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**“A Life of Make-Believe”:
Being Boy Scouts and “Playing Indian” in British Malaya (1910 – 1942)**

Abstract

According to white Scoutmasters in Malaya, “the peculiar difficulties of locality and climate” necessitated certain proscriptions on Scout training for Malaysians. Restrictions on the physical aspects of Scouting in Malayan jungles limited Malayan opportunities of cultivating Scouting's idealised male identity/figure of the frontiersman. Concurrently, colonial discouragement of the “Anglicisation” of indigenous Scouts effectively curtailed indigenous Malayan access to “Anglicised” ideals of masculinity which, in many ways, were dominant in the colonial context. Ironically, some of these “Anglicised” and Scouting ideals of ideal masculinities were borrowed from “native cultures”/“martial tribes”. The exchanges and appropriations of culture and masculinities through Scouting were therefore multi-directional and more complicated than imagined.

This paper examines how Scouting in Malaya functioned as a vehicle and a product of multiple colonial exchanges. It argues that colonial Scouting in Malaya introduced, but restricted Malayan access to certain ideals of masculinities. Additionally, it argues for a more nuanced analysis of localised Malayan appropriations and negotiations of colonial/imperial concepts of masculinity introduced through the Scout Movement. In particular, through considering how Malayan Scouts “played Indian”, this paper further suggests that Scout activities of “make-believe” attracted Malayan Scouts because of the liberties attached to these physical/bodily performances of imagined/idealised “Anglicised” masculinities.

**“A Life of Make-Believe”:
Being Boy Scouts and “Playing Indian” in British Malaya (1910 – 1942)**

At the eve of war in early 1941, the monthly magazine *Scouting in Malaya: Official Organ of the Boy Scouts of Malaya* published an article entitled “Romance of Campfire” by Singapore Scoutmaster Leslie Woodford (Black Bear). In it, Woodford proposed a “scheme” for a “Council Fire Opening Ceremony”, devised by both himself and fellow Scoutmaster Noel Scharenguivel (Tiger Cub), “to provide that romance and ceremonial which have previously been sadly lacking” in their campfires at Singapore’s main campsite, Purdy Camp. Deliberately writing in a self-described “theatrical” style which he asserted was nonetheless “elemental and in proper tone”, Woodford outlined how the Ceremony would be played-out in the evening long after sunset, while the Scouts were at ease:

Then the monotonous thump of a “tom-tom” reverberates from the Council Circle, summoning the Scouts to the Council Fire. Immediately all the lights in the Camp are dimmed and the Scouts hurry [...] The tom-tom beats faster and yet faster and then grows gradually slower till it finally dies away [...] then the tom-tom beats the rhythm of the “Engonyama” chorus which is softly chanted by the Camp Chief and answered by the Scouts [...] Coming forward slowly with his totem held up high, the Medicine Man recites his magic words: “Neetah, kola, nyhoon po, Omnicheeyay ni chopi” (“Listen, my friends, we are about to hold Council.”) as he sprinkles the magic water [...] After a pause he [the Keeper of the Fire] dramatically says, “Noon-way”, and as he slowly returns to his seat, the whole circle lustily sings the Tribal Song: “While a-scouting, scouting, scouting.”ⁱ

Amidst the cacophony of the “tom-tom”, the Zulu-based “Engonyama” chorus and the “frantic gesticulations and shouts of the ‘Killi-Killi’ dance”,ⁱⁱ the cultural dissonances embedded within this Ceremony are multiple, puzzling and disconcerting. First, the inspiration behind this spectacle is drawn from a mixed-bag of Native American and African cultural expectations and references which bear little affinity to local cultures and practices in Malaya. Some of these cultural borrowings were plainly uncomfortable and impractical in equatorial Malaya. As case in point, although Woodford admitted that “[t]he climate of Malaya, however, is certainly not conducive to wrapping a blanket round one’s self especially when sitting round a fire”,ⁱⁱⁱ he nevertheless insisted that “[s]till, a blanket is the correct article for the purpose” of organising a Council Fire in “real romantic Redskin fashion”. Manifestly, these non-indigenous/non-Malayan tribal-theatrics were successful, for they “so gripped the imagination of the Scouts that they look forward to it and are keenly disappointed if the Council Fire is not opened in the manner described”.^{iv} Second, the cultural authenticity/fidelity of the Ceremony was subordinate to “romance”/“imagination”, for both

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3 Native American and African cultural references could be interwoven unproblematically.
4 Indeed, the “tom-tom” could usher in a Zulu “Engonyama” chorus, which in turn could lead
5 to the Medicine Man's “magic words” in Lakota.^v Likewise, the Scouts' ritual paraphernalia,
6 such as their “totems”, “headdress” and “campfire-blankets” (Figure 1a) – “made to look as
7 Red Indianish as possible” – indicate Native American influences,^{vi} but their “Killi-Killi
8 dance” is supposedly “in Zulu fashion”. Third, as Singapore and Malayan Scout troops were
9 racially mixed, the drama above would have been planned and acted out by Malay, Chinese,
10 Indian (Tamils, Sikhs and others) as well as Eurasian and possibly European (or British)
11 participants. Indeed, both Woodford and Scharenguivel were Eurasians. Fellow Scoutmaster
12 Michael Chong (Yellow Beaver), who illustrated Woodford's articles on the Ceremony
13 (Figures 2a, 2b, 2c), was Chinese, and the first eight self-styled “Purdy Redskins”, who
14 enacted the scene above, consisted of at least one Malay and seven Chinese Scouts.^{vii}
15 Similarly, the audience would have numbered Scouts of different ethnic and religious
16 communities. In Figure 1b, we see an individual (second from left) wearing a long white *Baju*
17 *Melayu* (trans.: [male] Malay shirt). His choice of dress suggests he was Malay. Next, the
18 person standing behind the Scout clutching his Scout hat and draped in his “campfire blanket”
19 (third from left) is wearing a turban, which indicates he was probably Sikh. Fourth, the
20 “Purdy Redskins” level of investment in their activity suggests that this was serious “play”-
21 acting. Detailed instructions (Figures 2a, 2b, 2c) on the Ceremony appeared in *Scouting in*
22 *Malaya* over the span of seven months (January – July 1941), even as tensions in the colony
23 mounted over impending war (1942). Each article (“Totems”, “Campfire Blankets”,
24 “Headdress”) carefully denoted the wearer's Scout rank, as “only First Class Scouts could
25 wear a headdress.” An additional feather in one's headgear marked one as a King's Scout
26 while a coloured thread (or “Whisker”) indicated the badges/honours that one had won.^{viii}
27 Taken altogether, how can we make sense of this curious situation where (colonised) Malayan
28 youths of different ethnicities were play-acting at being (other) imagined colonised peoples
29 alongside Eurasian/European Scouts, all within a decidedly imperial-sanctioned context such
30 as colonial Scouting in Malaya in the pre-World War II era, guided by British-distilled
31 impressions of “native culture(s)” and “primitive” or “tribal” forms of masculinities?
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Figure 1a: “A genuine Purdy Redskin complete with feathers, beads and headdress.” (Original caption) Kevin Y.L. Tan and Wan Meng Hao, *Scouting in Singapore: 1910 – 2000*, Singapore, Singapore Scout Association & National Archives of Singapore, 2002, Courtesy of Tan and Wan (“5th Mojag Collection” and the “Michael Chong Collection”, circa 1941)



Figure 1b: “Black Bear [Leslie Woodford] reading out the “Legends of Purdy Camp” at a campfire.” (Original caption) Tan and Wan, *Scouting in Singapore*, 2002, p. 87. Courtesy of Tan and Wan (“5th Mojag Collection” and the “Michael Chong Collection”, circa 1941).

TOTEMS OF OFFICE BEARERS

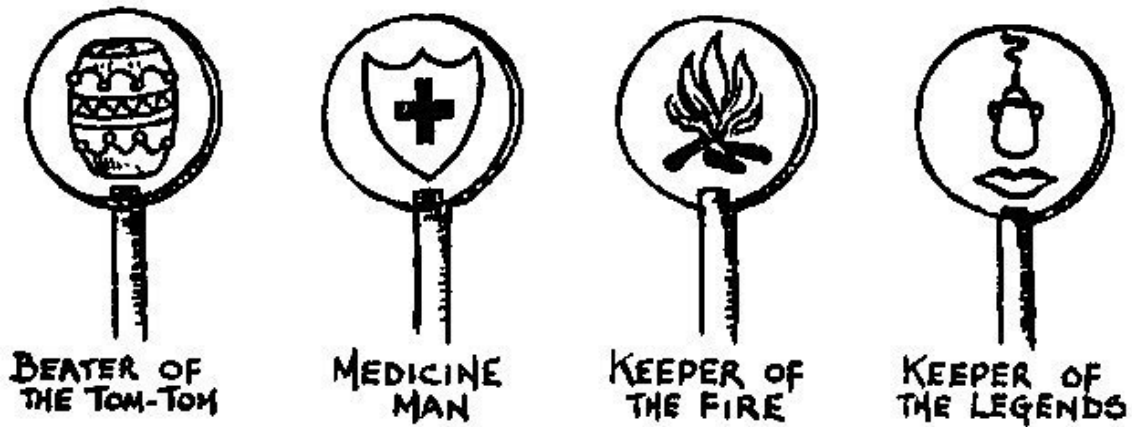


Figure 2a: "Romance of Campfire", *Scouting in Malaya*, Vol. 17, Nos. 1 – 2, January – February 1941, p. 15.

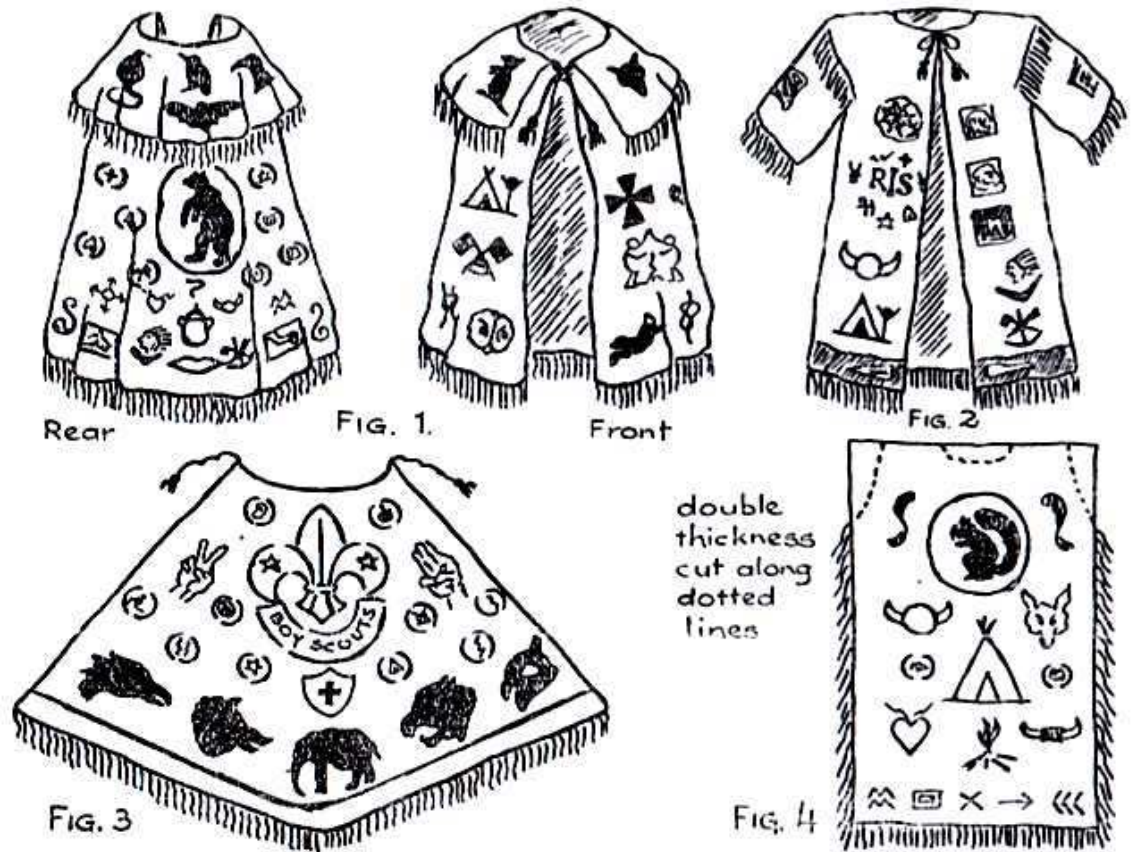


Figure 2b: "Campfire-Blankets", *Scouting in Malaya*, Vol. 17, Nos. 3 – 4, March – April, p. 40.

