The history of an emerging multilingual public library system and the role of mobile libraries in post colonial Singapore, 1956-1991

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ABSTRACT

This paper traces the historical background and development of public library services in postcolonial Singapore from 1956-1991, with special emphasis on multilingual public library system and the role of mobile libraries. After Sir Stamford Raffles founded Singapore in 1819 on behalf of the East India Company he planned to establish a college with a multilingual library. However, it began as an elementary school library (1823-1844) with English books, and evolved into a proprietary library (1844-1874), Government library (1874-1941), Japanese library (1942-1945) and Government library (1945-1958). In 1956 the library began to source books in the vernacular languages. In 1958 it became a National Library and public library. Two part-time branches and two mobile libraries known as the Library Extension were set up in 1960. By 1963, there were 7 per cent Malay books, 19 per cent Chinese books, 6 per cent Tamils books, and 68 per cent English books. The mobile library service points increased from 2 in 1964 to 12 in 1969. During the mid-1960s and up to 1970 the Library Extension Unit had about 20 per cent membership of the total public library system. Although Raffles wanted his proposed institution to have a multilingual library in 1823, it was not until 1970 that the library evolved into one when there was sufficient collection to make it into a multilingual public library system. After eight full-time branch libraries were gradually set up from 1970 to 1988, the mobile library services were gradually reduced and terminated in 1991.

Keywords: Public libraries; Mobile libraries; Library history; Children library services; School libraries; National Library of Singapore.

INTRODUCTION

Singapore is an island at the south extremity of the Malay Peninsula. It was then a fishing village until Sir Stamford Raffles founded a settlement on it in 1819 by virtue of a treaty with the Johore princes, and later acquired a title for the whole island. The new Settlement was initially subordinate to Bencoolen in Sumatra. In 1823 it was placed under the Government of Bengal and in 1826 it was united with Penang and Malacca to form the Straits Settlements (Jarman 1998).

The island is in an elliptical shape, about 27 miles in its greatest length, and 15 miles in its greatest breath, containing an estimated area of about 270 square miles (Crawfurd 1830, 529). The immigrant communities that came into Singapore were from China, India and the

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Netherlands East Indies (Saw 1969). The percentage distribution of the various racial groups from the years 1871 to 1991 (Table 1) showed that the Chinese were the majority race with more than 70 per cent, followed by the Malays with more than 13 per cent and the Indians with about 7 per cent out of the total population. The smallest minority racial groups were the Eurasians and European with consisting of less than one per cent of the total population by 1970.

Year	Malays	Chinese	Indians	Eurasians	Europeans	Others	Total
1871	26,148	54,572	11,610	2,164	1,946	671	97,111
	27.0%	56.2%	12.0%	2.2%	2.0%	0.6%	100%
1901	36,080	164,041	17,823	4,120	3,824	2,667	228,555
	15.8%	71.8%	7.8%	1.8%	1.7%	1.1%	100%
1931	65,014	418,640	50,811	6,903	8,082	8,275	557,745
	11.6%	75.1%	9.1%	1.2%	1.5%	1.5%	100%
1957	197,059	1,090,596	124,084	11,382	10,826%	11,982	1,445,929
	13.6%	75.4%	8.6%	0.7%	0.7%	0.8%	100%
1970	311,379	1,579,866	145,169	11,122	18,336	8,635	2,074,507
	15.0%	76.1%	7.0%	0.6%	0.9%	0.4%	100%
	Malays	Chinese	Indians	Others			Total
1990	408,000	2,252,700	229,500		126,200		
	13.5%	74.7%	7.6%		4.2%		100%

Table 1: Population of Singapore in Selected Years by Race,				
1871, 1901, 1931, 1957, 1970 and 1990.				

Sources: MacNair (1871); Innes (1901); Vlieland (1932); Chua (1964); Arumainathan (1973); Lau (1991)

BEGINNING AND EVOLUTION OF THE RAFFLES LIBRARY AND MUSEUM UNDER BRITISH AND JAPANESE COLONIAL RULE, 1823-1959

Sir Stamford Raffles should be credited for writing the first education policy for his new settlement in 1819 (Raffles 1991a), and, thereafter in formulating his education policy in 1823, incorporating a Library and a Museum as part of his education scheme to set up the Singapore Institution (Raffles 1991b). Raffles' account of his educational schemes was intended for the Malay Peninsula, Singapore and the Indonesian Archipelago. It was designed to include not only the principal peoples of the Malay Peninsula, but also the Javanese, the Bugis, the Siamese and the other people from the surrounding islands (Hough 1933). Hence the Library of the of the proposed Institution was to have a multilingual collection of Malay, Bugis, Javanese, Siamese and English manuscripts or books, including the predominately Chinese library of the Anglo Chinese College which was expected to merge with the Institution. The College Library contained 3,380 volumes, 2,850 were in the Chinese language. The other books were in the English, French, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, Bengalee, Tamil, Malayan and Siamese languages (Morrison 1823).

In June 1823, Raffles left Singapore for the last time (Tan 1999). In 1830 the Presidency in Penang was abolished and the three settlements were placed under the Government of Bengal. In 1832 the seat of government of the Straits Settlements was transferred from Penang to Singapore (Braddell 1921).

The beginning and evolution of the Raffles Library under colonial rule can be seen in five phases, namely:

- (a) School Library (1823-1844),
- (b) Proprietary Library (1844-1874),
- (c) Government Library under British rule (1874-1941),
- (d) Government Library under the Japanese Military Administration (1942-1945), and
- (e) Government Library under British rule (1946-1958).

In 1958 the Raffles Library became a National Library and public library system. The following year a new locally elected government was established, signaling, thereafter, the postcolonial era for Singapore. The following five sub-sections present the beginning and evolution of the Raffles Library under colonial rule in each phase.

