

**THE BEGINNING AND DEVELOPMENT OF ENGLISH BOYS'
SCHOOLS AND ENGLISH GIRLS' SCHOOLS AND SCHOOL
LIBRARIES IN THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS, 1786-1941**

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ABSTRACT

Throughout the nineteenth century, missionaries from Europe and America dominated the setting up of English boys' and girls' schools in the Straits Settlements. In 1899, there were only two known school libraries. During the 1930s, more than 70% of English schools had school libraries. In 1937, 80% of English Boys' Schools had school libraries. However, by 1935, 97% of Malay vernacular boys' schools had school libraries since they were funded by the Government. Several factors impeded the development of English school libraries. Firstly, most of these schools collected fees and were partially funded through Government grants. Secondly, there was no central book-buying agency to coordinate the importation of English books from India and Europe. The publishing and distribution of Malay books were centrally controlled by the Education Department. Thirdly, Government funding for English school libraries only began in 1939. Europe was already at war and resources were prioritized for the defense of the settlements. Fourthly, the public libraries in Singapore and Penang did not provide service to school libraries as was practiced in England. Finally, although two school library associations were established in England in 1937, the movement did not spread to the settlements.

Keywords: Schools; School libraries; Straits Settlements

INTRODUCTION

Prior to the close of the eighteenth century, Britain had no settlements along the Straits of Malacca beyond petty factories at Aceh and Kedah (Newbold 1839, 4). In 1786, the East India Company took possession of Penang (Mills 1925, 18-30). In 1795, British occupied Malacca (Turnbull 1983, 242-243). In 1819, Sir Stamford Raffles founded Singapore by making a preliminary agreement with the Temenggong authorizing the EIC to establish a European trading post on the island (Chew, 1991). In 1826, the three settlements of

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Penang, Malacca and Singapore were incorporated as the Straits Settlements, forming the fourth Presidency of India (Nunn, 1921). The Straits Settlements was transferred to the Colonial Office in London in 1867 (Nunn, 1921). The Secretary of State for the Colonies, Sir Harry Ord appointed a Select Committee in 1870, "to enquire into the state of Education in the Colony". In 1872, Mr A. M. Skinner, a young British official of the Penang Administration was appointed to the newly created post of Inspector of Schools, Straits Settlements to greatly extend and improve Malay vernacular education and to reform the existing Grants-in-aid system, which mainly applied to English schools whether they be missionary or privately run (Wong & Gwee, 1980). In 1901, the title of Inspector of Schools was changed to that of Director of Public Instruction for the Straits Settlements. For five years this Director still did the work of an Inspector in Singapore, having a civil servant under him as Superintendent of Education in Penang and an educational officer as sub-inspector in Malacca (Winstedt, 1923).

The four Malay States of Perak, Selangor and Pahang, and a small agglomeration of States lying to the North and East of Malacca called Negri Sembilan (i.e., the Nine Districts or Provinces) place themselves voluntarily under British Protection at different times. The first Malay sovereign who asked for, and obtained a British Resident was the Sultan of Perak in 1874. The first British Residents for Pahang and for all the Negri Sembilan States were appointed in 1888 and 1895, respectively. These facts must be remembered since the first steps in the direction of educating the children were only taken in each State on the initiative of the British Resident who directed its affairs, and could only be undertaken when order and honest administration had been evolved out of the chaos and corruption that had previously existed in each State (Wilkinson, 1968). Johore and the four northern states of Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan and Trengganu's suzerainty was transferred to Britain by Siam (now Thailand) in 1909. British Malaya thus consisted of three parts, the Straits Settlements, the Federated Malay States and the Unfederated Malay States (Carrington, 1956).

The schools in each state, was administered by in its own Inspector, except in Pahang, where up to 1902 the schools are so few and widely scattered that no Inspector has even yet been appointed. In 1898, a Federal Inspector of Schools, who is in reality the Director of Public Instruction for all the States, was appointed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies. He was assisted by a State Inspector, two European Assistant Inspectors, and five Native Visiting

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Teachers in Perak; a State Inspector and two Native Visiting Teachers for Selangor; and a State Inspector and one Native Visiting Teacher for Negri Sembilan. In 1899, an Education Code for all the States was compiled to provide regulations and scheme of work for the vernacular Malay. A course of four standards has been found sufficient for the Malay child attending the vernacular school to enable him to acquire the rudiments of reading and writing in his native tongue. Also, to teach him, the four simple rules as applied to abstract numbers, money currency, and weights and measures. Malay vernacular education is free except that pupils have to buy their books and other small school requirements, the cost of which is very trifling (Wilkinson, 1968).

In 1906, the Federal Inspectorship was abolished and control of education in the Colony and the Federated Malay States (FMS) was vested in one officer, a civil servant, styled Director of Education (Winstedt, 1923). The enactment for compulsory education to compel the attendance of Malay boys on government Malay schools in the Straits Settlements was the 'Ordinance No. 73 (School Attendance)' of 1902. In the FMS, enactments were introduced and put into operation in Negri Sembilan in 1900, Pahang in 1916, Perak in 1923 and Selangor in 1923. Enactments were introduced in the Unfederated Malay States (UFM) of Johore and Kedah in 1915. The various enactments were all along very much the same lines, requiring male children between the ages of 7 and 14, living two miles from his home, to attend a school for not less than 50% of the school days (Cheeseman, 1931).

