, he was a strong conserver of wild life in Malaya. Besides his involvement in drafting the game laws, he was the first to pursue the setting up of game reserves, with the Krau and Gunong Tahan Game Reserves in Pahang credited to his dogged determination in this matter.

Robinson, Director of the F. M. S. Museums and Fisheries, solicited the help of I. H. N. Evans and C. Boden Kloss to write on the Perak and Selangor Museums respectively, giving interesting insights into the zoological as well as ethnographic collections.

F. J. B. Dykes was the Senior Warden of Mines for the Federation by 1903, having served in Malayan mines for more than a decade. He describes tin-mining methods, from hydraulic mining to basket dredging; sale and smelting of tin ore; general conditions of labour and details of legislation and export dues. He even has something to say of gold and coal mining in the Federated Malay States. By the time the guide was published, Dykes had retired to England where he served in the Malayan Information Agency, the same agency that published the guide. Updates to the article were given by F. J. Ballantyne for subsequent reprints of the guide because of Dyke's untimely death in 1918.

Concluding the guide is a one-page glossary of Malay terms, an alphabetical listing of rest houses, details of tours with train services and various calculations of distances, monies and tariffs.

The guide is illustrated with the delicate watercolours of Mrs. H. C. Barnard and the classic photographs of the famed C. J. Kleingrothe. Barnard had accompanied her husband, who had been the divisional engineer of the FMS Railways since 1903, but was herself an active contributor to society, especially in fund-raising activities. Kleingrothe was renowned for his photography of Sumatran Dutch East Indies and for his method of marketing his photography through the publication of photographic views. These photographs were originally published in the limited edition *Malay Peninsula* (1907), probably using the recently released Kodak Panoram camera, and are believed to date from 1884[10] until just a few months prior to publication. Outside of Lambert,[11] Kleingrothe's photographs are considered key visual records of colonial Peninsular Malaya, especially of the tin-mining and rubber industries that were to fuel Malaya's economic growth.

THE PUBLISHER: MALAY STATES INFORMATION AGENCIES

In 1910, the Malay States Information Agency was established with the primary objective to "advertise the productions and attractions of the States of the Malay Peninsula under British protection",[12] whether to investor, government official, planter, miner, tourist or traveller. The agency, located in London, received all official publications from the Federation Malay States government. This gave it an advantage in offering useful information on statistical and trade data. If the information was not available at the agency, it had the necessary connections to contact relevant official departments in the federation to retrieve the required information. The Federated Malay States was the first among the British colonies to set up such an agency. Almost immediately upon its establishment, public interest peaked, especially in the mining and agricultural fields of the Malay Peninsula. It was such a success that soon similar agencies were established for other colonies and protectorates.

One of its first publications was the guide, printed in 1910, the same year the agency was established. Since it was released by the agency, the guide's contents were "officially revised and sanctioned…(and thus) regarded as a completely 'authorised version' of matters Malayan."[13] By the time the publication was in its fourth impression in 1923, the agency had become a well-respected institution, receiving several thousand visitors a year, offering lectures, brochures and other resources for visitors and potential investors.

In 1985, the guide was republished by Oxford University Press and it remains a vital reference for insights into the beginnings of the Federated Malay States and its growth. Copies from the first issue of 1910 to the more current reprints are available at the National Library on microfilm.

ENDNOTES

1. Harrison, (1920), p. 2.
2. Untitled. (1908, August 18). *The Straits Times*, p. 6.
3. Tourist tour in Java. (1908, July 13). *The Straits Times*, p. 7.
4. Jennings' Guide. (1900, February 16). *The Straits Times*, p. 2. It was compiled by F. K. Jennings who had established the agency at 3 Finlayson Green in 1899 – The passenger agency. (1899, November 10). *The Straits Times*, p. 3.
5. Come to Malaya. (1929, May 4). *The Malayan Saturday Post*, p. 20
6. Harrison in 1897, Robson in 1889, Hubback in 1895 and Dykes in 1892. It is uncertain when H. C. Robinson arrived in Malaya.
7. Harrison had been Secretary to the Residents of Selangor (1919) and Perak (1921) as well as Commissioner of Lands of the FMS (1923). Robson was a member of the Federal Council (1909) and founder and editor of the Malay Mail (1896). Hubback became Chief Game Warden of the FMS in 1933 while Robinson was Director of Museums, FMS since 1908. Dykes was appointed Senior Warden of Mines for FMS in 1903.
8. A literary guide – Mr C. W. Harrison's account of the F. M. S. (1920, July 17). *The Straits Times*, p. 10.
9. Namely a 6 h.p. de Dion-Bouton in 1903 – The story of Malayan journalism. (1934, August 5). *The Straits Times*, p. 5.
10. Hall, Nan. (1956, June 17). The tall boy who came back with an album. *The Straits Times*, p. 13.
11. G. R. Lambert, well-known for his black-and-white photographs of Singapore and the Malay Peninsula was a contemporary of Kleingrothe. Kleingrothe had in fact begun his career in Southeast Asia as manager of the Deli branch of G. R. Lambert and Company.
12. A Malayan outpost, p. 27.
13. Guide to the F. M. S. (1910, December 17). *The Straits Times*, p. 7.