Phase 1 - School Library (1823-1844)

The Singapore Free School began in 1834 in an unoccupied house with 32 boys in the elementary English classes, 18 boys in the elementary Tamil classes, 12 in the elementary Malay and 12 in the elementary Chinese classes (Buckley 1902, 128). This was far from the planned Malayan College of higher education that Raffles first publicly announced in 1823 (Harrison 1983). The Institution building was not completely erected until 1837 (Buckley 1902). The earliest accessible record of the proposed Singapore Institution and its library and Museum was in the third annual report (1836-37) of the Singapore Free School (Hanitsch 1921, 521). On page 8 there is a short list of book presented to the school, with the remark: *"The few books which form the School Library are in constant circulation among the boys and their friends."* On page 9 it reports that *"funds will be required to furnish a library and museum, in which books given to the institution and all such specimens of the natural history of these regions as can be collected shall be kept "* (Singapore Free School 1837, 8-9). This is the first known record of a school library for the English classes of the Singapore Free School (Singapore Institution Free School 1838).

The reports for the years 1843-1844 and 1844-1845 issued in one volume contained the statement that "the western wing of the Institution has been allowed for the use of the Singapore Library, and the books belonging to the Institution Library have been lent to the Managing Committee", for as long a period as they may require (Singapore Institution Free School 1845, 10-11). Thus ends the first phase in the history of the library.

Phase 2 – Proprietary Library (1844-1874)

So far the Library had distinctly been a school library, though it was open to anyone on payment of a small fee (i.e. twenty-five cents a month); but whether the Museum existed only in name, and whether and what specimens it contained, cannot be gathered from the school reports. The second period of the history of the Library (and later on of the Museum as well) dates from the 13 August 1844 when a meeting was held to consider the proposal of the establishment of a public library in Singapore, to be called the Singapore Library. There were 34 original shareholders, all Europeans; each paid 30 Spanish dollars and also a monthly subscription of \$2.50.

In 1849 a Museum was established in connection with the Singapore Library, with a view principally to the collection of objects to illustrate the General History and Archaeology of Singapore and the Eastern Archipelago (Hanitsch 1921).

Phase 3 – Government Library and Museum (1874-1941)

On 1 April 1867 the Straits Settlements were transferred from the control of the Indian Government to that of the Secretary of State for the Colonies in London (Jarman 1998). In 1874 the Government decided to establish a museum for the collection of objects of natural history and to combine a public library with it, the old "Singapore Library" was taken over. On the suggestion of Sir Andrew Clarke, the then Governor, the double institution was called Raffles Library and Museum. The old library was originally housed in the Raffles Institution (formerly known as the Singapore Institution Free School), but in 1862, it was removed to the Town Hall. In 1876 the Library and Museum were taken back to Raffles Institution and housed in the first and second floors of the new wing. There they remained until 1887 (Hanitsch 1989). A new Library and Museum was built at the foot of Fort Canning and the junction of Stamford Road and Orchard Road and was opened on 12 October 1887 (Hanitsch 1921).

There were no reports on the nationalities of subscribers until 1904. Seventy-two per cent or 225 of the total 311 subscribers were English. If the English and other Europeans were put together, they make up of 81 per cent or 252 of the subscribers. The other 59 subscribers consisted mostly of Asians (Hanitsch 1905). From 1908 the annual reports were known as the *Raffles Museum and Library Report* instead from the earlier reports entitled the *Raffles Library and Museum Report*. Perhaps there were more focus or attention spent on the development of the museum than the library.

Subscribers by Race	1921	1931
British	557	936
Other Europeans	20	50
Europeans	577 (81%)	986 (74%)
Chinese	59	196
Eurasians	39	68
Indians	24	52
Malay	7	9
Others	6	25
	(%)	(%)
Total subscribers	712°	1,336 ¹
European population over 15 years old	5,129²	6,964³
Percentage of subscribers	11%	14%
Chinese population over 15 years old	249,399²	309,972 ³
Percentage of subscribers	0.02 %	0.06%
Eurasian population over 15 years old	3,568²	4,298³
Percentage of subscribers	1.1%	1.6%
Indian population over 15 years old	27,936²	44,144 ³
Percentage of subscribers	0.08%	0.02%
Malay population over 15 years old	37,708 ²	47,231 ³
Percentage of subscribers	0.01%	0.01%

Table 2: Subscribers of the Raffles Museum and Library by Race, 19	921 and 1931
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Sources: Moulton (1922); Chasen (1935); Nathan (1922); Vlieland (1932).

During the years 1921 and 1931, the majority of the subscribers continue to be Europeans taking up 81 per cent (Moulton 1922) and 74 per cent (Chasen 1935) of all subscribers. Eleven and 14 per cent of the total European population age 15 and above were

subscribers of the Raffles Library for the years 1921 and 1931 respectively. Among the local immigrant community, only one per cent of the English speaking Eurasian aged 15 and above was subscribers of the Library for the years 1921 and 1931 because it served the various communities that were literate in English with English books and periodicals. Only one per cent of the Eurasian population aged 15 and above was member of the Raffles Library in 1921 and 1931. Less than one per cent of the Malay, Chinese and Tamil population were members of the Raffles Library as compiled in Table 2.

The Raffles Junior Library

On 21 July 1923 the Raffles Junior Library was opened with an initial stock of 1,000 books published in the English medium. The Junior Library was the first public children's library in Singapore and British Malaya (Kloss 1924). However, only one per cent of children aged 5 to 14 were subscribers of the Raffles Junior Library in 1931 (Table 3). By gender, two per cent of boys of the same age group were subscribers and less than one per cent of the age group were girl subscribers.

All races		All races		
Boys age 5-14	51,620	Boys subscribers	989	2 %
Girls age 5-14	47,318	Girls subscribers	186	0.4 %
Total age 5-14	98,938	Total subscribers	1,175	1.2 %
Total age 5-14	98,938	Boys and girls in English schools	13,153	13%
		Malay boys and girls in Malay schools	2,987	3%
		Chinese boys and girls in Chinese schools	20,780	21%

Table 3: Percentage of Boys and Girls Aged 5 to 14 who were Members of the Raffles Junior Library and Percentage of Children Aged 5 to 14 in English Schools in 1931

Sources: Vlieland (1932); Chasen (1935); Morten (1932)

Phase 4 - The Raffles Library and Museum under the Japanese Military Administration (1942-1945)

The Japanese invaded Singapore in February 1942 and occupied the island until its formal surrender in September 1945 (Tan and Quah 1996). On the surrender of Singapore the Japanese administration re-established the former municipal departments by re-instating their local staffs and retaining about a hundred British civilian internees to assist until replacements could arrive from Japan (Corner 1981).