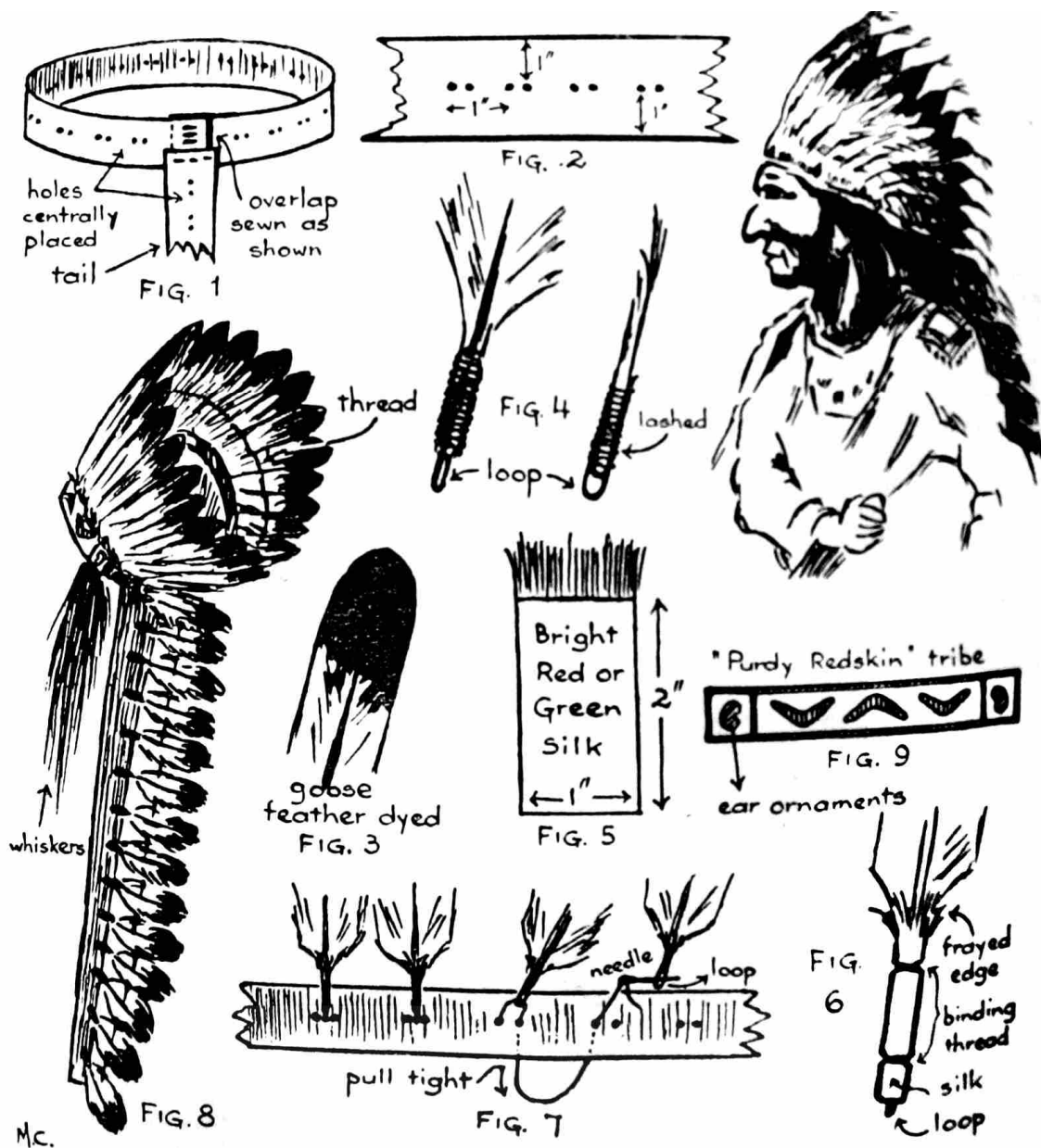


Figure 2c: “Redskin Headdress”, *Scouting in Malaya*, Vol. 17, No. 7, July 1941. Note the signature/initials “M.C.” [Michael Chong] at the bottom left.

Colonial Scouting in British Malaya functioned simultaneously as a vehicle and a product of multiple cultural exchanges of models of masculinities drawn from both British/English examples (e.g. Peter Pan/Robin Hood/Captain John Smith) and non-English, but “Anglicised” models of “martial tribes” or “primitive cultures” (e.g. Zulu) within the framework of empire. However, in the time period that this essay analyses (1910 – 1942), some of these models of masculinities were not easily accessible or freely available to indigenous Scouts. As I will argue in this paper, colonial Scouting in Malaya introduced, but

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3 restricted Malayan access to certain ideals of masculinities (e.g. the Frontiersman) by limiting
4 some outdoor activities (such as camping in the open), which served as sites where these
5 idealised masculinities could be performed and embodied. If and when camping was
6 permitted in Malaya's "jungle conditions", they often took place in buildings or permanent
7 sites with "modern" facilities – much to the disappointment of urbanised local Scouts, who
8 dreamt of "roughing it out". More generally, and perhaps quite paradoxically at first glance
9 for a British colonial institution in Malaya, white Scoutmasters also frowned upon the
10 "Anglicisation" of indigenous Scouts – even though indigenous Scouts desired or wished to
11 emulate "English" forms of masculinities by being Scouts. To understand these colonial
12 attitudes and resistance to "Anglicisation" in Malayan Scouting, I will frame our discussion
13 in the broader context of colonial education in British Malaya in the pre-World War II period.
14 Literary scholars Philip Holden, Eddie Tay and Adeline Koh, amongst others, have noted how
15 British officials such as Sir Hugh Clifford (Chief Scout of Malaya, 1927 – 1930) perceived
16 Malay masculinity and the incompatibility of "Anglicisation" upon the Malay subject through
17 the trope, "running amok".^{ix} In this paper, I wish to extend their analysis to indigenous
18 Malayan Scouts (who were, for the most part, Anglophones) who occupied the ambivalent
19 position of "mimic men (or boys)" in the sense that they were "almost, but not quite/white".^x
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32 This essay begins its analysis from the moment of the Movement's inauguration in
33 Malaya (1910) to the eve of World War II in the Malay Peninsula (1942). The main reason for
34 this periodisation is its continuity – Malayan Scout leadership rested firmly in the grasp of
35 white Scoutleaders throughout these early years of Malayan Scouting. Broadly speaking,
36 (white) British prestige and authority in the Malay Peninsula were largely intact during these
37 three decades until the outbreak of war in 1942, when British defeat at the hands of an Asian
38 military power, Japan, dramatically altered power relations between British colonials and their
39 colonised subjects. Moreover, formal Scouting was also interrupted during the Japanese
40 occupation of British Malaya (1942 – 1945). In my discussion on colonial Scouting as a
41 vehicle and product of cultural transmissions in this specific period (1910 – 1942) of
42 colonialism in British Malaya, I will also argue for a more nuanced analysis of localised
43 examples of Malayan responses, appropriations and negotiations of colonial conceptions of
44 native cultures and masculinities introduced through the Movement. I will briefly examine the
45 play-acting (specifically, "Indian-play" and its localised manifestation/equivalent which I will
46 call "playing Sakai") of indigenous Malayan Scouts as an example of these colonial-colonised
47 negotiations. As the "Purdy Redskins" culturally-hybridised play-acting/"Indian play" in our
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3 opening anecdote suggests, some of the exchanges of different models of masculinities
4 occurred in the “romantic” act of their pretend-games, where the liberties of imagination
5 allowed Malayan Scouts to play-act/perform, appropriate, or embody some of these non-
6 localised forms/models of masculinities. Here, my focus on Malayan Scouts “playing Indian”
7 expands on extant research such as Kristine Alexander's 2009 essay on the differences of
8 “playing Indian” in Canada, a white settler society.^{xi} To add to Tammy Proctor's comment on
9 Alexander's essay, “the idea of 'playing Indian' [...] 'played' differently whether one was a
10 Guide in Britain, on Canada's frontier or in an Indian [First Nations] company,”^{xii} – *but also*
11 *whether* one was an indigenous Scout in a “third party” geographical/historical setting such as
12 colonial Malaya, which carried far less historical or emotional baggage in comparison. On a
13 methodological level, this paper highlights play-acting as an analytical tool in studying how
14 colonial Scouting propagated certain ideas of masculinities. It is hoped that the emphasis on
15 such an approach can contribute towards some of the current scholarship on colonial
16 Scouting, which have preferred to focus on its militaristic or citizenship/character-building
17 aspects to understand the models, codes, or practices of masculinities that Scouting
18 engendered in a number of colonial contexts.
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30 My examination of cultural transmission within the framework of colonial Scouting in
31 Malaya has benefited from recent literature on colonial Scouting (in non-white, non-settler
32 societies) which has highlighted the multiple exchange of ideas and cultural transmission in
33 the Scout Movement. These discussions have challenged us to consider questions such as the
34 consequences of these multi-cultural adaptations upon the relationships/dynamics between
35 colonials and colonised peoples. Timothy Parsons has argued in a 2008 essay on Zulu aspects
36 of the Movement that “Baden-Powell's [founder of Scouting] appropriation and
37 reinterpretation of 'tribal' tradition demonstrates the indirect influence of subject peoples of
38 the empire on metropolitan British society.”^{xiii} Parsons' example of schoolboys who, in 1930,
39 “embarrassed the segregated white South African Scout Association by asking how to join the
40 Pathfinders, the segregated African branch of the movement, on the grounds that it was more
41 authentically African”,^{xiv} further suggests that Scouting's integration of African cultural
42 elements could complicate race relations or divisions in colonial South Africa. Along similar
43 lines, Carey Watt's 2009 article on Scouting in British India demonstrated that the exchange
44 of ideas was multi-directional. Just as Baden-Powell “frequently drew on Japanese, Swedish
45 and other systems of physical culture” for the movement's main instructional text, *Scouting*
46 *for Boys* (1908), “nationalists in India used the Boy Scouts to transmute the suppleness,
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3 fitness and endurance of the martial body into definitions and expectations of the modern
4 citizen.”^{xv} Watt's observation that Scouting was sufficiently flexible for adaptation by both
5 colonials and colonised is important in thinking about why and how the Malayan
6 Scouts/("Purdy Redskins") in our opening anecdote were capable of hybridising multiple
7 indigenous cultures for their own purposes.
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12 However, while Parsons' and Watt's critiques of the exchange of ideas and culture in
13 colonial Scouting offer us insights and an important basis of comparison, our discussion of
14 indigenous cultural appropriations in the Malayan context necessarily embarks on a different
15 trajectory because colonial Scouting in the African and Indian contexts differs from the
16 Malayan experience in one significant way. Both African and Indian cultural references
17 figure(d) prominently in Scouting because Baden-Powell and the wider British audience
18 considered some African (e.g. Zulus) and Indian (e.g. Sikhs, Gurkhas) peoples as virile,
19 primitive “martial tribes” worthy of emulation. In contrast, as Arunajeet Kaur has asserted in
20 her study on British deployment of Sikh policemen in British Malaya (defined in Kaur's work
21 as the Federated Malay States and the Straits Settlements), “the British were of the opinion
22 that there was no race of people from the indigenous people of Malaya which could be
23 classified as a 'Martial Race’”.^{xvi} Perhaps unsurprisingly, Malayan cultural references thus do
24 not appear in Baden-Powell's *Scouting for Boys*. Hence, while Africans could, *and did* “seized
25 on the African origins of the Scout Movement to reimagine it as authentically African”,^{xvii}
26 Malayan Scouts had fewer possibilities of staking such a claim. Certainly, indigenous Scouts
27 in Malaya did not always accept colonial judgements on their “martial-ness” or even on the
28 “authenticity”/“uniqueness” of “the Scouting Game”; to cite one example, Dato' Mohamed
29 Yusof bin Ahmad, a Malay Scouter (who joined the Movement as an adult) from Kuala
30 Lumpur (Selangor) in 1929, considered his village Malay elders as “our 'original Scouters’”
31 and that Scouting “was not something new” because it was the “same as what I had
32 experienced in the *Kampong* [trans.: village] in my boyhood days.”^{xviii} However, the lack of
33 British recognition of the masculine qualities (or the bestowing of “martial tribe status”) of
34 the indigenous populations of Malaya, which translated into the absence of Malayan cultural
35 references within Scouting, did mean there were less direct ways for Malaysians to challenge or
36 to react to British appropriation of native cultures *within the Movement* since Malayan
37 culture(s), judged unsuitable for emulation, apparently did not occupy a central place in
38 British Scouting.
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Parsons' and Watt's contributions are much-welcomed additions to earlier discussions of cultural exchanges in the Scout Movement, which have largely focused on British actors and white British masculine desires in co-opting native cultural references. Some of these British voices and desires are found in Elleke Boehmer's 2004 introduction to the Movement's foundational "textbook", *Scouting for Boys*. Boehmer's examination of British Scouting's co-opting of "native cultures" builds upon earlier research by Michael Rosenthal (*The Character Factory*, 1986) and Robert Macdonald (*Sons of the Empire*, 1993), amongst others, which situate the origins of the Scout Movement within the broader socio-historical context of the masculine anxieties that plagued Edwardian Britain at the time of Scouting's inception in 1908. Against this background, these scholars argue that Scouting was thus "conceived as a remedy to Britain's moral, physical, and military weakness."^{xix} In the framework of such an analysis, British Scouting's absorption of "a mixed array of native influence" can therefore be attributed to imperial male needs/desires of replenishing an apparently innate, "primitive" and potent form of virile masculinity in the crisis of public confidence in British military prowess at the turn of the twentieth century. "Britain is," described Boehmer colourfully, "Dracula-like, to draw life force from subordinated cultures whose own vitality, arguably, has been forcibly repressed."^{xx} In this essay, I aim to expand upon such discussions of masculine desires in the Movement by providing examples in the final section for further examinations of British/"Western" and indigenous desires in the context of Malayan Scouting.