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2. Falconer, J. (2009). Introduction. In Kleingrothe, C. J. *Malay Peninsula: Straits Settlements & Federated Malay States*. Kuala Lumpur: Jugra
   Call no.: RSING 959.51 KLE
3. Guide to the F. M. S (NL329). (1910, December 17). *The Straits Times*, p. 7
4. Han, M. L. (2003). *From travelogues to guidebooks: Imagining colonial Singapore, 1819-1940. Sojourn*, 18(2), pp. 257-278.
   Call no.: RSING 300.5 SSISA
5. Harrison, C. W. (Ed.). (1910).*An illustrated guide to the Federated Malay States*. London: Malay States Information Agency.
   Call no.: RRARE 959.5 ILL
   Microfilm no.: NL 25918(1910), NL16350 (1911), NL 15859 (1920), NL 7461(1923); NL29280
6. Hall, Nan. (1956, June 17). The tall boy who came back with an album. *The Straits Times*, p. 13
   Microfilm no.: NL1816
7. *Java: The wonderland*. (190-). Weltevreden, Java: Official Tourist Bureau.
   Call no.: RSEA 915.98204 JAV
8. Jennings' Guide. (1900, February 16). *The Straits Times*, p. 2
   Microfilm no.: NL283
9. Kratoska, P. (1985). Introduction. In Harrison, C. W. (Ed.). *An illustrated guide to the Federated Malay States*. Singapore: Oxford University Press.
   Call no.: RSING 959.5 ILL (NL 7461)
10. A literary guide – Mr C. W. Harrison's account of the F. M. S. (1920, July 17). *The Straits Times*, p. 10
    Microfilm no.: NL469
11. Lost in the jungle. (1908, November 30). *The Straits Times*, p. 6
    Microfilm no.: NL317
12. Malayan outpost: The work of the Malay States Information Agency. (1926, May). *British Malaya Magazine : Magazine of the Association of British Malaya*, pp. 27-28.
    Microfilm no.: NL 7599 (1926-30)
13. The passenger agency. (1899, November 10). *The Straits Times*, p. 3.
    Microfilm no.: NL345
14. Pioneering days of motoring in Singapore. (1933, February 2). *The Straits Times*, p. 16
    Microfilm no.: NL1472
15. Stockwell, A. J. (1993). Early tourism in Malaya (pp. 258-270). In Michael Hitchcock et. al (Ed.s). *Tourism in South-East Asia*. London; New York: Routledge.
    Call no.: RBUS, RSING 338.4791590453 TOU
16. The story of Malayan journalism.(1934, August 5). *The Straits Times*, p. 5
    Microfilm no.: NL2359
17. Tourist tour in Java. (1908, July 13). *The Straits Times*, p. 7
    Microfilm no.: NL315
18. Untitled. (1920, May 24). *The Straits Times*, p. 8
    Microfilm no.: NL468
19. Untitled. (1908, August 18). *The Straits Times*, p. 6
    Microfilm no.: NL315

温故而知新

– 纪念新中建交二十周年

By **Vicky Gao**
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Lee Kong Chian
Reference Library
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20年前，1990年10月3日，中国外交部长钱其琛和新加坡外交部长黄根成在纽约联合国总部共同签署并发布了《中华人民共和国政府和新加坡共和国政府关于建立外交关系的联合公报》，宣布两国正式建立外交关系，从此开启了两国关系的新纪元。