The Botanical Gardens and Raffles Museum were renamed Syonan Botanical Gardens and Syonan Museum under the Department of Education of the Syonan Tokubetsu-Si (Syonan Municipality). Both museum and the garden were open to the public since 29 April 1942 (Editor 1942). The "Popular Library" (*Tsuzoku Tosyokan*) was opened on 1 February 1943 in the former St Andrew's School located near the building of the Raffles Library and Museum. It consisted entirely of Japanese books and papers, and only the Japanese were allowed to use it. The upper floor of the building had become, for the most part, a dump for the fiction books of the former Raffles Library, which, itself was never open to the public during Japanese rule. Corner (1981) wrote that "it was likely a policy of the Department of Education to eradicate western influence" (Corner 1981, 123).

Phase 5 – Government Library under British Rule (1946-1957)

The liberation of Singapore on 5 September 1945 marked the resumption of authority of the British Crown. On the same day, too, the British Military Administration (BMA) was established under the authority of the Supreme Allied Commander to restore the civil government and rehabilitate the country (Hone 1946). The BMA was also in charge with the task of reporting upon monuments, buildings of historic interest, museums and libraries, of which it reported that the Raffles Library had lost over 500 books of reference (Donnison 1956). The Singapore Colony was instituted on 27 March 1946, one day after the termination of the BMA. The settlement was separated from the settlements of Penang and Malacca to become a separate British colony (McKerron 1947).

The earliest available annual report of the Raffles Library and Museum was in 1948 stating that "the Director returned from leave on 2 April 1948." (Tweedie 1949, 1). Anuar (1973) reported that in 1948, there was no national library, no university library or polytechnic libraries, no public library system, no local qualified library and no library association. Little would have been done considering there was one temporary librarian throughout the year and the whole of the museum and library were renovated during the year (Tweedie 1949). From 1949 to 1954 four different temporary librarians were appointed (Tweedie 1950; 1951; 1953; 1955)

By 1953 the adult department of the library had far outgrown the rooms it had occupied since 1916, and the offer of \$375,000 by the Lee Foundation, a charitable and educational foundation, started by Mr Lee Kong Chian, Singapore's leading industrialist and rubber king, encouraged the government to proceed with the erection of a new library and the modernization of the library service. Conditions of the grant were that no charges were to be made for the loan of books and that books in the vernacular languages commonly spoken in Singapore was well as in English and other European languages should be provided (Harrod 1961).

In 1955 a coalition Government was set up under the leadership of the Labour Front party. The portfolio of the new Minister for Education, Mr Chew Swee Kee, included not only Education but also the Raffles Museum and Raffles Library (McLellan 1957). In the same year Raffles Library was separated from the Museum. From this time onwards the Director, L. M. Harrod "has always been a professional with full authority and control of the library" (Ng 1964, 31). Harrod was formerly Chief Librarian and Curator, Islington Public Libraries, and his appointment was specially connected with the establishment of a new Public Library and a system of libraries for the Colony (Tweedie 1955).

The greatest problem has been the recruitment of staff. Apart from two European assistants, one of whom was qualified, only two of the local staff in 1954 had a general education which was good enough to enable them to study librarianship. No further qualified senior librarians were recruited, despite the urgent need. This made the task of providing an improved library service and training junior assistants in library techniques and in the philosophy of librarianship extremely difficult. It also made it difficult to establish and maintain a good standard of service (Harrod 1961). The first library group or association, the Malayan Library Group (MLG) was formed in 1955, 40 were from Singapore and 14 from the Federation of Malaya. There were about half-a-dozen qualified librarians, only one of whom as a local person (Anuar 1960a). In contrast the American Library Association (LA) and the Library Association (LA) of the United Kingdom were established in 1876 and 1877 respectively (Olle 1977).

THE BEGINNING OF A MULTILINGUAL PUBLIC LIBRARY SYSTEM

In 1956 a beginning was made in providing books for both adults and children in the vernacular languages in Singapore. The total amount of books in these languages which were purchased was small due to the fact that no one with knowledge of these languages has yet been appointed to the staff. The selection of books therefore, had to be done with the assistance of volunteers. Altogether 375 books, of which 13 were for children were added (Harrod 1957).

Before 1956, the book provided in the Raffles Library were almost entirely in English, apart from small collections in French, German and other European languages, and a rare valuable number of Malay and Arabic books and manuscripts. Yet in 1947 when Singapore's population was nearly one million, only ten per cent of its people were literate in English. The policy of the government in administration and other fields stressed the desirability of acquiring an English education, while the vernacular languages were ignored and neglected (Anuar 1960b). Although a policy was carried out to provide books in the vernacular languages like Malay, Chinese and Tamil in 1956, it was not until 1963 and after that, sufficient books in this language mediums were made available as depicted in Table 4.

	-0	Su	ubscribers	0	û	0	
Types of membership	1957	1959	1960	1962	1963	1964	1965
Adult	4,186	9,800	10,686	17,374	18,065	21,995	24,933
Junior	4,442	21,393	34,056	53,266	59,081	72,573	79.444
Total	8,628	31,319	44,742	70,640	77,146	94,568	104,377
Percentage of Junior	51%	69%	76%	75%	77%	77%	76%
		Library c	ollection (B	ooks)			
Language		1959			1963		
Chinese		2,000			30,000		
		1.3%			19%		
English		142,000			109,000		
		97%			68%		
National Language*		1,000			12,000		
		0.7%			7%		
Tamil		1,500			9,000		
		1.0%			6%		
Total		146,500			160,000		
		Types of	books borr	owed			
Language		1959	1960	1962	1963	1964	1965
Chinese		17,726	40,650	87,242	112,913	140,303	178,855
English		631,541	650,454	538,129	578,435	640,575	641,581
National Language*		1,149	5,434	17,499	30,768	47,114	48,442
Tamil		3,760	6,141	11,994	22,359	21,636	24,323
Total		654,176	702,779	654,864	744,475	849,628	893,201

Table 4: Subscribers, Library Collection, and Types of Books Borrowed from the Raffles Library (1957), Raffles National Library (1958-1960) and National Library (1960-1965)

Note: *National Language means Malay language.