Setting, Actors, Sources

Given the limited scope of this short essay, my discussion of cultural exchanges in colonial Malayan Scouting will focus on specific historical actors and geographical areas within the Malay Peninsula. Some of the terms I use in this essay require clarification. First, I use the loose term "British Malaya" to refer to three administrative entities, namely the Straits Settlements (SS, comprising Singapore, Penang, Malacca), the Federated Malay States (FMS, comprising Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan, Pahang) and the "Unfederated" Malay States (UMS, comprising Johore, Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan, Trengganu). The SS were a British Crown Colony (formed in 1867) under the jurisdiction of the Governor of the Straits Settlements, who reported directly to the British Secretary of State for the Colonies. In contrast, the FMS (formed in 1896) were British-Protected States with a Malay Sultan in each State guided by British "Residents", who enjoyed significant authority. In the UMS, the British "Advisers" wielded less power than their FMS "Resident" counterparts. By the beginning of the time-period this essay considers (1910), the UMS had entered into the British sphere of influence

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3 after the signing of the Anglo-Siamese Treaty (or “Bangkok Treaty”) of 1909, in which Siam
4 ceded suzerainty to Britain over the northern Malay States of Kedah, Perlis, Kelantan and
5 Trengganu. Keith Watson has asserted in his 1993 article on colonial Malaya and Singapore
6 that the difference of power between FMS Residents and UMS Advisers were in fact slight,
7 for the term Adviser “was no more than a euphemism for control and the British became the
8 real masters of the whole of Malaya.”^{xxi} Broadly, then, while the SS, FMS and UMS were
9 therefore distinct, I have followed British Scouting/Imperial Headquarters' convention of
10 considering all three entities as part of “British Malaya”.^{xxii} Furthermore, while I use the
11 words “Malayan Scouting” as a collective term, Scouting's development in British Malaya
12 was *uneven* and largely confined to urban areas. Although Scouting was introduced as early as
13 1910, the Movement was largely limited to Singapore and Penang (SS) as well as Perak and
14 Selangor (FMS) till 1920. Local Associations were later formed in the FMS of Negri
15 Sembilan in 1923 and Pahang in 1928. In the UMS, Kedah and Trengganu started Scouting in
16 1924 while Kelantan and Perlis started Scouting in 1927 and 1928 respectively. Johore started
17 Scouting in 1928 when Harold Cheeseman, the “Father of Penang Scouting”, arrived to
18 assume the position of Superintendent of Education in Johore.^{xxiii}

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31 In the period (1910 – 1942) that this essay discusses, Scouting was intimately
32 connected to schools. In 1910, the first official Malayan Scouts were drawn from English-
33 medium schools such as the Victoria Institution (Kuala Lumpur, Selangor, FMS) and as late as
34 1940, Singapore-based Frank Cooper Sands (Commissioner for Malaya, 1920 – 1946)
35 reported: “At present we are still working through Schools and our Movement is being
36 officered to a very large extent by Schoolmasters.”^{xxiv} Indeed, many of the Scoutmasters and
37 Scoutleaders in this period were also educationalists (such as Cheeseman) and schoolteachers
38 (such as Woodford, Scharenguivel and Chong in our opening anecdote). Many of the voices in
39 my analysis are also those of urbanised, educated, Anglophone boys and men of different
40 ethnicities of mostly privileged backgrounds. This was not a deliberate choice but rather, in
41 many ways, a reflection of the background and membership of Malayan Scouts (1910 –
42 1942), as well as that of British Malaya's ethnically complicated and diverse population. For
43 reasons of brevity, I follow the oral/informal (and unquestionably simplistic/restrictive)
44 convention of referring to some of the historical actors in this essay along the lines of the
45 “CMIO quadrotomy” (“Chinese”, “Malay”, “Indian” and “Others (European/Eurasians)”).^{xxv}
46 Prior to World War II, Scouting was largely confined to English-medium schools mostly
47 located in urban areas such as Singapore, Penang or Kuala Lumpur (Selangor). Scouting in
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3 Chinese-vernacular schools and Indian-vernacular schools only took off after World War II.
4 The English schools were by definition prestigious, “elitist” and were ethnically mixed,^{xxvi} but
5 “mainly benefiting the Chinese, a smaller number of Indians and only a fraction of
6 Malays”.^{xxvii} As historian C.M. Turnbull has explained, the impact of British policies in
7 education was “socially divisive, separating the English-educated from those taught in the
8 vernacular, widening the gap between the different communities except at the highest level,
9 accentuating racial, cultural and linguistic differences and the rift between rich and poor.”^{xxviii}
10 Apart from the English-medium schools, Scouting was also popular in elite Malay-vernacular
11 schools such as the Malaya College at Kuala Kangsar (KK, “Eton of the East”), and the
12 Sultan Idris Training College (SITC). The “elite” status of the KK (founded in 1905) was
13 especially pronounced. As its Board of Governors stressed in 1919, “only Princes and Nobles
14 of Malaya should be eligible for admission.”^{xxix}
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24 Since Malayan Scouts were largely recruited from English-medium schools which
25 were ethnically inclusive (note that Malay boys also attended English-medium schools), the
26 Movement in Malaya was correspondingly non-sectarian, with the important exception of
27 Malay “Mohammedan Troops” from the Malay-vernacular schools,^{xxx} which also participated
28 and freely-mixed with other Troops on occasions such as Jamborees. In this respect, Malayan
29 Scouting thus differs from Scouting in other colonial territories such as Hong Kong or South
30 Africa, which rejected some boys on account of their race.^{xxxi} To borrow Janice Brownfoot's
31 phrase that the Malayan Girl Guides were “sisters under the skin”, Malayan Scouts could also
32 be considered “brothers under the canvas”: white Scoutleaders of high rank, such as Assistant
33 Commissioner for Malaya H.R.Hertslet (Perak, FMS) were not beneath having “a glorious
34 time [at camp] under canvas with Perak Scouts, near his home at Tanjong Malim.”^{xxxii} With
35 the exception of a few early sources (1910 – 1920) at the British Scout Archives, no official
36 census exists of the ethnic composition of Malayan Scout Troops. One of the earliest
37 indications of the racially-mixed nature of Malayan Troops is found in Penang-based (SS)
38 Edward Robert's (Organising Secretary, Young Men's Christian Association, YMCA) letter to
39 Imperial Headquarters dated 24th September 1910, which stated that Robert's Troop consisted
40 of 28 Chinese and 17 European Scouts.^{xxxiii} Apart from this, the only other explicit mention of
41 the racial composition of Malayan Scouts is found in Scoutleader (and Inspector of Schools,
42 Penang) Cheeseman's 1919 – 1920 Report to Imperial Headquarters. Perhaps reflective of the
43 tendency (to classify Scouts by rank i.e. “Cub”/“Scout”/“Rover” rather than by ethnicity) that
44 was to follow in future censuses, Cheeseman only provides us with details of the racial mix of
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3 Troops from two out of three schools in his Report (193 Chinese, 78 Malays, 10
4 “Eurasians/Europeans”: Penang Free School; 53 Chinese, 12 Malays, 2 Tamils, 1 European, 1
5 Eurasian: Anglo-Chinese School, Penang).^{xxxiv} Finally, the only “officially published”
6 statistics we have of the ethnicities of the Scouts comes from *Scouting in Malaya's* report of
7 the All-Malayan “Coronation” Jamboree of 1937 (Figure 3). These numbers are important
8 indications of the broader racial composition of Malayan Scouts in 1937, for the selection of
9 the participants was “left to the discretion of each District but will presumably be on a basis of
10 the relative numbers in each District of English Troops, Malay Troops, Rovers and Sea
11 Scouts.”^{xxxv}