20年弹指一挥间，2010年，两国迎来了正式建交20周年纪念。

新中有着不同的政治制度和文化理念，两国能够超越制度和价值观的异同，求同存异，互利双赢，实现长期友好相处，实属不易。这篇文章将透过新加坡国家图书馆中文馆藏资料来回顾新加坡领导人过去几十年来与中国老一代领导人的交往之情。新中两国在长期的历史进程中结下的深厚友谊，已经成为双方共同拥有的宝贵精神财富，值得国人珍惜并不断地发扬光大。

毛泽东时代：同中国第一次接触

早在70年代新中建交之前，内阁资政李光耀就与中国第一代领导人有过直接的接触。在2000年出版的《李光耀回忆录1965-2000》在“尾巴特长的中国龙”这一章，李资政谈到了同中国第一次接触的经过。

1976年5月10日至23日，应当时的中国总理华国锋的邀请，李光耀总理第一次到中国访问，并见到了当时的中国最高领导人毛泽东主席。

第一次接触

我们同中国的第一次接触，是在1971年通过“乒乓外交”进行的。我们允许一支新加坡乒乓球队接受邀请，参加在北京举行的亚非乒乓球友谊赛。几个月后，第二个代表团前往参加亚洲乒乓联盟。接着我们接受了中国的建议，让他们派遣一支乒乓球队于次年到新加坡进行友好访问，预定日期同尼逊总统访华之行不过隔了几个月。在这之前，我们曾经两度谢绝了中国代表团要求访新的建议，一个是杂技团，另一个是北京贸易代表团。外长拉惹勒南认为没必要再次回拒，以免对方不高兴。在那次乒乓球友谊

资料来源：《李光耀回忆录1965－2000》，第642页。

邓小平时代：新中关系迎来巨大转机

1976年9月9日，毛泽东主席与世长辞，1977年邓小平复出。邓小平复出后，频频出访，一路走，一路看，一路思考着社会主义中国的未来道路。1978年11月12日至14日，邓小平来到新加坡。在这里，邓小平参观了新兴工业中心裕廊镇，详细考察了引进外资和先进技术的问题，也在新加坡住房和发展局听取关于新加坡公共住房计划情况。邓小平为新加坡的现代化程度感到吃惊，他发现新加坡雇佣来自美国、日本和欧洲资本主义的人才。中国在建国四十多年的过程中，经济发展的道路坎坷不平，五十年代学习苏联，搞社会主义中央计划经济体系，六十年代走极左路线，搞文化大革命，使中国经济几乎濒临崩溃。新加坡的发展模式给了中国的改革开放总设计师邓小平很大的启示。

在李光耀的回忆录中，他写道，“他们对新加坡的观感到了第二年，也就是1979年10月，再进一步改变。当时，邓小平在一次演讲中说：‘我到新加坡去考察他们怎么利用外资。新加坡从外国人所设的工厂中获益。首先，外国企业根据净利所交的35%税额归国家所有；第二、劳动收入都归工人；第三、外国投资带动了服务业。这些都是（国家的）收入。’他在1978年所看到的新加坡，为中国人要争取的最基本的成就提供了一个参考标准。”（摘自《李光耀回忆录1965-2000》，第37章：邓小平时代，第672页。）

新中关系在邓小平时代迎来了巨大的转机。2009年12月29日，李资政在庆祝“通商中国”成立两周年对话会上，在谈到当前的新中双边合作关系时，李资政认为是个“意外”。他认为，新中关系不断的发展要归功于邓小平当年有能力在中国大力推动改革，从70年代末的改革开放到1992年南巡时发表了向他国和新加坡学习并超越新加坡的言论。这促使了许许多多的中国代表团前来新加坡考察学习，从而加速了双

边关系的发展。李资政说："邓小平为建立良好的新中关系奠定了基础。如果不是这样，接任的中国领导人就没有那么强烈的意愿发展双边关系。"

新中建交：与中国第三代领导人的交往

1989年6月23日，在中共第十三届四中全会上通过了邓小平要求退休的请求，并选举了以江泽民为核心的第三代领导。之后，两国新一代领导人继续保持密切交往，推动新中关系继往开来、再上台阶，并在这期间，两国正式宣布建交。