Sources: Ministry of Culture (1960); National Library (1964); National Library (1966)

Very few Chinese and Tamil books were published in Singapore or Malaya, as such they have to be imported from China and many of these had a Communist influence. Both the Singapore and the Malayan governments issued list of publishers whose books were banned. Almost all Tamil publications had to be imported from South India. The publishing of Malay literature was extremely limited. There were few native writers who wrote consistently in Malay. Most of the reading materials published in Malay were in the form of newspapers and cheap periodicals. Very few children's books were printed in Malay. Most of the Malay books available in Singapore were published in Indonesia. There are slight differences in the spelling between Indonesian Malay and the Malay written in Singapore and Malay. But with a little practice, these Indonesian books could be read easily (Harrod 1959).

The National Library of Singapore, 1958-1995

The Raffles Library was transformed into a free public library with the enactment of the Raffles National Library Ordinance (No. 31 of 1957) which took effect on 1 April 1958 (Harrod 1961). The Bill replaces the provisions of the Raffles Societies Ordinance and the key changes were as follows:

- a) Clause 4 of the Bill constitutes the Raffles National Library...The new library will replace the old Raffles Library and it is hoped to build new premises for the library and to extend the equipment and facilities. The new library will be a free library and the provision of mobile library services will be included in its activities.
- b) Clause 5 of the Bill sets out the functions of the Raffles National Library. The opportunity had has been taken to include among the functions of the library those recommended for national libraries by UNESCO (Anuar 1975, 22-23).

It is believed that this Ordinance is the only legislation to provide for one library organization to be both a free public library, a national library and also a bibliographical and book exchange centre. This most modern conception of a national library service was evolved at the UNESCO Seminar which was held at Delhi in 1955. It was here that librarians and educationists from all over Asia met to consider what a national library service should provide in countries where such services did not exist, or if they did exist were in the early stage of development.

Members of the Raffles Library have always paid a subscription was well as a deposit, and by doing away with subscriptions. The discontinuance of subscriptions was a major change affecting the use of the Raffles National Library. There were already more child than adult members and the number of children using the libraries had increased considerably and also of adults using the part-time branch libraries (Harrod 1958a). Table 5 shows the significant increase of the Raffles Junior library membership, which increased twofold from 1954 to 1959.

In Britain the public library movement began with the passing of the first Public Library Act 1850 granting permission for local cities and towns to establish public Libraries (Molz 2001). On the other hand, initiatives toward the creation of public libraries in the United States began within local and state governments after the 1850s (Clement 1996). Thus Singapore public library legislation began more than 100 years after the movement began in Britain and the United States. The State of Singapore appeared to have been largely by-passed by the great contributions to all fields of librarianship which emerged in the United States in the 1930s. American librarianship and American library training had led the world in almost every field, and Cole (1962) indicated that the finest American libraries, their

resources, their administration, their facilities and service to the public in all fields were without parallel. The American practice of free library service for the community as a whole, irrespective of race, colour or creed, had been an example and an inspiration to the world.

No of adult subscribers	1950	1954	1959
Main Library – Europeans	1,029	NA*	NA*
Main Library – Asians	2,462	NA*	NA*
Main Library Total (A)	3,491	6,515	10,000
No of junior subscribers	1950	1954	1959
Junior Library (Boys)	2,031	2,989	NA
Junior Library (Girls)	821	1,548	NA
Junior Library Total (B)	2,852	4,537	21,000
Grand Total (A + B)	6,343	11,052	31,000
No of schools	1950	1954	1959
Malay schools	8,436	10,470	15,804
English schools	49,521	71,760	163,486
Chinese schools	72,951	73,067	140,231
Tamil schools	1,486	1,465	1,456
Total student population in schools	132,394	156,762	320,977
Percentage of pupils as subscribers of Raffles Junior Library	0.86%	2.9%	6.5%
NA means data was not available			

Table 5: Adult and Junior Subscribers of the Raffles Museum and Library,1950, 1952 and 1954

Note: * NA means data was not available.

Sources: Tweedie (1953); Tweedie (1955); Frisby (1951); McLellan (1957); National Library (1964); Ambiavagar (1961)

In June 1959 the People's Action Party (PAP) won a landslide victory capturing a big majority the Legislative Assembly and formed a new Government, ending 140 years of colonial rule (Turnbull 1989). Since 1959 Singapore pursued a policy of multilingualism by adopting Malay, Chinese (Mandarin), Tamil and English as official languages. These languages were also given equal status for debates in parliament, and they were used for correspondence with government offices. Malay was adopted as a national language, whilst English remains the language of administration (Koh 1975). Although Malay is the National Language parents were free to choose any of the four official languages (National Language, Chinese, Tamil and English) as the language medium of instruction for their children (Han 1966).

In 1959 the National Library was transferred from the Ministry of Education to the Ministry of Culture (Jek 1977). An amendment passed in December 1960 changed the name 'Raffles National Library' to 'National Library.' The most unusual feature of the National Library is its dual functions as a national library and also a public library. This was due to a number of factors, and the fact that "Singapore is a city-state considering its small size, facilitating ease of communication and a highly centralized government" (Anuar 1985, 51-52).

The National Library new building was officially opened in November 1960. It served as the headquarters of Singapore' public library services and also as the National Library housing the State Archives and local publications deposited under the Printers' and Publishers'

Ordinance (Anuar 1961). In 1960 the Minister for Culture, Mr. S. Rajaratnam addressed the Library Association of Singapore (LAS) stating the following:

"in Singapore you cannot create a truly National Library unless you take into consideration the fact that it has to cater to four language groups. You are in fact expected to operate a multi-lingual library...In the past the National Library was developed primarily as an English Library. Certainly a great many of the non-English speaking section of the population regard it as such. They still constitute only a minority of those who go to the National Library" (Rajaratnam 1961, 25).

The disproportionate number of books in English, a result of collection policy during the colonial period, was rectified, so that by the mid 1970s a more balanced collection was achieved. Martland (1987) indicated that since then the collection, percentage wise by language, has remained relatively consistent (Table 6), thus transforming the National Library into a multilingual public library system.