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20 Many of the sources used in this essay are found in the monthly magazine *Scouting in*
21 *Malaya* (henceforth SIM) which was published by the Methodist (later Malayan) Publishing
22 House (MPH) for sixteen years from May 1925 to December 1941, at an average of 1,300
23 copies per month. The link between SIM and MPH is best encapsulated in the person of Frank
24 Cooper Sands (Scout Commissioner for Malaya 1920 – 1948; Managing Director of MPH).
25 According to Kevin Tan and Wan Meng Hao's encyclopaedic *Scouting in Singapore* (2002),
26 which this essay also draws greatly from, Sand's “control of the publishing house was so
27 complete that he was able to turn it into the *de facto* Scout Shop and 'official' publisher of
28 local Scouting material.”^{xxxvi} Throughout its run, SIM was priced at an affordable “ten cents
29 but it costs more than that to produce.”^{xxxvii} In comparison, the *Malaya Tribune* (“the most
30 popular newspaper in Malaya” with a daily circulation of 13,000) was priced at five cents
31 while its rival, the *Straits Times*, charged ten cents a copy until an aggressive price-cut in
32 1938 slashed its price to five cents (to match the *Tribune*). This also dramatically raised its
33 circulation from 8,000 – 15,000. Colloquially known as the “Tuan's Paper” (trans.: Master's
34 Paper) presumably because it was “free and independent but establishment-oriented”,^{xxxviii}
35 The *Straits Times* nevertheless “claimed more Asian than European readers” by the eve of
36 World War II.^{xxxix} I use both newspaper sources in this essay.

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Totals of Races (All Ranks) at the All-Malayan Coronation Jamboree						
Contingents	Malay	Chinese	Europeans & Eurasians	Indians & Ceylonese	Japanese	Total
Singapore	72	77	16	16	6	187
Perak	77	48	4	15	-	144
Penang	63	63	3	4	2	135
Selangor	71	28	3	18	-	120
N. Sembilan	75	12	5	9	-	101
Malacca	57	17	7	6	-	87
S.I.T.C.*	67	-	-	-	-	67
Kelantan*	62	-	-	-	-	62
Pahang*	42	6	-	5	-	53
Johore*	44	3	1	3	-	51
Kedah*	40	-	-	-	-	40
Trengganu*	32	2	-	-	-	34
Headquarters*	8	8	7	4	-	27
Totals	710	264	46	80	8	1108

* The preponderance of Malays attending the Jamboree is due to the fact that approximately 10% of the total number of Scouts were taken from each District. In the Malay States, Scouting is largely confined to Malays

Figure 3: Table of participants at the 1937 Jamboree at the SITC (Tanjong Malim, Perak). According to a description preceding this table: "Every State in the Peninsula where there are Scouts sent their representatives." *Scouting in Malaya*, Vol. 13, No. 1, May 1937, p. 8.

"Making Manly (Mimic) Men"? Colonial Proscriptions of Scouting in Malaya

In this section, I present two interconnected, but separate arguments concerning cultural transmissions and the masculine ideal of the "Frontiersman", as engendered by colonial Malayan Scouting between 1910 – 1942. First, I argue that while white Scoutmasters were fascinated by the prospects of "actual" camping in the "wild" conditions of Malayan jungles, they *limited* aspects of actual camping because they believed that the "peculiar conditions of locality and climate" necessitated these restrictions. I will discuss these contradictions and idealisations of "frontier life" in connection with print media (newspaper sources/advertisements) beyond official Scouting statements on camping. Second, I show that

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3 these restrictions within the Movement were extended to “Anglicisation”, (or the cultural
4 transmission of “Englishness”) of Malayan Scouts. I will then suggest in the next section that
5 play-acting allowed Malayan boys to overcome some of the above-mentioned obstacles by
6 performing and expressing their desires of frontier life.
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11 What were some of the popular public images associated with Scouting? As early as
12 1909, local newspapers such as *The Straits Times* actively publicised the Scout Movement in a
13 number of articles, associating the organisation with a “romantic” image and “manly” ethic.
14 One of *The Straits Times*' earliest mention (1909) of Scouting declared the Movement's aims
15 in the headline: “Making Manly Men: Quarter of a Million Boy Scouts Enrolled. System
16 Which Brings Smiles When In Trouble”.^{xl} A month later, when the first Singapore Boy Scouts
17 faced possible disbandment, *The Singapore Free Press* published a letter from a “Singapore
18 mother” (initials: E.A.H) who pleaded: “Speaking as a mother [...] it would be a thousand
19 pities were the Boy Scouts of Singapore to be disbanded [...] Think what it means to them,
20 these boys of the large towns and suburbs, Scouting, what visions of the Prairies, of trails, of
21 grizzly bears and Red Indian Braves.”^{xli} In British Malaya, early public attitudes of Scouting
22 were positive; two of the most frequent judgements/opinions of Scouting were that of the
23 Movement being “manly” and “romantic” because of its allusions to “frontier life” (i.e.,
24 between the “large towns and suburbs” and the “Prairies”, as E.A.H. described it). Between
25 1910 – 1942, other print sources such as advertisements (of health/food companies such as
26 Nestlé, Roboleine, Ho Ho Biscuits, Fraser & Neave and print/film company Kodak Limited)
27 found in SIM similarly promoted these two aspects of the Movement. Here, I concentrate on
28 two advertisements from Nestlé and Kodak (Figures 4a, 4b) because both companies had the
29 two longest advertising records in SIM. Nestlé featured practically in every issue of SIM
30 (1925 – 1941) as well as in SIM's predecessor, *The Herald* (1920 – 1925). Kodak's
31 advertisements appeared in SIM from 1925 – 1936.^{xlii}
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48 Both Nestlé and Kodak encapsulated and propagated the “manly” and “romantic”
49 attributes of the Scout/Frontiersman in several “Scout-themed” advertisements. In *Scouting in*
50 *Malaya*, Nestlé connected its products with the Scout/Frontiersman through a long-standing
51 storyboard-narrative featuring the “Health-Food” company's products as ideal “solutions” for
52 replenishing a Scout's depleted energy-level (presumably because Scout activities were
53 “strenuous”). This message is perhaps best exemplified in Nestlé's 1934 publicity for
54 “Chocolate Flavour Malted Milk”, in which the company proposed its product as “an easy and
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3 enjoyable way of overcoming any sign of tiredness”, particularly because “Scouting is great
4 fun, but long tramps, camp life, strenuous drills are apt to leave a fellow a bit fagged.”^{xliii}
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6 Figure 4a presents a variant of this narrative, targeting the Scout Bugler – an archetypal figure
7 of the Frontiersman – tasked to stand at attention (see background) and to “signal” any sign of
8 danger at the frontier. The advertisement's message: “to remind Scouts how good it [Nestlé's
9 Chocolate] is, how satisfying, how smooth and tasty and how strengthening” rests upon the
10 understanding that a Scout Bugler required “strengthening” because his task was heavy; in the
11 foreground, this visual message is resolved/encapsulated in the figure of a beaming (therefore
12 satiated) Scout(-Bugler) who is purposefully clutching a bar of half-eaten chocolate. The
13 image of the Frontiersman is similarly taken up in Kodak's advertisement (Figure 4b), which
14 is strikingly reminiscent of German Romantic Caspar David Friedrich's famous 1818 painting,
15 *Wanderer above the Sea of Fog (Der Wanderer über dem Nebelmeer)*. Historian John Lewis
16 Gaddis has commented in the case of Friedrich's 1818 painting that “[t]he impression it leaves
17 is contradictory; suggesting at once mastery over a landscape and the insignificance of an
18 individual within it.”^{xliv} Here, I suggest that Kodak's “Scout”-version reflects an accentuation
19 on “mastery” – the “individual” is identified as a Scout – his personality is encapsulated in
20 the figure of a uniformed/“equipped” Scout/Frontiersman, an image which Malayan Scouts of
21 any ethnicity could self-identify with, because of the lack of any other apparent (e.g. racial,
22 facial) characteristics. Importantly, the Scout's “mastery over a landscape” is more complete
23 as he can “convert” (with the use of the “Kodapod”) readily-available objects such as the
24 handle of [his] Scout hatchet into a tripod”, thereby ensuring more control (e.g. of the “dull
25 (natural)-light” conditions in the “woods”); additionally, the prominent position of the hatchet
26 (stuck in a tree) likewise suggests control or “mastery” of a more aggressive nature. Apart
27 from advertisements, Kodak's other investments in SIM were also noteworthy. For instance,
28 in order to encourage photography (and its own products), the company sponsored a “Pocket
29 Camera No. 1” for a “Scout Short Story Competition” in 1929, which was won by a Chinese
30 Scout, Ooi Ah Kow (Government English School, Alor Star, Kedah, UMS).^{xlv} A more
31 substantial commitment and connection to Malayan Scouting arrived in the form of a letter
32 dated 17 August 1936, addressed directly to Commissioner Sands, which was subsequently
33 published in SIM. Accompanied by several copies of four books on photography “in
34 connection with possible Scout Badges”, the letter promised that Kodak “should be glad to
35 supply free of charge any quantity of these booklets and a few sets of the Pin-Hole-Camera
36 parts mentioned on page 6.”^{xlvi} Both companies' level of investment in Scouting suggests that
37 they considered Malayan Scouts as a possibly affluent and substantial clientèle.
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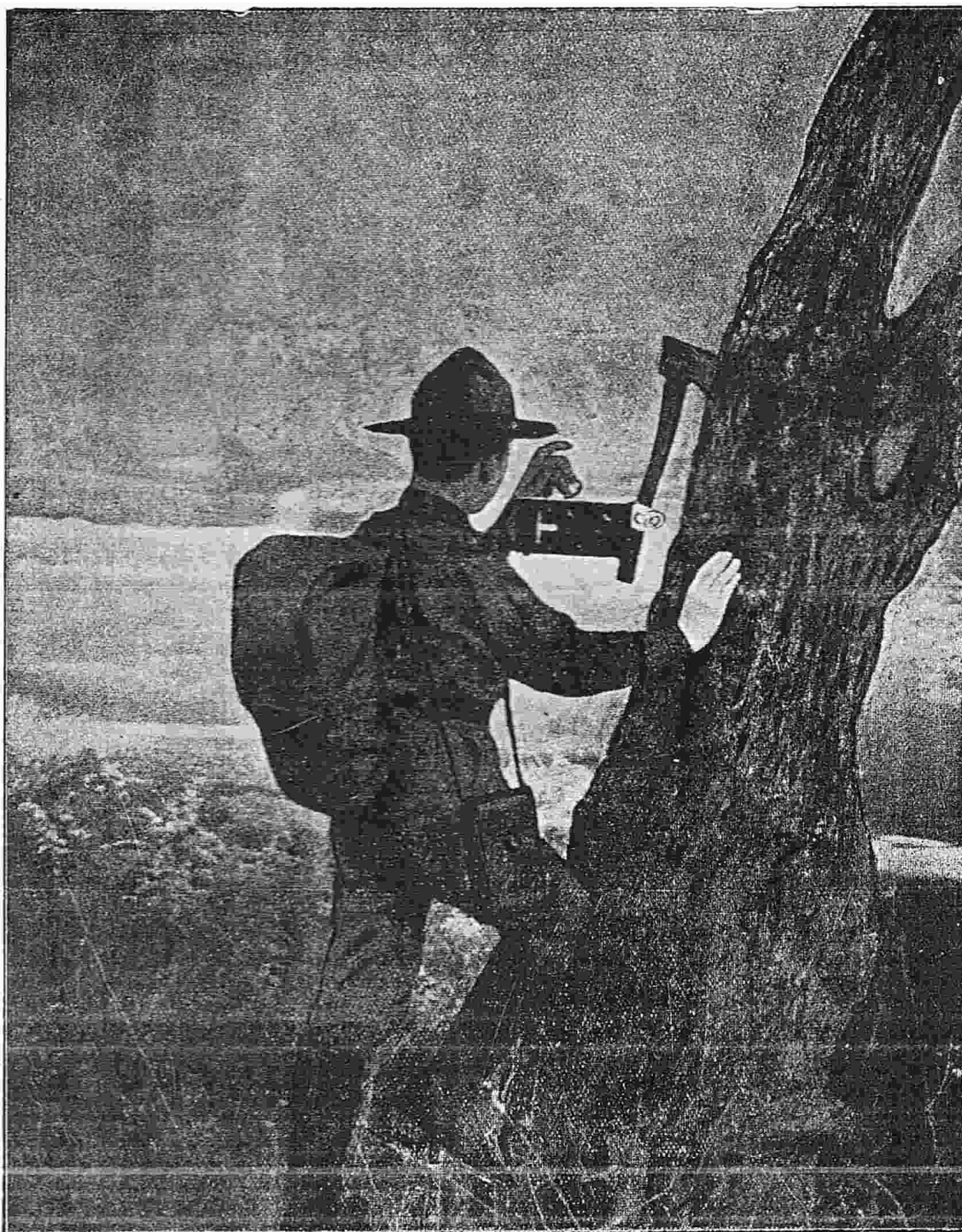
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It is all very well for the bugler – he is taught to blow the various calls at various times. But Nestle's Chocolate has to "blow its own trumpet". That is why we have to remind scouts how good it is, how satisfying, how smooth and tasty and how strengthening.