当时担任中国国务院总理的第三代领导人李鹏在2008年1月出版的《和平 发展 合作 — 李鹏外事日记》一书中有专门谈到与李光耀商谈中新建交问题的章节。

第三代领导人江泽民曾于1994年11月8日，应当时的新加坡总统王鼎昌邀请，到新加坡进行两天国事访问。

记录江泽民担任中共中央总书记和国家主席期间中国重大外交活动的《为了世界更美好——江泽民出访纪实》一书于2006年7月出版。该书以"走亲戚——访问新加坡"为标题，记录江泽民出访新加坡的章节。用这本书来看中国怎么看待新加坡，就有了一些生动而具体的参考。里面有段文字描述内阁资政李光耀曾经说过，新中关系非"友好"两字所能概括，"我们是亲戚"。书中也以"同李光耀拉家常"为小标题，江泽民与李资政会面时的谈话内容，很是配合"亲戚"的这层关系。

与李光耀商谈中新建交问题

1988年

九月十五日　星期四　晴

今天，我与来华访问的新加坡总理李光耀举行会谈。谈得比较多的是两国经贸、科技等方面的合作。李光耀对我国的经济改革感兴趣。我说，我国的改革不仅是抓物价、工资方面的改革，而且要对经济体制进行全面改革，同时大力治理通货膨胀。双方就加强两国间贸易、科技合作进行了具体探讨。会谈气氛友好。

晚上，我和大琳为李光耀夫妇举行宴会。

1990年

七月十一日　星期三　晴

我国与新加坡建交谈判尚在进行中，争论焦点仍在台湾问题上。在备忘录中，新加坡方面主张在备忘录中只写"中国只有一个，台湾是中国的一部分"，而不提中华人民共和国。他们要求中新建交后台湾地区领导人和新加坡领导人之间仍可互访，但只限于私人名义。新加坡政府虽然邀请我 8 月 10 日至 12 日去访问，但又不明确访问与建交之间的关系。我同意去访问，但可能这次访问还谈不成两国建立外交关系。不过来日方长，去总比不去好。

资料来源：《和平 发展 合作——李鹏外事日记》（上），第297页。版权属新华出版社所有，2008。

结束语

新中两国于1990年10月3日建立外交关系以来，双方在政治、经济、文化、教育、科技、旅游等领域的交流与合作不断深入。2009年1月1日正式生效的新中双边自贸协定是新中关系发展史上一个重要的里程碑，标志着新中关系进入一个新的发展时期。在纪念新中建交20周年之即，重温新加坡领导人过去几十年来与中国三代老一辈领导人的交往，将有助于我们走进历史、了解过去、珍惜现在。展望未来，新中关系在两国政府和人民的共同努力下，必将更上一层楼，迈向更加美好的明天。

对新中关系感兴趣的读者，可进一步到新加坡国家图书馆参考相关书籍、期刊、报章缩微胶卷及数据库文章等研究资料。

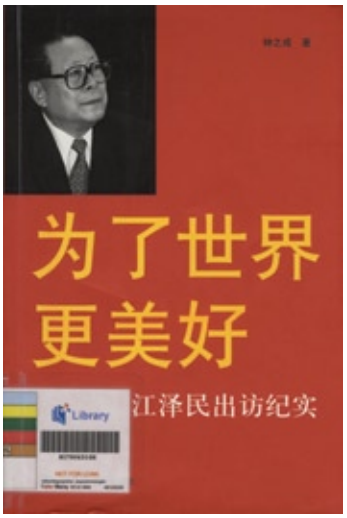
走亲戚——访问新加坡

1994年11月8日—9日

1994年11月8日至9日，江泽民主席访问新加坡共和国。

江主席对李光耀积极客观地向国际社会介绍中国表示赞赏。他说："你对亚洲的发展、中国的发展都了解得比较详细。我们这代人正处在世纪之交，我们应努力把一个更加美好的世界带入下一个世纪。这是我们大显身手的时候。"

资料来源：《为了世界更美好--江泽民出访纪实》，第78页。版权属世界知识出版社所有，2006。



《为了世界更美好 — 江泽民出访纪实》。
版权所有：北京：世界知识出版社，2006。

同李光耀拉家常

江泽民主席抵达新加坡的当晚，李光耀即来看望，并在总统府设宴欢迎。双方的话题从苏州工业园区讲起。李光耀说，没想到苏州工业园区会发展得这样快。我们原来设想，要用 10 年到 15 年的时间完成，现在看来，最快 7 年就能建成。主要原因是选址正确，上海将成为中心，带动长江流域的投资。这符合我们的计划，证明我们在苏州的项目是现实的。他提出，希望在第一阶段 8 平方公里之外，再增加一些规划用地。