	1963	1969	1970-74	1975-79	1980-84	1985-89	1990-91
Malay	7%	13%	13%	13%	13%	11%	11%
Chinese	19%	26%	27%	29%	28%	27%	25%
Tamil	6%	7%	8%	7%	4%	3%	3%
English	68%	54%	52%	51%	55%	59%	61%
Total books	160,000	426,112	610,057	1,079,095	1,723,297	2,524,608	2,652,846

Table 6: Percentage of Books by Language in the National Library System, 1963 – 1994

Note: Computation for 1985-89 did not include 1988 as figures were no available. Sources: *National Library Annual Reports*, 1963-1991

BEGINNING OF MOBILE CHILDREN'S LIBRARY SERVICES IN SINGAPORE

In 1957, UNESCO donated US\$ 2,500 towards the purchase of a children's mobile library, but owing to various difficulties the vehicle was put into operation in September 1960 (Ministry of Culture 1961). The mobile library service was administered and run by the Library Extension Section which also provided library service at the two part-time branch libraries. Each part-time branch libraries has 19 hours of public service per week (Chan 1976). In 1960 the two branch libraries were at Siglap and Joo Chiat community centres (Ministry of Culture 1963). The children's mobile library began serving 2,000 children in 35 schools in the rural area, which were regularly visited once a fortnight during the third school term. By the end of 1960, 4,570 children who would otherwise "have had no opportunity to borrow books for home reading were being served by the children's mobile library" (Ministry of Culture 1961, 213).

The visits were conducted regularly on a fixed day each week and for predetermined periods ranging from one to five hours depending on the location and the response of readers. Where feasible, two to three points were visited consecutively on each mobile library trip, if they are on the same route. The expansion of the mobile library service was part of the National Library's plan for decentralization (National Library 1969). The hours of service were generally between 1.00 and 7.00 p.m. Evening hours of service were convenient to most readers and suit both morning and afternoon session school children as well as office workers. Membership is free. Adult and young people pay on registration a

deposit of \$5 which is refundable upon resignation. Each adult and young person can borrow four books at a time for a loan period of three weeks, while a child can borrow three books for the same period.

A unique feature of the Singapore mobile library service was that the children's books were unloaded in steel book trays from the vehicle and displayed on mobile steel book-racks in a classroom of a community centre for children to browse and borrow while the adults go up into the vehicle to select the books they want. A small reserve collection of children's books were also kept in each community centre. Charging and discharging of loans were also conducted in the classroom proper or corridor in close proximity to the vehicle. The arrangement was implemented because of the high turnover in the circulation of books and the popular response of readers, particularly the children. Chan (1976) reported that the service had provided children who lived far away from the static library service points access to books.

Decentralization through Library Extension and Mobile Library Services, 1960s-1970s

In 1966 the six service points (two part-time branch libraries and four mobile library points) which provide library extension services to those living in areas too far away or too crowded to be served from the Central building were making an impact on the problem of decentralization of the library services. One out of every three books lent out in the National Library's total system was lent out in one of these service points (Anuar 1967). Table 7 compares the expansion of registered readers of library extension with the total registered readers from 1964 to 1969. It must be pointed out that rapid increase in library membership and circulation of books was made possible only after the mid 1960s when the total books collection has more books in the Chinese, Malay and Tamil medium (as shown in Tables 4 and 6).

Total registered readers	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
Adult	9,166	11,307	12,760	15,041	17,586	20,281
Young People (15-20)	12,829	13,626	17,708	21,381	25,570	29,281
Children (Under 15 yrs)	72,573	79,444	89,175	92,617	102,040	107,351
Total (A + B)	94,568	104,377	119,643	129,039	145,196	157,399
Central Library	88.3%	86.5%	85.0%	80.9%	80.0%	79%
Sub-total (A)	84,287	91,164	101,775	104,379	116,326	124,333
Library extension (%)	11.7%	13.5%	15.0%	19.1%	20.0%%	21.0%
Sub-total (B)	11,042	14,071	17,868	24,660	28,870	33,066
Adult	761	255	294	497	587	723
Young People (15-20)	-	603	792	1,031	1,212	1,411
Children (Under 15 yrs)	10,281	13,213	16,782	23,132	27,071	30,932
Part-time branches	2	2	2	2	2	2
Mobile service points	2	3	4	11	11	12

Table 7: Comparing the Expansion of Registered Readers of Library Extension with TotalRegistered Readers, 1964-1969

Sources: Ministry of Culture (1968); National Library (1971)

In 1968 the British Labour government decided to withdraw their military force based in Singapore at the end of 1971, bringing an end to its imperial presence in Southeast Asia (Schonenberger 1981). Goh (1977) indicated that the decision threatened to add about 40,000 unemployed civilian employees at British military bases into the local economy. It was estimated that the British withdrawal would reduce their expenditure totaling \$900 million (Singapore dollars) from the years 1968 to 1970 (Goh 1968). The withdrawal of British presence placed defence build-up as a top of the priority. Non-defence expenditure, of which education was one, was "retained at existing levels, increases being allowed only for normal salary increments" (Goh 1969, 50). As such, the National Library was not adequately financed. There had been no increase in the acquisitions budget since 1964. The necessity to purchase multiple copies to pursue the four-language approach in collection building has debilitated book funds. In terms of purchasing power, the book budget has decreased 30 to 40 per cent during the past five years. Byrd (1970) wrote that staff requirements, adequate to carry out all the functions mandated by legislation, have similarly been restricted by penury. Bibliographical projects of national and international importance, reference service, children's work, mobile service and even building maintenance, all suffer from manpower shortage. The central building, completed and occupied in 1960, was totally inadequate for services required of the National Library.

Hence during the period of the mid-1960s and the mid-1970s the public library system was dependent on its library extension of two part-time and library mobile services to reach out to the local population of primarily children and to a lesser extent, adults living in the rural parts of the island as shown. From the years 1966 to 1971 about one fifth of the National Library's total subscribers came from the Library Extension of two part time branches and 11 to 12 mobile library service points as presented in Tables 8 and 9. (See Appendices A and B for locations of the mobile library service points).