*Blow for
Nestle's
Chocolate*

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Figure 4a: Advertisement in *Scouting in Malaya*, Vol. 15, No. 1, January 1939, unnumbered.



SCOUT WITH A "KODAK"

And when the hike carries you where dull light demands a time exposure—the woods, for example—there's the KODAPOD, a handy little "Kodak" convenience no bigger than your fist that converts a fence, rail, tree, or the handle of your scout hatchet into a tripod.

Price \$3.85

Figure 4b: Advertisement in *Scouting in Malaya*, Vol. 1, No. 1, May 1925, p. 3.

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3 Apart from these public imaginations/“impressions” of camping, “frontier life” and its
4 intimate relationship to Scouting, white Scoutmasters also spoke glowingly of the “ideal”,
5 unique, “jungly” conditions for Scouting in Malaya. In an instructional book with the self-
6 explanatory title *Scouting in the Tropics* (1926), District Commissioner of Perak (FMS)
7 Leonard Wheeler highlighted Malaya's “Scouting qualities” and tantalised readers with vivid
8 descriptions of the differences of Scouting between the “Tropics” and Britain (the metropole):
9 “Lions and tigers, pythons and sharks and croc[odile]s! How exciting it all sounds! Hundreds
10 of British boys would give almost anything for a chance of seeing a tiger's 'pugs' in the wet
11 mud of a jungle path when out for a morning's trailing; or the thrill of bathing in the haunts of
12 tarpon and swordfish and kraken and other monsters of the deep.”^{xlvii} Although statements of
13 this nature appeared sporadically throughout 1910 – 1942, I focus our discussion here in the
14 “lean years” of Depression (1929 – 1932) in Malaya because the multiple contradictions of
15 white male desires and anxieties of “actual” Scouting/camping in Malaya are perhaps most
16 apparent in this period where the beneficial effects of Scout activities in local/Malayan
17 “climatic conditions” were most articulated (even beyond Scouting circles) in public.

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29 In a 2001 essay, W.G. Huff noted that “[f]ew economies can have undergone a
30 macroeconomic shock more severe than that experienced in the 1930s depression by
31 Malaya”.^{xlviii} Under these circumstances, economic pressures dealt a serious blow upon the
32 (mental) health of Europeans in the colony who were accustomed to what historian John
33 Butcher classified as “a high standard of living,” which was also “one way in which British
34 prestige and hence British power was preserved” in Malaya.^{xlix} Hence, with a worrying eye
35 upon the “unreasonably high rate of European suicides” occurring in the colony (SS) during
36 this period of time, Colonial-Surgeon Dr. Waugh-Scott prescribed in 1932: “All agencies such
37 as Rotary Clubs, Boy Scouts, Girl Guides [...] are to be commended and encouraged [...] for
38 the mental contentment which they bring”. Additionally, the doctor informed readers that he
39 had “no patience with the [long-standing] solar myth and all the dreadful accusations one
40 hears against God's good sunlight and its dire effects.”^{li} Echoing the doctor's opinion of the
41 benefits of “God's good sunlight” in Malaya, one Scouter (initials: A.V.H.) noted in 1931: “In
42 Malaya we are probably favoured by nature more than any other country in the world, for we
43 have what is really a continuous summer and in consequence camps and camping are not
44 necessarily confined to any set period of the year [...] We in Malaya are all children of the
45 sun, we have all that hankering after the open that years of town life cannot kill.”^{li} Another
46 opined in 1932: “Probably no other country in the world possesses such fine opportunities for
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3 practical Scouting as Malaya. With jungle almost at one's front door, no one who is keen on
4 practical Scouting need lack the opportunity of putting his theories into practice.^{»iii}
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8 However, despite these public declarations – at a period which *emphasised* the
9 benefits of the “Great Outdoors” – Malayan Scout camps were *in reality* cautiously monitored
10 and curtailed. Indeed, in a 1932 interview with the Canadian newspaper *Saskatoon Star-*
11 *Phoenix* for their “Scout Column”, Scoutmaster George Davidson explained: “It is impossible
12 to do very much training in a regular camp and camping by troops is not encouraged.” As
13 Davidson put it, “although the word [jungle] may be a fascinating one”, it “is entirely
14 unsuitable for any sort of Scout work” due to its density, humidity and chiefly because of “the
15 final difficulty [that] it contains insects and animals of so many different kinds that it is
16 positively dangerous to enter it without much preparation and precaution.” In conclusion, the
17 Scoutmaster asserted that local conditions “rule out practically all our outdoor training which
18 is, or ought to be, the greatest part of all Scout activities.”^{»iii} Such attitudes were not confined
19 to the rank-and-file of Malayan Scouting. In 1934, when Lord Baden-Powell himself visited
20 Malaya, he noted in his report “the peculiar difficulties of locality and climate”, which
21 nonetheless, in his opinion, did not prevent Scouting “in combating inherent weaknesses such
22 as the lack of self-control, of energy, of thrift (amongst the Malays) and of discipline.”^{»iv} Chief
23 Guide Olave Baden-Powell herself commented that “it is extremely hot in Malaya and it is not
24 easy to feel energetic in an atmosphere like a Turkish bath.”^{»iv}
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37 These warnings on Malaya's climate also meant that actual camping (when carried out)
38 was, according to Scoutleaders such as Cheeseman, “a sort of glorified hotel”. Challenging
39 “those who favour the hotel system” in 1927, Cheeseman questioned: “Is it a real Scout Camp
40 when the Scouts do not do their own cooking? I have to confess that I learn with regret that
41 the Penang Camp [SS] is to be a sort of glorified hotel.”^{»vi} Other Scoutmasters such as
42 Singapore-based schoolteacher G.C.S. Koch also criticised the limits of actual Scout camps,
43 especially in the period prior to 1928 (i.e. before the establishment of Singapore's Purdy
44 Camp). In this era, asserted Koch, “[o]ften the atmosphere [in camp] was similar to that of a
45 glorified picnic, and with tents pitched in orderly rows close upon each other and the services
46 of several professional cooks greatly in evidence, the boys frequently failed to imbibe
47 anything that was adventurous or romantic in their Scouting or camping.”^{»vii} But while Purdy
48 Camp (rightfully touted as “not only Singapore's but the entire Malaya's very own version of
49 Gilwell Park [British Imperial Headquarters' campsite]”) made a difference, the experiences
50 of indigenous Malayan Scouts reveal that there were limits.^{»viii} Scout Lim Kok Ann (Rufus the
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3 Rambler, active 1932 – 1939), the grandson of the Straits Chinese leader Dr. Lim Boon Keng
4 (OBE), revealed in his autobiography (2003) that: “Camping was what Scouting was all about
5 and I 'camped' frequently on holidays and week-ends at Purdy Camp [...] I was rather
6 disappointed at first to find that instead of tents, we had to use huts that were no more than
7 low attap-roofed [thatched-roofed] shelters without walls and to sleep on wooden mattresses
8 instead of on ground-sheets on the turf, as described in Scouting books.”^{lix} Lim's expectations
9 (and disappointment) of the limits of camping at Purdy are perhaps best encapsulated in the
10 first sentence above, where the word “camping” meant two different ideas – the first reveals
11 his impression/idealism of what camping ought to have been (“what Scouting was all about”)
12 whereas the latter reflected an un-welcomed reality, which could not be considered as “real”
13 camping to Lim – as evidenced by his use of inverted commas in “and I 'camped' frequently”.
14 Apart from this detail of camp-life, Lim also provides us with the sentiments of his fellow
15 Scouts concerning the limits of camping and the chance of “roughing it out” in the 1930s.
16 After having “acquired a two-man hike tent in Australia during [his] Jamboree trip [1934]”,
17 he was “proud to display my leadership” by using it in Purdy Camp. In Lim's words, “I have a
18 picture of [fellow Straits Chinese Scout] Seng Ghee and I outside my tent which I used to
19 bring to camp to the envy of other Scouts, who wished they could 'rough it' with me on the
20 bare turf in Purdy Camp instead of sleeping on wooden mattresses in the huts.”