江泽民主席告诉李光耀，苏州靠近上海，那个地方前景很好。苏州工业园区一定能搞好。总的来讲，苏州工业园区应有长远规划，也应有近期目标，应稳扎稳打。如果做得比较好，提前一点实现下一步目标也可以商量。

李光耀说，他一直高度关注中国这些年来特别是 1989 年以来改革和发展的情况，对中国取得的巨大进步感到高兴和鼓舞。他认为，如果中美两国对最惠国待遇问题找到解决办法，特别是中国“复关”后，中国的商机将大大增加，一定会获得更迅速的发展。

资料来源：《为了世界更美好--江泽民出访纪实》，第79页。版权属世界知识出版社所有，2006。

1976年5月12日，李光耀与当时的中国最高领导人毛泽东主席见面。
资料来源：《李光耀回忆录1965－2000》
版权属新加坡《联合早报》所有，2000。

1978年邓小平在新加坡参观访问。
资料来源：《李光耀诚对中港台》
版权属新加坡胜利出版私人有限公司所有，2000。

Commemorating The 20th Anniversary of Diplomatic Relations Between Singapore and China: A Review of The Literature From The Collections At The National Library Singapore

The year 2010 marks the 20th anniversary of diplomatic relations between Singapore and China. During these 20 years, the two countries have forged strong bonds and friendly long-term ties in spite of differences in history, political structure, culture and beliefs, which is a remarkable feat indeed. This would not have been possible without the strong foundations laid down by the leadership in Singapore and the first three generations of Chinese leaders.

This remarkable friendship that has been carefully nurtured ought to be cherished and passed on to the next generation of leaders for them to scale new heights. This article reviews the history and developmental milestones of the diplomatic relations between these leaders, viewed through the published resources available at the National Library Singapore's collection. ■

中国著名作家王蒙先生莅临我馆参观

By **Vicky Gao**
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2010年3月5日上午，当代中国文学界、文化界、思想界最令人瞩目的人物之一，曾任中华人民共和国文化部部长的王蒙先生及夫人在新加坡中国学会会长刘爱莲女士的陪同下来到我馆参观，受到了国家图书馆馆长严立初女士、李光前参考图书馆馆长张碧玲女士等领导的热情接待。

王蒙先生一生大起大落，人生经历有如一部文学作品，充满着跌宕起伏。少年得志，才华横溢的他，19岁创作《青春万岁》，22岁发表短篇小说《组织部来的年轻人》，轰动一时，旋即被打成“右派”，在风华正茂的29岁那年被抛到了人生的低谷，一家人去了新疆。在人生最灰暗的时刻，淳朴热情的维吾尔族人给了他们一家生活的力量和勇气。16年的新疆生活使王蒙对于新疆这块土地一往情深，在不少场合，王蒙都说新疆是他的第二故乡，是他永远怀念的地方。此次来访，王蒙亲笔签名向新加坡国家图书馆赠送他们夫妇俩的近作《王蒙和他笔下的新疆》，让更多的新加坡人领略新疆的美丽，是他们夫妇俩共同的心愿。

对王蒙的作品感兴趣的读者，可到李光前参考图书馆中文馆藏区参阅王蒙作品选，包括报告文学、自传、小说、散文、诗歌、文艺评论、理论文集等。国家图书馆也提供中文参考咨询服务，解答读者的询问。读者可以将要咨询的问题以电邮的方式发送到图书馆远程参考咨询服务站ref@nlb.gov.sg。

王蒙亲笔签名向新加坡国家图书馆赠送他们夫妇俩的近作《王蒙和他笔下的新疆》。

新加坡中国学会陪同人员、新加坡国家图书馆工作人员在参观结束后和王蒙夫妇合影留念。

严馆长(右)和王蒙夫妇互赠出版物。

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Mr Wang Meng visited the National Library Singapore

Mr Wang Meng, former Minister of Culture (1986 - 1989), People's Republic of China, and his wife visited the National Library Singapore on 5 March 2010. During his visit, he was warmly welcomed by Ms Ngian Lek Choh, Director, National Library Singapore, Ms Judy Ng, Deputy Director, Lee Kong Chian Reference Library and Mrs Tan Keat Fong, Deputy Director, Professional & International Relations.