In 1931, about 37% of the population in the FMS were Malays and 39% were Chinese (Table 1). The third largest racial group were the Indians with about 20%. In 1921, 44% were Malays in the FMS.

Table 1: Population in the Federated Malay States by Race in 1921 and 1931
(Source: Vlieland, 1932)

	Malay	Chinese	Indian	Eurasian	European	Others	Total
1921	239,128	224,586	130,324	973	2,047	1,997	599,055
Perak	40.0%	37.5%	21.7%	0.2%	0.3%	0.3%	100%
1931	272,546	325,527	159,152	1,270	2,359	5,135	765,989
Perak	35.6%	42.5%	20.8%	0.1%	0.3%	0.7%	100%
1921	91,787	170,687	132,545	1,596	2,467	1,927	401,009
Selangor	22.9%	42.6%	33.0%	0.4%	0.6%	0.5%	100%

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1931	122,868	241,351	155,924	2,137	2,723	8,194	533,197
Selangor	23.0%	45.2%	29.2%	0.4%	0.5%	1.5%	99.9%
							99.8
1921	77,648	65,171	33,658	519	894	872	178,762
NS	43.4%	36.4%	18.8%	0.3%	0.5%	0.5%	99.9%
1931	87,195	92,371	50,100	699	878	2,556	233,799
NS	37.3%	39.5%	21.4%	0.3%	0.4%	1.1%	100%
1921	102,258	34,104	8,692	116	278	616	146,064
Pahang	70.0%	23.3%	6.0%	0.1%	0.2%	0.4%	100%
1931	111,122	52,291	14,820	145	390	1,343	180,111
Pahang	61.7%	29.0%	8.2%	0.1%	0.2%	0.8%	100%
FMS	Malay	Chinese	Indian	Eurasian	European	Others	
1921	44.3%	35.0%	20.0%	0.3%	0.4%	0.4%	
1931	36.9%	39.0%	20.0%	0.2%	0.4%	1.0%	

In 1921, there was about 85.6% Malaysians in the UFM (excluding Johore) as shown in Table 2. In 1931, it dropped to about 82.5%. However, Malaysians were the majority race in the UMS.

Table 2 : Population in the Unfederated Malay States by Race in 1921 and 1931
(Source: Vlieland, 1932)

	Malay	Chinese	Indian	Eurasian	European	Others	Total
Johore	157,852	97,253	24,180	183	618	2,148	282,234
1921	56.0%	34.4%	8.6%	0.1%	0.2	0.7	100%
Johore	234,422	215,076	51,038	302	722	3,751	505,311
1931	46.4%	42.3%	10.0%	0.1%	0.2%	0.8%	99.9%
Kedah	237,031	59,403	33,004	75	300	8,745	338,558
1921	70.0%	17.5%	9.7%	0.02%	0.08%	2.6%	99.9%
Kedah	286,262	78,415	50,824	108	411	13,671	429,691
1931	66.6%	18.2%	11.8%	0.03	0.1%	3.2%	99.9%
Perlis	34,165	3,602	811	1	5	1,503	40,087
1921	85.2%	9.0%	2.0%	-	0.01%	3.7%	99.9%
Perlis	39,831	6,500	966	11	3	1,985	49,296
1931	80.8%	13.2%	2.0%	0.02%	0.006%	4.0%	100%
Kelantan	286,363	12,755	3,575	35	127	6,445	309,300
1921	92.6%	4.1%	1.2%	0.01%	0.04%	2.1%	100%

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Kelantan	330,774	17,612	6,752	32	124	7,223	362,517
1931	91.2%	4.9%	1.9%	0.008%	0.03%	2.0%	100%
Terengganu	145,523	7,246	211	8	34	743	153,765
1921	94.6%	4.7%	0.1%	0.005%	0.02%	0.5	99.9%
Terengganu	164,564	13,254	1,371	15	35	550	179,789
1931	91.5%	7.4%	0.8%	0.008%	0.01%	0.3%	100%
UMS*	Malay	Chinese	Indian	Eurasian	European	Others	
1921	85.6%	8.8%	3.3%	0.008%	0.03%	2.2%	
1931	82.5%	11.0%	4.0%	0.017%	0.04%	2.4%	

Note: *Computation does not include Johore.

By 1931, 43% and 23% of Malay boys aged 5 to 14 were enrolled in Malay boys' schools in the FMS and UMS as (Table 3). During the same year, less than 7%t of Malay girls in the Straits Settlements were enrolled in Malay girls' schools (Table 4).

In 1931, there were no reports of Malay girls' schools in Kelantan and Trengganu, although "at a number of the schools small girls (under 10 years of age) are to be found being taught with boys but this system of co-education is repugnant to local feeling" (Ham, 1932). In 1933, plans were made to initiate education for Malay girls in the state by Her Highness, the Tengku Ampuan (consort of His Highness the Sultan) to be opened early 1934. "Her Highness has provided the funds for the erection and maintenance of a school building to accommodate upwards of 100 girls in Kuala Trengganu" (Brown, 1934).