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34 But the charges levelled against Malayan camp conditions as being “a glorified hotel”
35 or “a glorified picnic” were not the only criticisms. In SIM, Scoutmasters also frowned upon
36 the “bookish” nature of how the “Scouting Game” was (or ought to have been) played in
37 Malaya. Scoutmaster Alexander Cullen (Running Hare, who also supervised the “Purdy
38 Redskins”; active 1928 – 1942), a Scotsman who wore his Scout uniform with his kilt,
39 vigorously pushed Scoutmasters to “get rid of [Scouting's] classroom atmosphere”. According
40 to Cullen, “I have actually been in contact with a Scout Troop which met nearly a year in a
41 class room, with forms and a blackboard!” Thus urged the Scoutmaster in 1930: “Let us get
42 away from all that out to camp [...] Let us get out on the trail of buried treasure and gather
43 round the Council Fire at night tired and happy with the DOING of things.”^{lx} Cullen's fellow
44 Scoutmaster (and “Purdy Redskin”) Noel Scharenguivel also underlined the scholarly (and
45 non-“Scouty”) personalities of some Malayan Scouts, albeit in a more bemused attitude in the
46 following anecdote: “One message left on the way [Scout trail] read 'est ht tall tree'. One of
47 the gang, reading the first word said: 'That's Latin!' But they managed to decipher it. In plain
48 English it means 'estimate height of tall tree.’”^{lxi}

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3 As alluded to earlier, Scouting was closely linked to (primarily) English-medium
4 schools in Malaya between 1910 – 1942. Scoutmasters such as Scharenguivel and Cheeseman
5 were educationalists; Scouts were mostly pupils recruited from schools during this period, and
6 the majority of the Scouting literature available to Malayan Scouts were in English, excepting
7 the occasional Malay publication or article in SIM. However, despite these connections,
8 Scoutmasters advised against the “Anglicisation” of indigenous Scouts. In Alor Star, Kedah
9 (UMS), Scoutmaster E.C.H (possibly E.C. Hicks) contributed “popular local howlers” to SIM
10 in 1925: “One boy, on being told to treat all animals with kindness and to refrain from
11 unnecessary cruelty to loathsome reptiles, gave as a version of Scout Law No. 6., 'A Scout is a
12 friend to sneaks'. Another rendered Scout Law No. 9., that deals with the value of thrift, as 'A
13 Scout is thirsty'!”^{lxiii} Citing these examples, “E.C.H.” concluded more seriously: “The English
14 language is a frequent stumbling block in the training of Tenderfoots.” Similarly, Cheeseman
15 recounted in SIM that on 2 August 1931, “there was an attempt at community singing [by
16 Malacca Malay Scouts]. It was not a success” because “[t]hey tried to sing songs alien in
17 interest and appeal [...] 'London's Burning' [was] rendered imperfectly and without much
18 interest.” In summary, Cheeseman insisted: May we be prevented from any attempt to foist
19 English songs (the words, I mean) on Malay School Troops [...] We have to remember we are
20 in Malaya and not England. It is not always the Englishman who forgets it.”^{lxiii} Two years
21 later, Cheeseman asserted once again: “Whenever I inspect Malay School Troops, I
22 emphasise the desirability of discouraging the unnecessary intrusion of English words.”^{lxiv}
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37 Although the attitude of white Scoutmasters in Malaya on “Anglicisation” appears to
38 be inconsistent/contradictory at first glance, I argue that this was because Scoutmasters and
39 leaders followed broader overarching British policies on education which strictly warned
40 against “Anglicisation”. Philip Loh (1975) and Keith Watson (1993) have demonstrated how
41 British administrators as early as the late 1890s believed that English education would be
42 “seditious” and would “undermine the traditional culture of the rural Malay.” As such, British
43 policies on education limited indigenous access to English education, keeping the Malays (the
44 indigenous people of the land, as opposed to the “birds of passage” such as the Chinese and
45 the Indians) in a “rural time warp” because Government, in the words of Chief Secretary
46 George Maxwell in 1920, concentrated on “improv[ing] the bulk of the people and to make
47 the son of the fisherman or peasant a more intelligent fisherman or peasant than his father had
48 been.”^{lxv} As several scholars have indicated, the tension of “Anglicisation”, as imagined by
49 British colonials in Malaya, was notably personified in Prince Saleh, the “mimic man”
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3 protagonist of Sir Hugh Clifford's *Sally: A Study* (1904). Saleh, who was “being scoffed at
4 and mocked because 'Sally' [homophone of “Saleh”] was in England a woman's name”, had
5 found “English” values of “honour, duty, morality [...] new ideas difficult to assimilate” and
6 “numbing to the brain” during his education in England.^{lxvi} Clifford's cautionary tale was also
7 a critique of Malay masculinity as Saleh/Sally, incapable of coping with the idea that he was
8 “made all wrong from the beginning”, loses manly “self-control” of his “nerves” and
9 eventually runs amok.
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15 In considering all of the above, I suggest then that Malayan Scouts occupied the
16 ambivalent position of “mimic men/boys” in that they were “*almost*”, but never quite “white”;
17 never quite (speaking “proper”) “English”; never quite like the poster-boy “frontiersmen” in
18 camps that “true” Scouts supposedly were. Even when they were in Scout uniform, which on
19 the surface served as a common denominator for all Scouts regardless of ethnicity or
20 class/social background, Malayan Scouts were likewise uncomfortable. For instance, in the
21 early 1900s, Tuan Syed Shaidali, a Malay student at the Victoria Institution, recalled that one
22 of his Indian classmates arrived late to school because he got carried-away ensuring that his
23 Cadet Corps uniform (which in the early days, also served as Scout uniform) was in order.
24 When his teacher sternly asked this student to explain his tardiness, “[a]ll Seenivasagam could
25 do was to blurt out, 'Sir, my legs are so thin that the boys call me 'Bamboo-Sticks' whenever I
26 wear puttees!’”^{lxvii} As late as the 1950s, the lack of any modification on the Scout uniform also
27 caused Scout Ooi Boon Teck of the Victoria Institution (active, 1951 – 1957, Kuala Lumpur,
28 Selangor, FMS) to be “bodily uncomfortable”. In Ooi's words, Scouts had “to suffer for
29 appearance's sake” as “[t]he Scout hat made of felt, the woollen stockings and the scarf
30 around the neck made us sweat. During our time, everything British was adopted lock, stock
31 and barrel without consideration to the need for tropicalisation.” Even though he was
32 “dress[ed] in the livery of a footman of the British”, Ooi admitted: “We never seemed to be
33 able to get things right. The stockings kept sliding down to our ankles, however much we
34 tightened our garters”; additionally, his “floppy” Scout hat was *almost, but not* of the same
35 quality as the “stiff, straight brims of the Royal Mounted Police”.^{lxviii}
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51 **(Other) Imperial Play Ethics: Malayan Scouts at “Play”**

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53 In a 2011 essay, Bradley Deane coined the phrase “imperial play ethic” (in contrast to
54 the “games ethic”) to describe “a distinctive set of interlocking values of male behaviour”
55 based upon a “combination of new imperialist politics and the romance of endless
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3 boyhood”.^{lxix} Although Deane concentrated on European/British (white) actors in his work, I
4 suggest that his concept is applicable to the experiences of colonised boys such as indigenous
5 Malayan Scouts – on top of the “imperial play ethic” of British/white Scoutmasters in Malaya
6 as well. Deane's comment that the “imperial play ethic” was “self-consciously performative”
7 as “play required great attention to one's appearance to other players – friend and foe alike –
8 emphasizing role-playing and conduct over interiority” is particularly important in my
9 analysis, which examines examples of imaginative role-playing.^{lxx} In this essay, I suggest that
10 the localised, indigenous Malayan forms of play-acting can constitute and form part of
11 Deane's “imperial play ethic”.
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19 Broadly, I argue in this section for the need of a more nuanced consideration of
20 Malayan responses to colonial conceptions of native cultures and masculinities introduced
21 though the Scout Movement by focusing upon two examples of play-acting/”Indian play” by
22 Malayan Scouts. It is important to note that these examples of Malayan play-acting are
23 cultural “imports” introduced by colonial Scouting, which in turn had incorporated elements
24 of other “native cultures” because key figures such as Baden-Powell were fascinated by the
25 “martial” qualities of these “native cultures”. The first example, a localised version of the
26 1855 epic poem *The Song of Hiawatha* (by Henry Longfellow), brings us back to the “Purdy
27 Redskins”. The second example of play-acting is a comparison of two “Scout Plays” featuring
28 a (1) “White Scout” amongst the “Mohawks” by a Scout, “Jack”; and (2) the forming of the
29 First Dong (Sakai) Troop in Dong, Perak, by District Commissioner Hertslet. Although there
30 are understandably many forms of “play” or role-playing that Malayan Scouts engaged in
31 between 1910 – 1942, I concentrate upon “playing Indian” for two main reasons: first, and
32 most importantly, it was the most frequently played “game” and arguably, a basis for other
33 imaginative role-playing in Malaya; practically every Malayan campsite also nurtured Indian
34 cultural expectations by possessing “totem poles”, “Indian signs” or “Council Fires”. Second,
35 the concept of “playing Indian” was flexible in Malaya and also refers to role-playing which
36 extended to other “native” play-acting such as “playing Sakai” (an indigenous group of
37 people, distinct from “Malays” in the Malay Peninsula). Sandra Khor Manickam has noted in
38 her work that British colonials (and Malays) divided the indigenous peoples of Malaya into
39 categories such as “Sakai” (splinted into “wild” and “tame”), “Semang” (or “Negritos” – a
40 diminutive form of the category “Negro”) and “Malay”; for our purposes, I wish to base part
41 of our discussion on Manickam's insight that some Malays considered these other indigenous
42 peoples negatively. As one Malay writer, Abdul-Hadi (author of *Sejarah alam Melayu*
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3 (History of the Malay world) in 1925) opined, the *Orang Asli* (collective term for indigenous
4 peoples) were “a stupid and frightening race and that if Malays had been in the Peninsula first,
5 they would have wiped *Orang Asli* out.”^{lxxi}
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9 To return to our opening anecdote of the “Purdy Redskins”, Scoutmaster Woodford
10 noted that after the “Tribal Song: 'While a-scouting, scouting, scouting” was to be sung, the
11 main segment would commence in the following manner:
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14 The Keeper of the Legends, scroll in hand, goes up to the Council Fire and recites
15 the “Legends of Purdy Camp” [...] Even before the resounding 'Woof' [of Wolf
16 Cubs] has died down the tom-tom beats yet again and the whole circle lustily
17 sings the words of the 'Killi-Killi' dance. Scouts dressed for the dance gyrate
18 round the fire and the climax comes with a long Indian Yell.^{lxxii}
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21 Woodford's localised Malayan version of “Indian play” in the above, I suggest, reflects some
22 facets of indigenous/Malayan negotiations/appropriations of cultural references introduced by
23 colonial Scouting. First, such practices of play-acting had been *introduced and endorsed* by
24 white Scoutmasters. To some extent, contrary to the limits imposed upon the embodying of
25 the figure of the “Frontiersman” through Scout camping, Malayan Scouts such as Woodford
26 thus faced far fewer “official” restrictions in re-appropriating role-playing/”Indian play”.
27 Indeed, “Indian play”, and “Indian” costumes had been introduced as early as 1926 (Figure
28 5a), and “The Legends of Purdy Camp” (Figure 5b), which were written/illustrated by
29 Scoutmaster Michael Chong, had an antecedent, “The Song of Makan-angin” (lit. trans.: to eat
30 air; trans.: to take a breeze), penned by none other than Commissioner Sands (also known as
31 “the Father of Malayan Scouting”) published in SIM (1926).^{lxxiii} Chong's “Legends”, which
32 was vividly decorated with a number of “Scouty signs” was also “written on parchment, and it
33 will be noticed that it has been purposely written in the rhythm of 'Hiawatha'.” This, I argue,
34 illustrates that colonial Scouting's cultural appropriations were multi-directional – indigenous
35 Scouts could imaginatively select and adapt the ideas that colonial Malayan Scouting
36 introduced. Next, just as British Scouts appropriated “native cultures” “Dracula-like” to
37 regenerate their depleted virility, non-white Scouts such as the “Purdy Redskins” could also
38 appropriate a variety of cultures in a bid to exhibit a more masculine front by inventing rituals
39 such as the “Killi-Killi dance”, which featured “tribal” Scouts “clad in long leaves danc[ing]
40 round the campfire in Zulu fashion” and “gyrat[ing] around the fire” till “the climax [that]
41 comes with a long Indian yell.”^{lxxiv} It is indeed difficult to miss the physicality of such a
42 bodily performance of a “primitive”/“tribal” interpretation of masculinity, conducted within a
43 homo-social context such as outdoor campfire/camping.
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"HIAWATHA" AT MALACCA

Figure 5a: Possibly the first (published) picture of "Indian play" (and possibly only example of female participants in "Indian play") in Malaya. *Scouting in Malaya*, Vol. 2, No. 5, September 1926, p. 69. Malacca is part of the SS.