Wang Meng is also one of China's foremost contemporary writers, a professor and researcher. His literary works such as his biography, novels, documentary literature, poems and literary criticism are available at the Lee Kong Chian Reference Library. ■

Childhood Memories

Growing up in the the 1950s and 60s

By **Phyllis Ghim-Lian Chew**
Lee Kong Chian
Research Fellow (2010)
National Library

As my research is on the sociolinguistics of early Singapore, I'll introduce myself by recounting some childhood memories which have contributed to my historical bent and the languages that underlay it.

It is ironical that I should focus on languages for, as a child, I moved around more than I spoke. Instead of desk work, I would be playing marbles, gasing (Malay word for top), five stones and capteh (patois for shuttlecock). One morning at the age of 9, thinking I was Supergirl, I leapt from a kitchen window, but slipped as I landed, and saw twinkling stars upon re-awakening. At 10, while exploring tombstone inscriptions behind the old National Library at Stamford Road, I tripped and rolled down Fort Canning slope, dislocating my elbow. In a game of "rounders" at 12, I broke my knee and was in a cast the rest of the year. The cast sent me to the library and I have been "hooked" ever since.

There were no casinos in Singapore then. I accompanied my mother Lee Poh Tin (1919-2008) on her rounds of mahjong with her Cantonese *kaki* (patois for friends) and *cherki* (Peranakan card game played with a pack of sixty) with her Peranakan relatives. It was the unspoken rule then that nurses were not to marry. Hence, my mother had to leave her job after marriage and turn instead to child raising and other social activities common to married women of that era. I was immersed in their lively chatter and often futile but sometimes fruitful attempts at matchmaking. I became an expert in ordering noodles from the multilingual "tick-tock" hawkers, lowering the basket from the upper storeys down to the hawker at the five-foot way and raising it up again.

The author in the pram being pushed by Ah Sun (third from left), 1954.

It was the custom for some families to assign the care of the child to a Cantonese maid and Ah Sun featured prominently in my baby photographs. However, she left shortly for the hairdressing trade just before I entered Primary One and I was assigned to the care of my maternal grandmother, Ang Lee Neo (1888-1962). Grandma was a niece of "Ah Kim", a daughter of entrepreneur Wee Boon Teck (1850-1888). Ah Kim had arranged that she would be the second wife of her husband Lee Choon Guan (1868-1924) following the custom of the time. Hence, at aged 11, my grandmother

The author's mother's family. Her mother is seated on the extreme right.

The author's father's family. Her father is standing on the extreme left.

arrived as a child bride from Amoy to perform the tea-ceremony to her parents-in-law, Mr and Mrs Lee Chay Yan (1841-1911). Unfortunately for her, Ah Kim would die shortly from childbirth. She being too young to manage the extended household, her in-laws arranged for Choon Guan to marry socialite Tan Teck Neo, an older woman who was deemed more able to assume the management of the big household. Unfortunately the two wives did not get along and, in later years, my grandmother left "the big house" with her three children to set up her own separate residence in Kampong Bahru. My interest in history and story-telling stemmed from listening to her elaborate tales of conspiracy and intrigue involving wives, concubines and *mui tsai* (young girls working as domestic servants) in ancestral houses through the lively medium of Malay, Hokkien, Teochew and Cantonese.

My father, Chew Keow Seong (1912-1995), worked as an accountant in the family ship-handling firm along Robinson Road, which catered mainly to KPM and P&O liners. Visiting my father at lunchtime, I was immersed in the lively babble there – Malay to the staff who were mostly Indians including the burly Sikh watchman who placed his charpoy (a type of bed made from ropes) right across the office door each night, English or Dutch to the Caucasians, and Hokkien and a host of Chinese dialects to the ship-riggers.

To my father reputation was more important than money and honour and gentility were the noblest goals. This had been drummed into him by his mother, a grand-daughter of Tan Hay Neo, the eldest daughter of philanthropist Tan Tock Seng (1798-1850). Nenek (Malay word for grandmother) Hay Neo was matched-made to Lee Cheng Tee (1833-1912), a Malaccan trader who named his steamer "Telegraph" after the latest technological craze of the time and which sailed to the Straits Settlements, Labuan and Brunei. His family home epitomised the Peranakan love for four-poster beds, opium couches, silverware, porcelain, plaster ornaments, coloured tiles and blackwood marble furniture trimmed with gold paint. I didn't realise then that crawling among such towering furniture, I would only see them today at museums and antique shops.