Total registered readers	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974
Adult	24,482	51,861	58,780	63,852	71,308
Young People (15-20)	35,540	17,863	20,775	29,418	41,331
Children (Under 15 yrs)	117,491	198,493	139,129	143,697	163,345
Total (A + B)	177,513	198,493	218,684	236,967	275,984
Full time branches	79.7%	79.9%	80.8%	81.3%	83.3%
Sub-total (A)	141,448	157,804	176,683	193,679	229,811
Central Library	1	1	1	1	1
Full-time branch libraries	1	1	1	1	2
Library extension	20.3%	20.1%	19.2%	18.7%	16.7%
Subtotal (B)	36,065	40,689	42,001	43,288	46,173
Adult	872	2,005	2,354	2,812	3,265
Young People (15-20)	1,616	899	992	1,125	1,594
Children (Under 15 yrs)	33,577	37,785	38,655	39,351	41,314
Part-time branches	2	2	2	2	2
Mobile service points	12	12	12	12	10

Table 8: Comparing the Expansion of Registered Readers of Library Extension with TotalRegistered Readers, 1970-1974

Sources: National Library (1973); National Library (1976)

Total registered readers	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
Adult	79,654	88,087	94,460	56,355	73,467
Young People (15-20)	55,433	64,189	73,284	86,011	91,951
Children (Under 15 yrs)	168,041	173,373	177,901	180,075	184,406
Total (A + B)	303,128	325,649	345,645	322,441	349,824
Full time branches	84.2%	85.1%	86.0%	88.8%	89.4%
Sub-total (A)	255,292	277,263	297,148	286,409	312,698
Central Library	1	1	1	1	1
Full-time branch libraries	2	2	2	3	3
Library extension	15.8%	14.9%	14.0%	11.2%	10.6%
Sub-total (B)	47,836	48,386	48,497	36,032	37,126
Adult	3,924	4,548	5,006	2,678	2,821
Young People (15-20)	1,971	2,057	2,202	2,219	2,979
Children (Under 15 yrs)	41,941	41,781	41,289	31,135	31,236
Part-time branches	2	2	3	3	3
Mobile service points	10	10	10	11	11

Table 9: Comparing the Expansion of Registered Readers of Library Extension with Total Registered Readers, 1975-1979

Sources: National Library (1978); National Library (1980)

The Decentralization of Public Library Services with Full-Time Branch Libraries, 1970s – 1990s

Between 1959 (when the PAP was the first locally elected Government) and 1975, Singapore's Gross National Product (GNP) grew from US\$643 million to US\$5,773 million. In real terms it could be said that Singapore's GNP multiplied five times, and that the annual compound growth rate was 11 per cent. The city state foreign exchange reserves increased during this period from US\$110 million to US\$3,351. Goh (1977, 94) wrote that "while these were gratifying results, Singapore was still an undeveloped country".

Hence was not until the early 1970s that library services began to be more adequately financed. The beginning of change began with the approval of the first branch opened in Queenstown in 1970 (Anuar 1983). The Toa Payoh Branch was opened in February 1974 and the Chai Chee Branch in November 1974 (National Library 1975). From the years 1970 to 1988 eight full-time branch libraries were set up in the National Library system (Table 10). Due to the scarcity of land and the high density of population, each branch library was planned to serve populations of up to 250,000. Lim (1987) wrote that these branch libraries were "conveniently located in the centre of large public housing estates, in the vicinity of service facilities such as supermarkets, cinemas, banks and public transport interchanges" (Lim 1987, 41.) By 1988 the last two remaining part-time branch libraries managed under the Library Extension department were discontinued (National Library 1989). The eventual aim was "to do away entirely, with mobile library services by the 1980s when the full impact of increase urbanization and provision of mass rapid transport facilities should result in easy access for all sectors of the population to other and static library service points" (Anuar 1969, 15). With families in rural areas being settled in new towns, the use of mobile libraries declined (National Library 1981). Tables 11 and 12 present the gradual reduction of service points from 11 in 1981 to 6 in 1988 (National Library 1989). In 1991 all mobile libraries were closed (National Library 1992). (See Appendix C for the locations of the mobile library service points and part-time and full-time branch libraries).

Branches	Year opened	Size of the Library
Queenstown Branch	1970	3,200 sq m
Toa Payoh Branch	1974	4,100 sq m
Marine Parade Branch	1978	3,700 sq m
Bukit Merah Branch	1982	4,300 sq m
Ang Mo Kio Branch	1985	5,080 sq m
Bedok Branch	1985	4,780 sq m
Geylang East Branch	1988	3,817 sq m
Jurong West Branch	1988	4,232 sq m

Table 10: Expansion of the National Librar	v Branches, 1970-1988
	y Diancies, 1570 1500

Sources: National Library Annual Report, 1970-1988.

Table 11: Comparing Percentage of Registered Readers and Loans of Library Extension with the Full-time Central Library and Full-time Branches, 1981-1984

	19	81	1982		1983		1984	
By Service Point	Membership	Loans	Membership	Loans	Membership	Loans	Membership	Loans
Central Library (1960)	41.8	13.8	39.0	23.0	37.7	21.6	36.0	21.0
Queenstown Branch (1970)	18.7	26.0	18.0	19.3	16.7	12.3	16.9	15.7
Toa Payoh (1974)	18.0	20.7	16.9	19.0	16.6	19.0	17.2	18.1
Marine Parade Branch (1978)	12.0	21.7	12.0	17.7	12.3	16.4	12.2	15.9
Bukit Merah Branch (1982)	-	-	4.7	5.2	7.5	17.8	8.4	16.8
Library Extension								
Part-time branches	5.0	12.0	5.4	11.0	5.8	9.7	6.1	8.9
Mobile Libraries	4.5	5.8	4.0	4.8	3.4	3.2	3.2	3.6
Part-time branches					3		3	
Mobile service points				10			10	
By Age Group								
Adults and Young People	57.5	52.6	63.4	57.0	67.7	55.8	71.9	57.0
Children	42.5	47.4	36.6	43.0	32.3	44.2	28.1	43.0

Sources: National Library (1984); National Library (1986)

In 1965 Singapore had only a total of two infantry battalions and about 50 officers and 1,000 regular soldiers and less than 2,000 rifles. By 1982, she had in the armed forces and in the reserves, a full-fledge Army, Navy and Air Force of more than 150,000 men, well-trained, well-equipped and well prepared to defend Singapore (Yeo 1982). Hence the Government could probably afford to increase spending into the public library system by building more full-time branch libraries particularly after 1982 when five more full time branch libraries were built, two more than during the 1970s.