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LEGENDS OF PURDY CAMP

Far away in Brownssea Island
 B. P. taught us years ago,
 Secrets of the Wilds and Woodcraft
 That have spread from Shore to Shore.
 But within this Sunny Island
 Time went by ~ no Camp had we;
 Then there came the Big Chief Purdy,
 Looking for a Land that's free
 From the Dust and Din of City;
 Far and Wide afield searched he
 For a Land that's Cool and Peaceful ~
 Here he found it, by the Sea.
 Let us not forget the Kindness
 Of the Man who brought us Joy,
 Asking no Reward for Service;
 Honour be to Ng Sen Choy.
 Soon there gathered Little Chieftains -
 Son of Richard, Tawny Owl
 And the Smith, for Service gathered,
 Cleansed this Land of all things foul.
 Scouts to Purdy came in Numbers;
 Gathered they from Far and Near,
 Waxing great in Camp and Scoutcraft,
 Growing better Year by Year.
 To his Home went Big Chief Purdy;
 Running Acre came in his Place;
 Purdy Camp then grew much Larger ~
 A Home from Home for all our Race.
 As the Years went by, the Rovers
 Toiled, from Love, till Purdy grew,
 Grey to be a Home of Scouting,
 Handed down by Them to You.
 Sitting round this Council Fire
 Think of all They've done for You,
 And resolve to keep the Scout Law ~
 Braves are Loyal, Kind and True.

Figure 5b: "The Legends of Purdy Camp", *Scouting in Malaya*, Vol. 17, Nos. 1 - 2, January - February 1941, p. 1.

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3 Malayan Scouting's appropriations of other "native cultures" were highly flexible. As
4 the following comparison of two "Scout (theatrical) Plays" will illustrate, Malayan forms of
5 play-acting could incorporate other "natives" – even local indigenous peoples of Malaya such
6 as the "Sakai". To begin with, I have chosen to focus on two examples of "playing
7 Indian/Sakai" chosen on the basis of a common anchoring story-arc summarised in Figure 5.
8 Broadly, this common narrative/plot features a Scout-hero/protagonist who encounters a
9 native counterpart/leader in the midst of Scout activity; consequentially, the encounter leads
10 to dramatic tension which is released/resolved when the Scout exchanges/imparts Scout
11 values to his fellow "native" partner, who will have been "converted" as a "brother" Scout by
12 the end of the play. This form of "playing-Indian" is not new: Baden-Powell's original (1908)
13 Scouts' Play, "Pocahontas; or, the Capture of Captain John Smith" can be seen as the
14 precursor for these two Scout Plays which I have compared in Figure 5.^{lxxv} An illustrative
15 localised variant of this narrative-plot is found in the following: on 8 July 1927, Ipoh Scouts
16 (Perak, FMS) performed a play entitled "A Darkie Troop in Dongaland" at the occasion of the
17 Grand Variety Entertainment and Concert at the Anglo-Chinese School Hall. After opening
18 the scene with a "Chorus Song" entitled "Britannia the Pride of the Ocean", the play begins
19 and consists of "the forming of a Troop of Boy Scouts by the Darkies in an African village,
20 when a patrol of white Scouts comes along and, although at first they are rather amused at
21 their darker brothers, they are ultimately forced to admit that they are as good a Troop as
22 themselves."^{lxxvi} As the example of the "Darkies" illustrate, this form of play was flexible and
23 could be extended to not only "Indians", "Sakais", but also "Darkies in an African village".
24 Additionally, "play-acting" of this nature carried on well into the post-War years, often with
25 an imperialist bent/agenda as the "Darkies" illustrated through their "Chorus Song". As
26 former Singapore-based Scout Dr. Ngiam Tong Tau reveals, he had acted as "one of the
27 African children" as part of a school celebration in portraying the Commonwealth at the
28 occasion of the coronation of the Queen in 1953. By "mix[ing] food with oil and paint[ing]
29 ourselves black," he recalled in adulthood (in 2007) that "that was pretty good fun."^{lxxvii}
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49 In comparing the way Malayan Scouts "played Indian" and "Sakai" (see Figure 6 for a
50 visual representation of "playing Sakai"), I suggest that the striking similarities in their role-
51 playing rendered/associated indigenous peoples, such as "Indians", "Sakais", and even
52 imagined "Darkies" into a monolithic category of "natives", which was in turn contrasted
53 with the Scout figure that Malayan Scouts could identify with – by virtue of the fact that they
54 were *indeed* Scouts. On the other hand, coupled with the understanding that indigenous
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peoples such as the “Sakai” were judged negatively, I argue that indigenous Scouts did not self-identify with this particular role. In this sense, when Malayan Scouts played “Indians” or “Sakai”, I suggest that they were also *playing at being colonials*, or playing at occupying the privileged position of the Scout-coloniser by performing plays with such a narrative plot.

Name of Play (Setting, Author)	Main Scout Actors	Main “Native” Actors	Confrontation/ Resolution
“A Scout Play” (“two small settlements away South”, by Rover Scout 'Jack' of Penang, SS)	White Scout/ “Scout Big Smile” (“Peace Scout from “Golden Arrow Tribe”); White Chief	Red Scout/ Clearwater, son of Chief Thundercloud; Chief Thundercloud of the Mohawks	Red Scout saved from bear by White Scout; White Scout “captured” after failed attempt to spy on Mohawks who “raided” settlements/ Chief releases White Scout, smokes peace pipe; scene ends with “God Save the King”
“How the First Dong Troop was Started” (Pahang, by Henry Hertslet of Perak, FMS)	Patrol Leader Roy (“white lad”); Patrol Second Teng Khoo	Timoon (Sakai), “small ugly 'interpreter'”; Six unidentified “little naked Sakais”	Roy “captured”/ 1 st Dong (Sakai) Troop established

Name of Play (Setting, Author)	Scout Items Exchanged	“Native” Items Exchanged	Scout Ideas Exchanged	“Native” Ideas Exchanged
“A Scout Play” (“two small settlements away South”, by Rover Scout 'Jack' of Penang, SS)	Peace Pipe Blood (ritual)	Peace Pipe Blood (ritual)	Scout Laws, “whistling”	-
“How the First Dong Troop was Started” (Pahang, by Henry Hertslet of Perak, FMS)	(Food): Bread, Sweets; (Scout gear): Axe, Scout Hat, Badges	(Food): Rice; (Native gear): Blowpipe	“Stave Drill” “Clean Washing”	“Quick Knot Tying”

*Note: Rover Scout “Jack's” play was published in *Scouting in Malaya*, Vol. 10, No. 3, July 1934, pp. 44 – 46 while Hertslet's play was published in *Scouting in Malaya*, Vol. 3, No. 10, February 1928, pp. 150 – 155.

Figure 6: Plot summary of two “Scout Plays”.



Fifteenth Troop as Sakais.

Photos by courtesy of The Malayan Saturday Post.

Figure 7: “Playing Sakai”, *Scouting in Malaya*, Vol. 5, No. 5, September 1929. Note that this picture was not reproduced in *The Malaya Tribune* (The *Malayan Saturday Post* was the Saturday edition of the *Tribune*).

Conclusion (Epilogue)

In February 1957, at the eve of Malayan independence from the British, Tom Two Arrows (Thomas Dorsey), an Onandaga Indian (Iroquois Nation) visited the Federation of Malaya under the auspices of the American National Theatre and Academy. By all accounts, this was the first mention of a “real, live Red Indian” connected to Malayan Scouting.^{lxxviii} At several reprises, as audiences gawked in silent awe “a little apprehensively” at the “dignified figure in full Red Indian costume” accompanied by several Scout-“Braves”, Tom Two Arrows reassured the public that he “had not brought his tomahawk along and had no intention of scalping them”. Apart from this clarification, he also informed Malaysians through *The Straits Times*: “As you can see, I am not red in colour, so please do not call us Red Indians; we are American Indians.” Unfortunately, his request appears to have fallen on deaf ears as the daily published this article under the headline “Don’t call us Red, says Tom, the Red Indian.”^{lxxix} A third confusion occurred when his local hosts, the Malayan Scouts, engaged the help of the United States Information Agency and the Institute for Medical Research (Kuala Lumpur) to procure twelve porcupine quills at short notice in order to decorate the certificates that Tom Two Arrows would present to Senior Scouts, “because [the Scouts] had heard that the Iroquois

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3 tribe, of which Tom is a member, used them in their headdresses.” When the quills were
4 obtained after much dialogue and deliberation between Kuala Lumpur and Washington
5 (including the Institute's uncooperative porcupine who “shed[ed] only three quills in nine
6 days”), Tom Two Arrows, who had not been informed of the “hunt for spikes”, “smilingly
7 revealed that it was long porcupine hairs he wore in his headdress and not quills.”^{lxxx}
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13 Tom Two Arrow's Malayan trip may have occurred at a time period well beyond the
14 scope of this paper, but his experience nonetheless raises important issues about the impact of
15 Scouting's cultural transmissions in Malaya. First, to what extent had Scouting actually
16 contributed towards an understanding of the cultures (“martial” or otherwise) absorbed and
17 spread through Scouting? On the one hand, Scouting in Malaya served as the point of “first
18 contact” between Malaysians and other cultures; furthermore, as evidenced in the “hunt for
19 spikes”, some Scouts were anxious to demonstrate their appreciation for Indian culture –
20 however misguided. Yet, concurrently, Scouting also perpetuated colonial and racist ideas
21 about these cultures. Second, we note in the above that the fascination that Malaysians (Scouts
22 and the wider public) held for “playing Indian” continued well after the time period that this
23 essay has examined (Figure 7). In the case of America, Philip Deloria has suggested that
24 “playing Indian” was “perhaps not so much about a desire to become Indian – or even to
25 become American – as it was a longing for the utopian experience of being in between”^{lxxxi} In
26 this essay, Deloria's insight echoes some of the issues we have examined; Malaysian Scouts
27 may not desired to become Indian, Sakai, or even colonials; in a situation where Scouting
28 imposed limits upon outdoor life, playing “Indian” offered a comfortable in-betweenness and
29 also allowed indigenous Malaysian Scouts to embody some of the idealised figures (such as
30 that of the Frontiersman) that Scouting propagated, in the “safe” confines of their imagination.
31 Third, I have suggested in this essay that playing “Indian” could, and did encompass a wider
32 meaning – such as in its variant of “playing Sakai” (or playing “Darkies”). Furthermore, as a
33 practice which was introduced through Scouting, “playing Indian” served as a basis by which
34 these cultures could be grouped under the monolithic category of “natives”, even by
35 indigenous boys themselves. In this sense, as Deloria put it, “Indians”, “Sakais” and
36 “Darkies” could truly be, in more ways than one, “in unexpected places”.^{lxxxii}
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Figure 8: The (original) description of this video still-image from British Pathé reads: “A Pack from the King George V English School in a circle doing a Red Indian dance.” “Negri Sembilan [FMS] State Cub Rally, Seramban, Malaya (Malaysia)”, 20 March 1953. <http://www.britishpathe.com/video/negri-sembilan-cub-rally>.