Table 3 : Percentage of Malaysian male population 5-14 years old in Malay schools in 1931

(Sources: Morten, 1932a; Morten,1932b; Winstedt, 1932, 22; Hall,1932; Hay, 1932; Haynes, 1932; British Advisor, 1933; Vlieland, 1932)

	Total Malay boys' schools	Total enrolment	Malay boys in the age group of 5-14	Percentage
Straits Settlements				
Singapore	19	2,583	7,352	35%
Penang	76	8,835	15,290	58%
Malacca	79	8,846	12,254	72%
Average percentage				55%
Federated Malay States				
Perak	212	15,606	34,298	44%

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Selangor	77	8,224	15,446	44%
Negri Sembilan	81	6,741	11,019	50%
Pahang	80	4,719	11,821	34%
Average percentage				43%
Unfederated Malay States				
Johore	100	8,830	29,355	30%
Kedah	82	10,828	35,617	30%
Perlis	19	1,710	4,855	35%
Kelantan	62	3,659	40,173	9%
Trengganu	20	2,212	20,257	11%
Average percentage				23%

Note: In 1932 there were 1,600, 1,499, 1,214 and 750 girls in boys' schools where there was no girls' schools in Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang (Morten, 1932b).

Table 4 : Percentage of Malaysian Female Population 5-14 years old in Malay schools in 1931 (Sources: Morten, 1932a; Morten, 1932b; Winstedt, 1932; Hall, 1932; Hay, 1932; Haynes, 1932; British Advisor, 1933; Vlieland, 1932)

	Total Malay girls' schools	Total enrolment	Malay girls in the age group of 5-14	Percentage
Straits Settlements				
Singapore	6	404	7,406	5.5%
Penang	26	1,847	14,912	12.4%
Malacca	8	326	13,036	2.5%
Average percentage				6.8%
Federated Malay States				
Perak	62	3,545	33,464	15.6%
Selangor	10	756	14,570	5.2%
Negri Sembilan	8	466	10,326	4.5%
Pahang	5	246	10,965	2.2%
				6.9%
Unfederated Malay States				
Johore	13	877	28,131	3.1%
Kedah	5	NA	35,067	NA
Perlis	4	234	4,713	5.0%
Kelantan	No girls sch	NIL	37,043	NIL
Terengganu	No girls sch	NIL	19,242	NIL

Note: In 1932 there were 1,600, 1,499, 1,214 and 750 girls in boys' schools where there was no girls' schools in Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang (Morten, 1932b).

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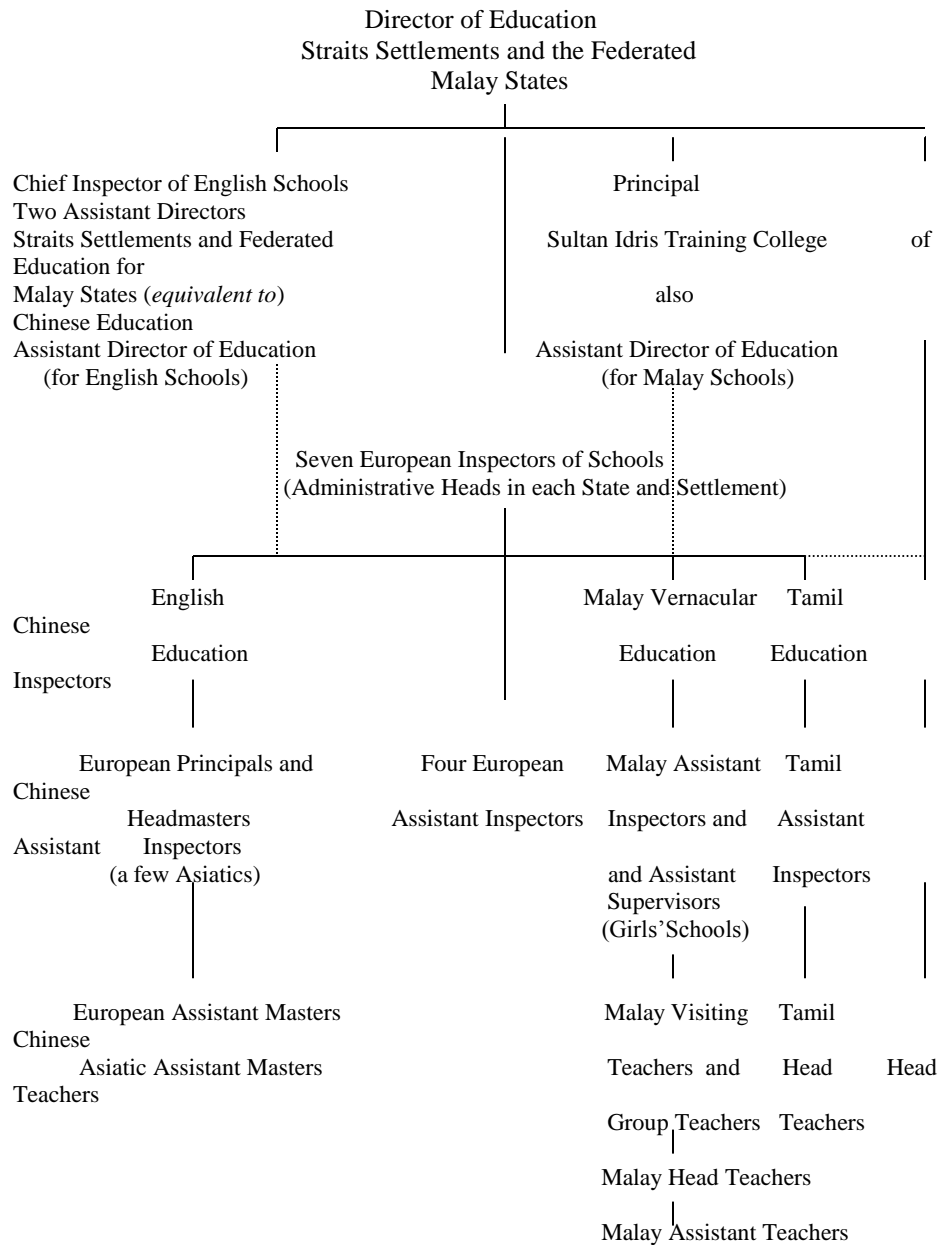