I am told that my physiognomy descends from Cheng Tee as he was tall and well-built. When I see fireworks on National Day, I remember that Cheng Tee was recorded as having sponsored a grand public dinner with fireworks galore in 1869 in honour of his new gunpowder magazine factory at Tanah Merah. The entertainment was reported by Song (1902:155) as "one of the most brilliant that had taken place in Singapore." *

Today, there are no more slopes behind the National Library to roll down from. Steamships have been replaced by air carriers. Concubinage and child marriages have been outlawed. Nurses are "allowed" to marry. The tick-tock hawkers have long disappeared. One thing remains constant though: the vibrancy, multilingualism and multiculturalism that is Singapore's heritage. ■

*Song, Ong Siang (1902). One hundred years' history of the Chinese in Singapore. London: John Murray.

The author receiving the Lee Kong Chian Research Fellowship from Ms Ngian Lek Choh, Director, National Library.

Navigating a Sea of Resources

To Find Hidden Treasures

By **Setefanus Suprajitno**
Lee Kong Chian
Research Fellow (2010)
National Library

The city hall is the most important building in Jember, it is the office of the regent of Jember Regency.
Photo courtesy of A. Irawan.

I was born in Jember, a rural town in East Java province, Indonesia. It is surrounded by cacao, coffee, rubber, and tobacco plantations, as well as a vast area of rice fields. Obviously economic development brings wind of change, but Jember is still a small town. When night falls, life shifts into the family room. The only part of the town that is still vibrant in the evening is the downtown area, which is dominated by a shopping mall and a square that often turns into a night bazaar. It is in this place that, I spent most of my childhood.

My childhood life revolved around the neighbourhood – where I played with my friends – and the school – where I spent the whole day. It did not leave me with a memory that I could cherish. However, I remember what my mother always told me: *"Ayo bersekolah dan belajar yang rajin agar maju."* ("Go to school and study hard. By then you can get ahead.") She was always successful in forcing my sister and me to go to school. Every morning, she would enter our room and say: *"Cepat bangun dan bersiap untuk ke sekolah."* ("Hurry, get up, and be ready for school.") Not a single day did she fail to wake us, get us out of the bed, and ready us for the school day ahead. If we did not obey, she would not hesitate to beat us fervently.

At that time I did not understand why she was so "cruel" to us. It took me years to know that her "cruelty" reflected her appreciation of education, as well as her hope that her children could get an education as high as possible, the education that she could only dream of; as she was unable to get it because of financial constraints. She did not spare any efforts to provide a good education for her children. This inspired me to be successful in my education. Up till now, I am still a student. I am doing my doctorate degree in anthropology at Cornell University, New York. Perhaps because of the importance of education my mother inculcated in me, I always strived hard to get a scholarship to support my education. So far, lady luck has always been on my side. That's why, jokingly I am called "a professional student."

As an Indonesian of Chinese descent, I have first-hand experience of the issues many minority groups face. The Chinese are an ethnic minority in Indonesia. Friction is often present between the Chinese and the non-Chinese. Ethnic relations are strained mostly because of racial prejudice. Because of this, during my schooling years, not only did I concentrate on my studies, I also joined a community outreach programme held by an organisation in Jember that, focused on the improvement of the relations between the Chinese and the non-Chinese. My involvement in this community outreach programme stimulates my academic interest in ethnic relation and ethnic identity. It is this interest that lands me in Singapore now. I am here to conduct research, which is funded by the Lee Kong Chian Research Fellowship of the National Library of Singapore.

Actually my encounter with the National Library started in 1998, when I was still a student at the National University

of Singapore (NUS). I often visited the old National Library whenever I needed books that I could not find at the NUS library and light reading materials. My frequent visits to the library introduced me to Singapore literature written in English. This kind of English literary work really interests me because of the familiarity of the social life, habits, customs, and cultures depicted in it. It is different from that of British or American literature, which at that time I found alien to me. Since then, literary works written by Catherine Lim, Goh Sin Tub, Colin Cheong and Kuo Pao Kun, among others, are on my reading list.

In my free time, I also like listening to many kinds of music, especially pop and jazz. I used to sing and listen to Indonesian and English songs only. However, my stay in Singapore, when I was a student at NUS, also gave me a chance to enjoy Cantonese and Mandarin songs. I did not speak Chinese back then. However, this did not prevent my Singaporean friends from asking me to join them for karaoke sessions during which most songs chosen were in Cantonese and Mandarin. Through karaoke, I picked up Mandarin. Now I can speak Mandarin a bit, but Cantonese and Hokkien are still tough for me. Nevertheless, my repertoire in pop music has expanded. In the karaoke lounge, I can sing in Indonesian, Malay, English, Mandarin, and sometimes Cantonese.