	19	85	19	1986		1987		1988	
By Service Point	Membership	Loans	Membership	Loans	Membership	Loans	Membership	Loans	
Central Library (1960)	32.3	17.0	30.7	14.3	34.4	16.3	7.3	7.6	
Queenstown Branch (1970)	15.3	14.1	14.7	12.2	5.8	8.8	16.1	12.5	
Toa Payoh (1974)	15.7	13.9	14.9	11.3	17.2	7.3	15.7	13.3	
Marine Parade Branch (1978)	10.8	10.0	10.4	10.3	11.7	13.4	3.8	8.4	
Bukit Merah Branch (1982)	8.5	13.4	8.9	12.2	10.6	14.9	3.6	7.3	
Ang Mo Kio Branch (1985)	5.6	11.6	7.0	16.6	9.3	19.6	12.9	11.1	
Bedok Branch (1985)	7.5	12.1	9.1	18.3	7.3	15.6	20.5	20.9	
Gaylang East Branch (1988)	-	-	-	-	-	-	4.4	5.3	
Jurong West Branch (1988)	-	-	-	-	-	-	12.0	12.0	
Library Extension									
Part-time branches	2.0	4.7	2.0	2.5	1.2	1.5	-	-	
Mobile Libraries	2.3	3.2	2.3	2.3	2.5	2.6	3.7	1.6	
Part-time branches	2		2		1		-		
Mobile service points	8		7		7		6		
By Age Group									
Adults and Young People	73.1	54.7	75.2	53.1	77.1	51.0	70.4	53.3	
Children	26.9	45.3	24.8	46.9	22.9	49.0	29.6	46.7	

Table 12: Comparing Percentage of Registered Readers and Loans of Library Extension with the Full-time Central Library and Full-time Branches, 1985-1988

Sources: National Library (1988); National Library (1989)

After the Raffles Library was made into a free public library in 1958 and a multilingual library after 1956, its membership for the age group of 6 to 15 years old increased from about 1 per cent to 21 per cent in 1970 (Table 13). It was likely that the Library Extension service (consisting of two part-time branches and mobile library service points) contributed to the increase of membership. The setting up of three full-time branch libraries would have further contributed to the increase of membership in the age group 5 to 14 to 40 per cent in 1980.

On 1st January 1985, the National Library, previously under the former Ministry of Culture, together with the Cultural Affairs Division, National Museum and Archives and Oral History Department, came under the new Ministry of Community Development, which incorporated the former Ministry of Social Affairs (National Library 1985). From the years 1960 to 1990 Singapore's growth rate of its Gross Domestic Product (GDP) averaged about 7.8 per cent, making it a Newly Industrialized Country (NIC). Whereas the Third World regions of East Asia and Pacific countries had averaged growth rates of 6.7 per cent for the same 30-year period, followed by 4.1 per cent for the Latin American and Caribbean countries, 4.3 per cent for the South Asia countries and 3.2 per cent for the Sub-Sahara African countries (Brohman 1996). A NIC is referred to as in a transitional stage of economic development straddling between the less developed countries of the Third World and Advance Industrial Countries (AIC) of the West (Tan 2001).

	1957	1970	1980						
National Library membership									
15 and below	4,442	117,491	185,933						
15-20	-	35,540	117,937						
20 and above	-	24,482	89,555						
15 and above	4,186	60,022	207,492						
Total	8,628	177,513	393,425						
Population by age gro	up and percentage of age	group who are members o	f the National Library						
Age 5 – 14	- 14 -		459,439 (40%)						
Age 6 - 14	308,141 (1.4%)	515,397 (23%)	-						
Age 6 - 15	332,059 (1.3%)	568,597 (21%)	-						
Age 15 - 20	-	292,219 (12%)	-						
Age 15 - 59	771,488 (0.54%)	1,151,384 (15%)	1,587,190 (13%)						
Age 15 - 64	795,764 (0.52%)	1,200,307 (15%)	1,646,898 (13%)						
Age 15 - 69	811,163 (0.51%)	1,233,806 (14%)	1,696,208 (12%)						

Table 13: Increase in Membership of the National Library by Age Groups in 1957, 1970 and 1980

Sources: Harrod (1958b); National Library (1972); National Library (1981); Chua (1964); Arumainathan (1993); Khoo (1981).

CONCLUSION

When Raffles founded Singapore in 1819 he wrote the minutes of his proposed Singapore Institution incorporating a multilingual library a library and museum. However, the Singapore Institution began as an elementary school instead of a college of Southeast Asian studies. The first recorded evidence of the Singapore Institution school library was in its annual report of 1836-37.

The Raffles library then evolved into a Propriety Library (1844-1874), a Government Library (1874-1941), a Japanese popular library (1942-1945) and back to a Government Library (1945-1957). In 1956 a policy was instituted to add vernacular books in the Malay, Chinese and Tamil medium to reach the local population not literate in the English language. However, it was not until after the mid-1960s that sufficient books in the vernacular were made available.

In 1958 the Raffles Library became a National Library and a public library as well. From 1956 the National Library began to gradually include books in the Malay, Chinese and Tamil medium into its collection and developed into a multilingual public library system by the mid 1960s. Since 1960 the Library Extension consisting of two part-time branch libraries and two mobile libraries were deployed as a decentralization strategy to provide service points for access to books to the outlying and rural communities and urban areas where there are no service points. It remained so until the 1970s since British Labour Government decided in 1968 to pull out its military bases on the island by 1971, expenditure on social services such as education and the public library services were frozen. It was not until 1970 to 1988 that eight full time branch libraries were built as a permanent decentralization strategy to service the new towns and industrial estates scattered throughout the island. By 1991 the mobile library services were terminated.

Hence it can be said that the history of the public library system in Singapore from the 1958 to the mid-1960s was about its transformation into a multilingual public library system. From 1960 to the mid-1970s it was dependent on the Library Extension, particularly two part-time branches and its mobile library services to provide access to books in the English, Malay, Chinese and Tamil mediums. Since the first locally elected Government was form in 1959, Singapore was a developing country and the decision for the British military beginning in 1971, defence expenditure was increased at the expense of non-defence expenditure. Therefore the National Library was not adequately financed in areas of book development and the building of full-time branch libraries until Singapore became a NIC after the 1980s when four full time branch libraries were opened.