Figure 1 : The Direct Sphere of Control of the Department is the Straits Settlements and the Federated Malay States, 1906-1942 (Source: Neilson, 1934)

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As both the English and Malay schools grew in numbers and efficiency, the work of the administrative staff became heavier and more specialised. A new post of Assistant Director in charge of the Malay vernacular education in the Colony and FMS was created in 1916. In 1919, the Chief Inspector of English Schools was appointed and finally in 1924, another Assistant Director in charge of Chinese vernacular schools was installed (Winstedt, 1923). Figure 1 shows the organization chart of the Education Department.

In 1916, R. O. Winstedt was appointed to the newly created post of Assistant Director of Education (Malay), in which he served until 1923. He was promoted to the post of Director of Education in 1924, and remained in the position until he became General Advisor in Johore. In 1917, he made recommendations concerning Malay vernacular education after visiting Java and the Philippines to study their system of vernacular and industrial education. As a result of Winstedt's report, a new orientation was given to the policy governing Malay vernacular education and important measures were adopted to place more emphasis on arts and crafts in the curriculum of the Malay schools. Stress was placed on the need to teach elementary agriculture, the setting up of school gardens and the introduction of basket-making. The new orientation meant that while giving the child a sound grounding in the three basic subjects of reading, writing and arithmetic, special attention would be paid to the Malay pursuits of husbandry and handicraft (Wong & Gwee, 1980).

A major feature of British control in the Malay states was their maintenance of *de jure* Malay sultanates and a *de facto* British administration. Crucial to such a political arrangement was the preservation of the traditional Malay peasantry and the avoidance of creating new Malay aspirations which could only be frustrated for want of opportunity to fulfill them. Arising from the latter concern and influence by British experience in India, educational policy in the FMS tended to be conservative. Malay education, with the exception of the arrangements for training of Malay school teachers, remained at the rudimentary level. The Malay school curriculum till the outbreak of the Second World War, did not develop beyond the provisions for essentially a four-year primary education. The Malay schools consisted of one or two classrooms, with a minimal supply of equipment, namely, two blackboards, some chalk, a few maps and possibly a globe. The Government supplied textbooks, most of which were translations of simple English texts on geography, elementary science, hygiene and arithmetic (Loh, 1974).

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SCHOOL LIBRARIES IN THE FMS AND UFM

Richard James Wilkinson was born in 1867, the eldest son of R. Wilkinson, British Consul in Salonika. In 1889 he became a Straits Settlements cadet, with a pass in Chinese. Wilkinson was sent as Superintendent of Education at Penang in 1885; as a result he became a deputy for the Inspector of Schools (head of department) in Singapore (Gullick, 2001). In 1899, as the Straits Settlements Deputy Inspector of Schools, he initiated the publishing of Malay classics (Hikayat Isma Yatim, Hikayat Puspa Wiraja, Hikayat Sultan Ibrahim, Hikayat Mahawangsa and Bustanu-Salatin) and set up “every school with a small library” (Wilkinson, 1900). In 1902, he was the District Officer of Dindings (Winstedt, 1947).

Wilkinson became the Kuala Lumpur Inspector of Schools in 1903 (Winstedt, 1947). He was one of the few school administrators who had made the Malay language and education his special study. Under his direction, the Education Department introduced important reforms in education policy (Chai, 1964). He prepared a report on the romanizing of the Malay language and a spelling system (Conway, 1904). Wilkinson expanded the scope of textbook publication and created a *Malay Literature Series* (all published in Romanised Malay) for the government schools. He provided the Methodist Publishing House (MPH) as much work in Romanised Malay as it could handle (Hunt, 1996).