One of the icons of Jember is the water tower, which was built in 1930s, and is still in use now. Located in the central market of Jember, it is as high as a three-floor building.
Photo courtesy of A. Irawan.

I enjoyed myself when I was a student in Singapore. Almost every year, I spend my holiday here. A few years ago, one of my relatives came to Singapore to pursue his postgraduate studies at NUS. Knowing this, suddenly I wanted to come here and stay longer than when I did for holiday. But I did not know how. However, my dream came true, when the National Library of Singapore granted me the Lee Kong Chian Research Fellowship Award. This award enables me to stay in Singapore for about six months to conduct research on a topic I am interested in – the Buddhist identities of Chinese Indonesians.

The Lee Kong Chian Research Fellowship is also helping me to develop myself professionally. It enriches me as I gain a better understanding of the topic I am investigating through researching and studying the resources of the National Library of Singapore, especially the Lee Kong Chian Reference Library collection, which houses extensive resources on Southeast Asia. The National Library is like a sea of resources. Those who navigate it find hidden treasure. And I believe, the hidden treasure in this library will help materialise my hope, that is, to contribute to the development of Southeast Asian studies, especially the study of the Chinese in Indonesia. ■

Mr Setefanus Suprajitno was awarded the Lee Kong Chian Research Fellowship for six months by Ms Ngian Lek Choh, Director, National Library at a signing ceremony held on 2nd March 2010.

Setefanus Suprajitno and Dr Phyllis Chew were each awarded the Lee Kong Chian Research Fellowship on 2nd March and 6th May 2010 respectively.

Suprajitno has an M.A. in Anthropology and his research topic focuses on “The Buddhist identities of the Chinese in Indonesia after Reformasi”.

Dr Chew has a Ph.D in Linguistics and her research topic is on “Multiculturalism in pre-and colonial Singapore: the sociolinguistics of early Singapore”.

For more information on the Lee Kong Chian Research Fellowship, please contact the Administrator at:
Email: LKCRF@nlb.gov.sg
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Ms Joie Springer
Senior Programme Specialist,
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*Singapore Memory Project (SMP) is a whole-of-nation collaborative initiative facilitated by the National Library Board to build a national digital collection of knowledge assets about Singapore, so as to ensure that the Singapore story is continuously discovered, collected, preserved and promoted.

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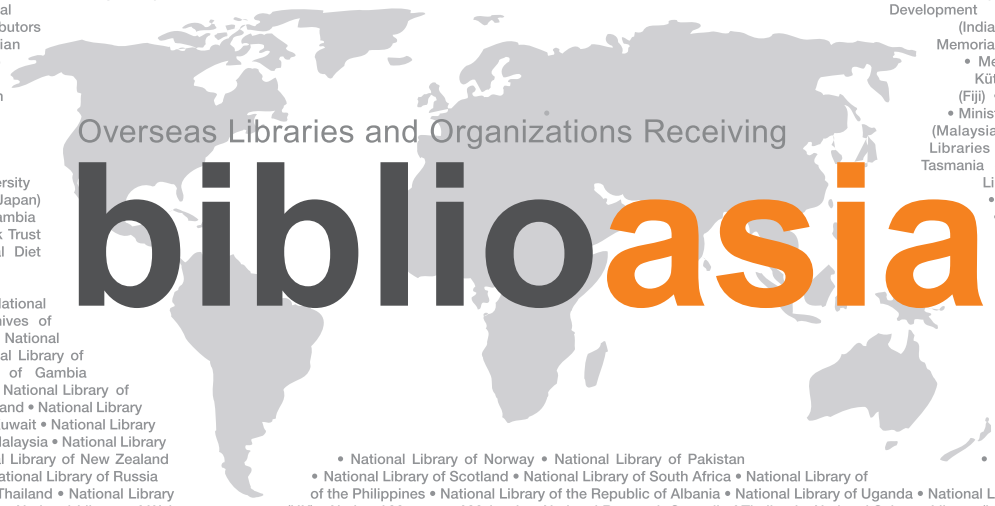

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