- i “Romance of Campfire”, *Scouting in Malaya: Official Organ of the Boy Scouts of Malaya*, Vol. 17, No. 1 – 2, January – February 1941, pp. 15 – 16.
- ii “Purdy Camp Celebrates Late Chief Scout’s 84th Birthday”, *The Singapore Free Press*, 24 February 1941, p. 9.
- iii “Campfire Blankets”, *Scouting in Malaya*, Vol. 17, Nos. 3 – 4, March – April 1941, p. 40.
- iv “Romance of Campfire”, p. 15.
- v I have benefited from a discussion of the origin/translation of these words on the Scout forum, www.scouters.com and Jan Ullrich's (ed.), *New Lakota Dictionary (2nd Edition)*, Lakota Language Consortium, MUL Edition, 2008.
- vi “Romance of Campfire”, p. 15.
- vii Although these Scouts were not identified by ethnicity, we can trace their ethnic backgrounds from their names. The names of the “Purdy Redskins” are: Hoon Thye Yick, Ho Yat Choon, Tan Kok Hoh, Tan Yong Seng, Chan Yang Pun, Tay Mai Hiong, Cheah Hock Cheah and Tengku Zainal. The last name is Malay. “Purdy Redskins!”, *Scouting in Malaya*, Vol. 17, No. 1 – 2, p. 14. Researchers Tan and Wan inform us that Woodford and Scharenguivel were Eurasians. Kevin Y.L. Tan and Wan Meng Hao, *Scouting in Singapore: 1910 – 2000*, Singapore, Singapore Scout Association & National Archives of Singapore, 2002, pp. 95 and 116.

- viii "Redskin Headdress", *Scouting in Malaya*, Vol. 17, No. 7, July 1941, pp. 82 – 83.
- ix Philip Holden, "Love, Death and Nation: Representing Amok in British Malaya", *Literary and History* (6.1), 1997, pp. 43 – 62; Eddie Tay, *Colony, Nation and Globalisation: Not at Home in Singaporean and Malaysian Literature*, Hong Kong, Hong Kong University Press, 2011; Adeline Koh, "The uses of racial melancholia in colonial education: Reading *Ourika and Saleh: A Prince of Malaya* as cautionary tales", *Journal of Postcolonial Writing*, Vol. 48, Issue 4, 2012, pp. 384 – 395. Clifford was also Governor of the Straits Settlements and High Commissioner in Malaya (1927 – 1930).
- x Homi Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse", *Discipleship: A Special Issue on Psychoanalysis*, The MIT Press, (Spring 1984), pp. 125 – 133.
- xi Kristine Alexander, "Similarity and Difference at Girl Guide Camps in England, Canada and India", in Nelson Block and Tammy Proctor (eds.), *Scouting Frontiers: Youth and the Scout Movement's First Century*, Newcastle upon Tyne, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009 pp. 106 – 120. Alexander's comments on "playing Indian" concern Guiding in Canada (a white settler society).
- xii Tammy Proctor, "Introduction: Building an Empire of Youth: Scout and Guide History in Perspective", in *ibid.*, p. xxxiii.
- xiii Timothy Parsons, "Een-Gonyama Gonyama!: Zulu Origins of the Boy Scout Movement and the Africanisation of Imperial Britain", in *The Parliamentary History Yearbook Trust*, Vol. 27, No. 1, 2008, p. 64.
- xiv *Ibid.*, p. 65.
- xv Carey Watt, "No Showy Muscles': The Boy Scouts and the Global Dimensions of Physical Culture and Bodily Health in Britain and Colonial India", in Block and Proctor (eds.), *Scouting Frontiers*, p. 121 and p. 138.
- xvi Arunajeet Kaur, *Sikhs in the Policing of British Malaya and Straits Settlements (1874 – 1957)*, Saarbrücken, Verlag Dr. Müller Aktiengesellschaft, 2009, p. 46.
- xvii Parsons, "Een-Gonyama Gonyama!", p. 65.
- xviii Tan and Wan, *Scouting in Singapore*, p. 59. Dato Mohamed Yusof bin Ahmad was active in the Scout Movement for 35 years and was also Assistant District Commissioner of Malay Scouts in 1936. "Dato" is a Malay title.
- xix Michael Rosenthal, *The Character Factory: Baden-Powell's Boy Scouts and the Imperatives of Empire*, New York, Pantheon Books, 1986, p. 3.
- xx Elleke Boehmer, "Introduction", in Robert Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys: A Handbook for Instruction in Good Citizenship Through Woodcraft (The Original 1908 Edition)*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005, p. xxxvii.
- xxi Keith Watson, "Rulers and ruled: Racial perceptions, curriculum and schooling in colonial Malaya and Singapore", in J.A. Mangan (ed.), *The Imperial Curriculum: Racial images and education in the British colonial experience*, New York, Routledge, 2012 (First Edition 1993), p. 150.
- xxii Researchers Tan and Wan have also noted that "[a]s far as Imperial Headquarters was concerned, the whole of Malaya was to be treated as a country, with the Commissioner for Malaya holding a rank equivalent to that of County Commissioner. Tan and Wan, *Scouting in Singapore*, p. 30.
- xxiii Tan and Wan, *Scouting in Singapore*, p. 29.
- xxiv *Scouting in Malaya*, p. 96.
- xxv Lai Ah Eng, "Some Experiences and Issues of Cross-Cultural Fieldwork in Singapore", in Lim Pui Huen, James H. Morrison and Kwa Chong Guan (eds.), *Oral History in Southeast Asia: Theory and Method*, Singapore, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1998, p. 100.

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4 xxvi Philip Loh Fook Seng, *Seeds of Separatism: Educational Policy in Malaya 1874 - 1940*, Kuala Lumpur, Oxford University Press, 1975, p. 65.
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7 xxvii Watson, "Rulers and ruled", p. 150.
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9 xxviii Constance Mary (C.M.) Turnbull, *A History of Modern Singapore: 1819 – 2005*, Singapore, NUS (National University of Singapore) Press, 2009, p. 130. The first and second editions of this book were published by Oxford University Press in 1977 and 1989.
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12 xxix Loh, *Seeds of Separatism*, p. 79.
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14 xxx Most Malays were Muslims in British Malaya.
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16 xxxi See Timothy Parsons, *Race, Resistance and the Boy Scout Movement in British Colonial Africa*, Athens, Ohio University Press, 2004 and Paul Kua, *Scouting in Hong Kong 1910 – 2010*, Hong Kong, Scout Association of Hong Kong, 2011.
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19 xxxii Janice Brownfoot, "Sisters Under the Skin: Imperialism and the Emancipation of Women in Malaya, 1891 – 1941", in J.A. Mangan (ed.), *Making Imperial Mentalities*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1990, pp. 46 – 73. Herstlet's camping experience is found in *Scouting in Malaya*, Vol. 5, No. 5, September 1929, p. 82.
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23 xxxiii "Malaysia", TSA/INT/COU/MAL, British Scout Association Archives.
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25 xxxiv Ibid. Cheeseman was a teacher in Penang (1907 – 1922) and Inspector of Schools at Penang (1923 – 1928).
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28 xxxv "Malayan Jamboree 1937", *Scouting in Malaya*, Vol. 12, No. 10, February 1937, p. 158.
- 29
30 xxxvi Tan and Wan, *Scouting in Singapore*, p. 25. Sands had a 48 year career at MPH. Note that prior to 1920, the position "Commissioner for Malaya" did not exist.
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33 xxxvii *Scouting in Malaya*, Vol. 13, No. 2, June 1937, p. 50.
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35 xxxviii Francis T. Seow, *The Media Enthralled: Singapore Revisited*, Boulder, Colorado, Lynne Rienner Publishers Ltd., 1998, p. 7.
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37 xxxix Turnbull, *A History of Modern Singapore*, p. 154. Also see C.M. Turnbull, *Dateline Singapore: 150 Years of The Straits Times*, Singapore Press Holdings (Times Editions), 1995, pp. 96 – 97.
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39 xl "Making Manly Men", *The Straits Times*, 2 September 1909, p. 10.
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41 xli "Boy Scouts", *The Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser*, 1 October 1909, p. 5.
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43 xlii No complete set of *Scouting in Malaya* (or *The Herald*) is available either in the U.K. or in Singapore/Malaysia; consequently I cannot confirm if Nestlé featured in every issue of the magazine. However, Nestlé appears in all the issues available to researchers for consultation (at the British Library). Note: *The Herald* had a much shorter publication run and was more limited in scope compared to *Scouting in Malaya*.
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48 xliii *Scouting in Malaya*, Vol. 10, No. 2, February 1934, p. 2.
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50 xliv John Lewis Gaddis, *The Landscape of History: How Historians Map the Past*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2002, p. 1.
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55 xlvi *Scouting in Malaya*, Vol. 12, No. 5, September 1936, p. 65. The titles of the books are: *An Elementary Course in Photography; How to Make Good Pictures; Elementary Photographic Chemistry; Fundamentals of Photography*.
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9 *Economic History Review*, LIV, 2, 2001, p. 290.
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11 xlix John Butcher, *The British in Malaya 1880 – 1941: The Social History of a European Community in*
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14 l "Blaming it all on the Climate!", *The Straits Times*, 16 April 1931, p. 6; "Malaya's Climate and Effect on
15 Europeans", *The Straits Times*, 3 December 1932, p. 6.
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17 li *Scouting in Malaya*, Vol. 6, No. 10, February 1931, p. 134.
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19 lii "Jungle Work", *Scouting in Malaya*, Vol. 8, No. 1, May 1932, p.6.
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21 liii George Davidson, "Scouting in Malaya", *Saskatoon Star-Phoenix*, 14 October 1932, p. 19.
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23 liv "The Chief Scout's Report of Malaya", *Scouting in Malaya*, Vol. 10, No. 8, December 1934, pp. 130-133.
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25 lv Olave Baden-Powell, *Guide Links: Notes of a Tour Round the World*, London, C.A. Pearson Limited, 1936,
26 p. 45.
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28 lvi *Scouting in Malaya*, Vol. 3, No. 3, July 1927, p. 40.
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30 lvii G.C.S. Koch, "The Early History of Purdy Camp", in *Rally-O: A souvenir produced by the Boy Scout and*
31 *Girl Guide Associations of Malaya to commemorate the occasion of the visit of Lord Baden-Powell, the Chief*
32 *Scout of All the World, and Lady Baden-Powell, the Chief Guide to Malaya*, Singapore, Boy Scouts
33 Association of Malaya, 1934, p. 6.
- 34
35 lviii Tan and Wan, *Scouting in Singapore*, p. 49.
- 36
37 lix Lim Kok Ann, www.limkokann.blogspot.com. According to the site's description: "This is a posthumous
38 blog of our father's (Lim Kok Ann) life. When our father passed away on 8 March 2003, he left behind an
39 unpublished autobiography. We'd like to celebrate his life by sharing his autobiography through this blog."
40 (Last accessed 25 November 2013). Also see/hear oral account of (Prof.) Lim Kok Ann, A/N: 001385, Oral
41 History Centre, National Archives of Singapore, 1992.
- 42
43 lx *Scouting in Malaya*, Vol. 6, No. 2, June 1930, p. 40.
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