When the post of Federal Inspector of Schools was amalgamated with that of the Straits Settlements in 1906, J.B. Elcum, who held the latter post in Singapore, was appointed as Director of Education for the Colony and FMS (Chai, 1964). Wilkinson was posted as Deputy Resident for Perak, from 1907 to 1909 (Gullick, 2001). Later he was appointed British Resident for Negri Sembilan. From 1911 to 1916, he was Colonial Secretary for Singapore. From 1916 to 1922, he was Governor of Sierra Leone, a promotion which afterwards he regretted having accepted since it took him away from his Malay interests (Winstedt, 1947). From the years 1916 to 1920, 16 titles of the *Malay Literature Series* were published by MPH (Table 5).

O.T. Dussek was appointed an Assistant Director of Education in charge of Malay schools in 1924, whilst retaining his appointment as Principal of the Sultan Idris Training College (SITC), until his retirement from the Malayan Civil Service (MCS) in 1936 (Loh, 1974). When there was “some talk took place on the subject of school and village libraries” at the educational conference in 1925, Dussek gave a rough estimate of “something over 20

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books". The meeting agreed that it would be better to have a small library in each school and books to be sent to Inspectors of Schools for distribution for this purpose (Winstedt & Watson, 1925).

It is likely that the school library collection would include most if not all from the *Malay Literature Series* (Table 5) since there were not much Malay school books that were published then and the Translation Bureau was only established one year ago.

Table 5 : *Malay Literature Series* 1906-1920 and Reprints by Methodist Publishing House (MPH) (Source: Proudfoot, 1993)

Series	Title	Author
1	<i>Gemala Hikmat</i> (1906, 1907, 1918)	Sulaiman Mohammed Nur
2	<i>Pelayaran Abdullah</i> (1907, 1909, 1913, 1915)	Abdullah Abdul Kadir Munshi
3	<i>Hang Tuah</i> (1908-9, 1913-16, 1917)	Shellabear, W. G., ed
4	<i>Abdullah</i> (1907-08, 1913-16, 1917)	Abdullah Abdul Kadir Munshi
5	<i>Awang Sulung Merah Muda</i> (1907, 1914)	A. J. Sturrock & R. O. Winstedt, eds.
6	<i>Cerita Janaka</i> (1908, 1914, 1917)	A. J. Sturrock & R. O. Winstedt, eds.
7	<i>Malim Dewa</i> (1908)	A. J. Sturrock & R. O. Winstedt, eds.
8	<i>Malim Deman</i> (1908)	A. J. Sturrock & R. O. Winstedt, eds.
9	<i>Sejarah Melayu</i> (1910, 1915)	W. G. Shellabear, ed.
10	<i>Raja Muda</i> (1914)	Pawang Ana; R. O. Winstedt, eds.
11	<i>Anggun Cik Tunggal</i> (1914)	Pawang Ana
12	<i>Pantun Melayu</i> (1914)	R. J. Wilkinson & R. O. Winstedt, eds.
13	<i>Pelanduk</i> (1915)	O. T. Dussek, ed.
14	<i>Teka-Teki</i> (1918)	O. T. Dussek, ed.
15	<i>Misa Melayu</i> (1919)	R. O. Winstedt, ed.
16	<i>Bayan Budiman</i> (1920)	R. O. Winstedt, ed.

Notes: Published by Methodist Publishing House (MPH) with the support of the Government of the Federated Malay States from 1906 to 1920 (Proudfoot, 1993).

THE MALAY TRANSLATION BUREAU

In his dual role, Dussek was able to exert a considerable influence on the development of Malay education. With Winstedt's approval, Dussek's

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monolingual policy was implemented throughout the 1920s and 1930s. The teaching of English was effectively kept out of the Malay schools and the SITC (Loh, 1974). In 1935, Dussek (1935) spoke to 1,100 Malay teachers at their College reunion:

“The Malay schools must be run for those Malays who will and must remain in the villages. They must have no connection and no point of contact with English: English and Vernacular make very poor bed-fellows. There are in fact two Malayas, one the English-speaking Urban Malaya, and the other the Rural Vernacular Malaya: the one is almost unknown territory to the other. I think it is such a pity that this should be so.”

Dussek encouraged the development of the Malay language and Malay culture. In 1924, he succeeded in securing the transfer of the Malay Translation Bureau from Kuala Lumpur to SITC (Loh, 1974). The main functions of the Translation Bureau comprises of the following:

- a) The writing, translating and editing of educational publications and seeing them through the Press.
- b) The writing, translating and editing of modern novels, and seeing them through the Press.
- c) Translations for government departments.
- d) The training of probationary translators.

The translators devoted the greater part of their time to actual translation, with the editing of books and the training of probationers as their subsidiary work. The Malay writers undertook such duties as transliteration, preparation of fair copies, proof-reading and practice at original translation (Yazid Ahmad, 1931). Beginning with one translator in 1924, the Bureau had in 1930, one senior translator (Zainal Abidin bin Ahmad), three translators (Yazid bin Ahmad, Abdul Kuddus bin Muhammad and Ahmad Murad bin Nasruddin), three probationary translators, and two Malay writers (Awang Had Salleh, 1979). In 1931, there were seven translators (three under training) and two Malay writers making a total strength of nine staff (Yazid Ahmad, 1931). However, the total editorial staff was reduced to seven in 1934 (Morten, 1934) as compiled in Table 6.