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	Mobile library points	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970
1.	Tanjong Pagar	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	2	2
2.	West Coast	NA	NA	NA	NA	-	-	-
3.	Nee Soon	-	NA	NA	NA	NA	2	2
4.	Bukit Panjang	-	-	NA	NA	NA	2	2
5.	Chong Pang	-	-	-	NA	NA	2	2
6.	Kaki Bukit	-	-	-	NA	NA	2	2
7.	Kampong Tengah	-	-	-	NA	NA	1.5	1.5
8.	Bukit Timah	-	-	-	NA	NA	1.5	1.5
9.	Changi	-	-	-	NA	NA	1.5	1.5
10.	Paya Lebar	-	-	-	NA	NA	1.5	1.5
11.	Pasir Panjang	-	-	-	NA	NA	1.25	1.25
12.	Kampong Cheng San	-	-	-	-	NA	4	4
13.	Taman Jurong	-	-	-	-	-	1.5	1.5
	Total service points	2	3	4	11	11	12	12
	Sub-total in hours (A)						22.75	22.75
	Part-time branch libraries							
1.	Joo Chiat Community Centre	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	19	19
2.	Siglap Community Centre	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	19	19
	Sub-total in hours (B)						38	38
	Full-time libraries							
1.	Central Library	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	69	69
1.	Queenstown (1970)	-	-	-	-	-	-	41 1/2
	Sub-total in hours (C)						69	110.5
	Total hours of public service	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	242.25	283.75
Note	Numeral means number of hou		II					

Note: Numeral means number of hours and NA means not available.

Sources: National Library (1966); National Library (1967); National Library (1969); National Library (1970); National Library (1972).

APPENDIX B

	Mobile library points	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
1.	Tanjong Pagar	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
2.	Nee Soon	2	1	1	1	1	2.5	2.5
3.	Chong Pang	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	2.5	2.5
4.	Kaki Bukit	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
5.	Kampong Tengah	1.5	1	1	1	1	1	1
6.	Bukit Timah	1.5	1.5	1.5	-	-	-	-
7.	Changi	1.5	-	-	-	-	-	-
8.	Paya Lebar	1.5	1.5	-	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5
9.	Pasir Panjang	1.25	-	-	-	-	-	-
10.	Kampong Cheng San	4	-	-	-	-	-	-
11.	Taman Jurong	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
12.	Bukit Panjang	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
13.	Joo Chiat	-	5	5	5	5	-	-
14.	Macpherson	-	4	4	4	4	4	4
15.	Woodlands	-	-	-	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5
16.	Kangkar	-	-	-	-	-	2.5	2.5
17.	Tampines	-	-	-	-	-	2	2
	Total service points	12	10	10	10	10	11	11
	Sub-total in hours (A)	22.75	21.5	20.0	22.5	22.5	24.5	24.5
	Part-time branch libraries							
1.	Joo Chiat Community Centre	19	19	-	-	-	-	-
2.	Siglap Community Centre	19	19	19	19	19	19	20
3.	Chai Chee	-	-	19	19	19	-	-
4.	Jurong	-	-	-	-	6	12	18
5.	Bedok	-	-	-	-	-	19	20
	Sub-total (B)	38	38	38	38	44	50	58
1.	Central library	69	69	69	69	69	69	69
2.	Full-time branch libraries							
3.	Queenstown (1970)	63	63	63	63	63	66	67
4.	Toa Payoh (opened in 1974)	-	-	63	63	63	66	67
5.	Marine Parade (1978)	-	-	-	-	-	66	67
	(Sub-total) (C)	132	132	195	195	195	267	270
	Total hours of public service	192.75	191.5	253	255.5	261.5	341.5	352.5

Expansion of Types of Public Libraries in Singapore, 1973-1979

Sources: National Library (1976); National Library (1979); National Library (1981).

Appendix C

	Mobile library service points	1980	1983	1984	1985	1986	1988	1990
1.	Tanjong Pagar	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
2.	Nee Soon	1	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5
3.	Chong Pang	1.5	2.5	2.5	-	-	-	-
4.	Kaki Bukit	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
5.	Kampong Tengah	1	1	1	1	-	-	-
6.	Paya Lebar	1.5	-	-	-	-	-	-
7.	Bukit Panjang	2	2	2	-	-	-	-
8.	Macpherson	4	4	4	4	4	-	-
9.	Woodlands	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5
10.	Kangkar	2.5	-	-	-	-	-	-
11.	Tampines	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
12.	Ang Mo Kio	-	3	3	-	-	-	-
13.	Chua Chu Kang	-	-	-	2	2	2	2
14.	Punggol	-	2.5	2.5	2	2	2	2
15.	Changkat	-	2	2	2	2	2	2
	Total service points	11	10	10	8	7	6	6
	Sub-total in hours (A)	22	22	22	18	18	13	13
	Part-time branch libraries							
1.	Siglap	20	-	-	-	-	-	-
2.	Jurong	18	18	18	18	18	-	-
3.	Bedok	21	21	21	-	-	-	-
4.	Whampoa	-	43	43	23	23	-	-
	Sub-total in hours (B)	59	82	82	41	41	-	-
	Full-time branch libraries							
1.	Central Library	69	75	75	75	75	66	66
2.	Queenstown (opened in 1970)	67	67	67	67	67	67	66
3.	Toa Payoh (1974)	67	67	67	67	67	67	66
4.	Marine Parade (1978)	67	67	67	67	67	67	66
5.	Bukit Merah (1982)	-	67	67	67	67	67	66
6.	Ang Mo Kio (1985)	-	-	-	67	67	67	66
7.	Geylang East (1988)	-	-	-	-	-	67	66
8.	Jurong East (1988)	-	-	-	-	-	67	66
	Sub-total in hours (B)	270	343	343	410	410	535	528
	Total hours of public service	398.5	449	449	536	535	615	607
							1.1.1	

Gradual Reduction of Mobile Libraries Service Points, 1980-1990

Sources: National Library (1979); National Library (1982); National Library (1986); National Library (1989); National Library (1991).