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Table 6 : Editorial Staff Strength of the Malay Translation Bureau 1924, 1929 – 1931 & 1933 (Sources: ^oYazid Ahmad ,1931; ¹Watson, 1930; ²Winstedt, 1931; ³Morten, 1934)

Posts	1924 ^o	1929 ¹	1930 ²	1931 ^o	1933 ³
Senior translator	-	-	1	1	1
Translator	1	4	3	3	4*
Probationary translator	-	-	3	3	-
Malay writer	-	1	2	2	2
	1	5	9	9	7

Note: *Two were Grade 2 and another two, Grade 3 (Morten, 1934).

Dussek wanted to develop the Malay Translation Bureau along the same lines of Balai Pustaka after visiting the organization in Indonesia in 1931. His short term aspirations were to publish as many books as possible for Malay schools; and to provide and issue extensive reading materials for the general Malay population.

Dussek's long term objectives were:

- a) To publish publications embracing all arts and sciences.
- b) To publish sufficient books of secondary and higher standards.
- c) To establish mobile libraries to reach the villages.
- d) To transport books to villages for sale.

Balai Pustaka was founded in 1908, initially with the reprinting of old Javanese and Malay texts in truly excellent editions with the hope of bringing the Indonesian closer to his own indigenous culture (Kroef, 1950). By 1927, Balai Pustaka became a full-fledged organization, with an editorial department, translation department, a library department and a fully equipped printing plant run by 250 staff (Teeuw, 1972).

Dussek could not realize his short term plans with limitations since the approval to recruit and employ more editorial staff in the Bureau was not granted (Abdullah Sanusi Ahmad, 1966). Winstedt's idea in as far as school books were concerned, was perhaps, to publish, just the minimum, and to do just that, no Balai Pustaka was necessary. It would appear as though he, like his predecessor, Wilkinson, carried out the work of publishing Malay books as a matter of personal interest rather than one of national policy (Awang Had Salleh, 1979).

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The Bureau had two series of publications, namely the *Malay School Series* under which 48 standard work for subjects taught in the Malay schools and colleges had been published up to 1936 (Abdullah Sanusi Ahmad, 1966), and the *Malay Home Library Series* which was started in 1929, and under which 40 books, in *jawi* had been produced since 1936 (Abdullah Sanusi Ahmad, 1966).

The cost of production was reduced to a minimum by issuing many copies and by cutting out all royalties and publishers' profit. The publishing generally range from 5,000 to 10,000 copies and sometimes to 40,000 copies for the *Malay School Series*. All copies are expected to be sold out within five years. Booksellers' charges were also eliminated, as sales were conducted by the printers and the Translation Bureau (Yazid Ahmad, 1931). While the Translation Bureau was the publisher of these series, the list of books in Appendices B and C show that the main printers of these books were MPH and Printers Limited (part of the Fraser & Neave soft drink company), showing the dominance of the European printers. This is a continuation of an earlier trend (Kelly & Walsh and MPH dominating Malay school book publishing) from about 1887 to the 1920s as shown in Proudfoot's (1986) study.

Private publishing houses could not compete with the Translation Bureau which dominated Malay book publishing as they are well written and are also cheaper. This seemed to have led Syed Sheikh Al-Hadi, then a well-known Islamic reformist, writer, journalist and publisher, to leave novel writing after 1931 (Lie, 1968). When textbooks were published during colonial rule, they were based on foreign models and reflected the orientations and policies of the colonial authorities. Indigenous publishers were rare, and educational authorities had little expertise in textbook production and distribution (Altbach, 1983).

In 1937, among the FMS, it was reported that all 86 Malay boys' schools in Negri Sembilan have small libraries (Cowgill, 1938) as shown in Table 7. In Selangor, all the Malay boys' schools have small libraries (Jones, 1938). *Warta Malaya*, a Singapore daily Malay newspaper, and the *Majallah Guru*, a monthly magazine, were supplied free by the Government and the Malay Teachers' Association respectively. There are no known records in the annual reports on the education of Malay boys school libraries in Perak and Pahang. Even if there were Malay boys' school libraries in these states, they are likely to be "small libraries" with a limited number of 30 books as recommended in the Education Code of 1936 (Education Department, 1936). All schools were

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supplied with text-books and readers produced by the Translation Bureau. However, the supply of certain textbooks to the pupils in Selangor was inadequate (Adams, 1934).

In 1937, it was reported that Keir (1938) noted that “the number of books is increasing yearly but with the present resources of the Bureau it will take a long time for the urgent needs of the schools to be adequately supplied”. In the following year, the shortage of Malay books continued to be reported:

“The Translation Bureau was responsible for publishing and reprinting 18 school books, 10 of which were available for schools before the end of the year. There were eight other new books or revised editions of school books in various preparation and not completed. Sixty one bills, enactments and documents of various kinds, mostly legal nature, were translated for the state secretariats and for government department” (Lineham, 1939).

Balai Pustaka began to publish Malay books in 1919 (Zubiadah Isa, 1972). From 1926 to 1938, 628 new Malay books and 19 reprints were published by Balai Pustaka (Zubiadah Isa, 1972). The Malays in British Malaya bought modern reading matter heavily from the NEI, with the result that British Malaya was flooded with outside publications which were frequently unsuitable in style and never adapted to local needs (Yazid Ahmad, 1931).

According to Yong (1970), with the dearth of suitable books, it is likely that the most well-known Indonesian works published during the period 1924 to 1930 were bought and they would have been found in the SITC library and read by students. From 1929 to 1931, when writer Abdullah Sidek was a student at SITC, he spent all his spare time in the library because he like to read the Indonesian books and magazines and was therefore appointed as an assistant librarian (Lie, 1968). According to one estimate in 1934, there were about 600 books. Some were donated, some Malay books were bought by the College and some were from Indonesia (Awang Had Salleh, 1979).

With reference to Table 8 on the number of Malay vernacular boys' schools in the UFM from 1935 to 1938 the existence of school libraries were not mentioned in each of the respective state's annual reports on education from the years 1932 to 1938. In 1938 all schools in Kelantan used the text-books adopted for the Straits Settlements and the FMS and where possible Malay

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newspapers were also provided for the use of schools (Baker, 1939). It is likely that the other UMS adopted the same practice for school books like Kelantan.

Table 7: Average Enrolment in Malay Vernacular Boys' Schools in the Federated Malay States, 1935-1938

(Sources: *Annual Report on the Social and Economic Progress of the People of Perak, 1935-1938*; *Annual Report on the Social and Economic Progress of the People of Selangor, 1935-1938*; *Annual Report on the Social Progress of the People of Negri Sembilan, 1935-1938*; *Annual Report on the Social and Economic Progress of the People of Pahang, 1935-1938*.)

Malay vernacular boys' schools	1935	1936	1937	1938
Federated Malay States				
Perak	222	224	229	231
Average enrolment	17,430	19,109	21,361	23,996
Average attendance	16,074	17,738	19,733	22,151
Selangor	78	79	80	80
Average enrolment	8,654	9,551	9,957	9,710
Average attendance	8,340	8,974	9,408	9,106
Negri Sembilan	81	82	84	86
Average enrolment	6,821	7,262	9,473	9,782
Average attendance	6,419	6,859	8,838	9,241
Pahang	84	87	90	94
Average enrolment	4,959	5,545	6,199	7,015
Average attendance	4,504	5,114	5,618	6,393

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Table 8 : Average Enrolment in Malay Vernacular Boys' Schools in the Unfederated Malay States, 1935-1938

(Sources: *Annual report on the social and economic progress of the people of Johore, 1935-1938*; *Annual report on the social and economic progress of the people of the State of Kedah, 1935-1938*; *Annual report on the social and economic progress of the people of the State of Perlis, 1935-1938*; *Annual report on the social and economic progress of the people of the State of Kelantan, 1935-1938*; *Annual report on the social and economic progress of the people of the State of Terengganu, 1935-1938*.)

Malay vernacular boys' schools Unfederated Malay States	1935	1936	1937	1938
Johore	111	119	121	134
Average enrolment	10,849	12,544	14,366	15,907
Teachers	416	447	487	563
Kedah	NA	82	82	NA
Average enrolment	10,132	10,504	11,204	NA
Average attendance				
Perlis	20	NA	NA	25
Average enrolment	2,411	2,887	3,131	2,703
[] indicates girls in boys' schools	[359 girls]	[537 girls]	[666 girls]	[754]
Kelantan	58	59	NA	62
Average enrolment	4,863	NA	4,938	5,750
Average attendance	[411]	NA	4,243	5,053
Terengganu				
Average enrolment	20	20	20	26
Average attendance	1,830	1,890	2,157	NA
	1,618	NA	NA	NA

Going through the annual education reports of the Straits Settlements, FMS and UFM, there were no mention or records of school libraries in Malay vernacular girls' schools. There are two possible contributing factors why there were hardly any school libraries in Malay girls' schools. Firstly, the first Malay Women's Training College (MWTC) was only opened in 1935 in Malacca to train Malay women to be teachers in Malay girls' schools. During their two years at the college, the trainees were taught arithmetic, reading and writing in both romanised and Arabic scripts, composition, history, geography, nature study, domestic science, hygiene, principles of teaching, religious knowledge,

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singing, drill and games, drawing, sewing and craftwork (Lomas, 1940). Secondly, “the curriculum has a very definite bias towards domestic science and life at home” as it was envisaged that 95% of Malay girls leave school to stay at home and later to marry and make a home of their own. Thirdly, the beginning and growth of Malay girls’ schools lagged behind the boys’ schools for cultural reasons. In Malay families, young girls were always confined to their homes and taught the art of housewifery, perfected over the years under the watchful eyes of their mothers. Their parents were fearful of allowing girls to traverse streets or paths unaccompanied, whilst to escort a child to school daily is an exacting task in the tropics (Winstedt, 1923). The first girls’ school was started in the Straits Settlements in Singapore in 1884 (Hill, 1885). In Pahang, the first Malay girls’ school was opened in Pekan in 1914 although education for Malay girls is not compulsory. By 1938, there were only six girls’ schools in Pahang (Brown, 1939). The first Malay girls’ school was opened in Terengganu in 1934 (Brown, 1934) and in Kelantan in 1936 (Moubray, 1939). There was a slow growth of Malay girls schools from 1935 to 1938. AS such, the beginning and growth of “small libraries” in Malay schools in British Malaya from 1900 to 1938 was very much a phenomenon in Malay boys schools. There was also no know school libraries in Malay girls’ schools in the Straits Settlements from 1884 to 1939 (Lim, 2008).

Table 9 : Average Enrolment in Malay Vernacular Girls’ Schools in the Federated Malay States, 1935-1938

(Sources: *Annual Report on the Social and Economic Progress of the People of Perak, 1935-1938*; *Annual Report on the Social and Economic Progress of the People of Selangor, 1935-1938*; *Annual Report on the Social Progress of the People of Negri Sembilan, 1935-1938*; *Annual Report on the Social and Economic Progress of the People of Pahang, 1935-1938*.)

Malay vernacular girls’ schools	1935	1936	1937	1938
Federated Malay States				
Perak	62	62	62	59
Average enrolment	3,672	3,966	4,244	4,707
Average attendance	3,355	3,668	3,879	4,319
Selangor	7	7	7	7
Average enrolment	776	905	996	962
Average attendance	728	843	937	901
Negri Sembilan	8	8	6	6

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Average enrolment	419	526	466	479
Average attendance	387	495	434	443
Pahang	5	5	6	6
Average enrolment	215	237	283	318
Average attendance	188	215	258	293

Table 10 : Average Enrolment in Malay Vernacular Girls' Schools in the Unfederated Malay States, 1935-1938

(Sources: Annual report on the social and economic progress of the people of Johore, 1935-1938; Annual report on the social and economic progress of the people of the State of Kedah, 1935-1938; Annual report on the social and economic progress of the people of the State of Perlis, 1935-1938; Annual report on the social and economic progress of the people of the State of Kelantan, 1935-1938; Annual report on the social and economic progress of the people of the State of Terengganu, 1935-1938.)

Malay vernacular girls' schools	1935	1936	1937	1938
Unfederated Malay States				
Johore	15	17	18	21
Average enrolment	1,305	1,570	1,799	2,236
Average attendance	59	63	76	85
Kedah		5	5	
Average enrolment	NA	449	529	NA
Average attendance	NA	NA	NA	NA
Perlis	4	4	4	4
	NA	147	432	434
Kelantan	Nil	1*	NA	1
Average enrolment	Nil	95	NA	100
Average attendance	Nil	NA	NA	NA
Terengganu	NA	NA	1	2
Average enrolment	NA	NA	NA	NA
Average attendance	NA	NA	NA	NA

Note: *First girls' school open in Kelantan in 1936 (Moubray, 1937).

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CONCLUSION

In studying the development of Malay schools and school libraries in the FMS and UMS and the role of the Education Department and the Translation Bureau from 1924 until 1941, it is possible to see issues and challenges affecting the promotion of literacy in schools. Prior to the Second World War, the Raffles Junior Library was established in Singapore in 1923 as an extension to the Raffles Library, the first of its kind in British Malaya. The library only provided an initial collection of 1,000 English books for young subscribers (Kloss, 1924). However, there were only English books and library services to Malay schools to the FMS and none for the UMS. The Annual Reports of the Raffles Junior Library from 1923 to 1939 show no records on the provision for school library services to Malay schools and Malay school libraries. In England, during the 1900s, public library school co-operation took three principal forms namely, the encouragement of children in schools to use the public library, visits of classes to the public library and the provisions of collections of books to schools (Ellis, 1968).

To be literate in terms of reading and writing in *jawi* and *rumi* in the Malay language, Malay children could attend the Government Malay boys' and girls' schools in the FMS and UMS. However, there was more literacy among Malay boys' than girls' since 43% and 23% of Malay boys aged between 5 to 14 years in the FMS and UMS respectively were enrolled in Malay schools in 1931 (Table 3). Less than 7% of Malay girls in the same age group in the FMS and UMS were enrolled in Malay girls schools in 1931 as (Table 4). Moreover, there were no known school libraries in the Malay girls' schools.

In 1944, Winstedt, after his retirement stated that "the rural vernacular school should come to be the centre of village intellectual life and to minister to its material needs. It should have a lending library for adults." Perhaps, looking back, he realized that he did not do enough to expand the Malay Translation Bureau (by emulating Balai Pustaka) and develop school libraries further as they were also meant to serve the pupils' parents and village folks. Winstedt went on to state that:

"Vernacular education can never succeed it is preferred merely on the score of cheapness. Ideas require money to carry them into effect, and poverty has put too many colonial administrators into the shoes of Aristotle's shabby man, who always thinks he is doing things on a greater scale than necessary, hesitates at every stage how he can spend

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the least, and, even when he is spending a great deal, spoils the effect of a trifle. One may hope that such years of parsimony are numbered.”

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