An Anecdotal History Of Old Times . . . In Singapore . . .

(With Portraits and Illustrations)

FROM

The Foundation of the Settlement under the Honourable the East India Company, on February 6th, 1819,

TO THE

Transfer to the Colonial Office as part of the Colonial Possessions of the Crown on April 1st, 1867,

BY

CHARLES BURTON BUCKLEY.

IN TWO VOLUMES—VOLUME I.

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"I was curious to see how he manufactured his wares. He dipped into various books, fluttering over the leaves of manuscripts, taking a morsel out of one, a morsel out of another, here a little, and there a little. The contents of his book seemed to be as heterogeneous as those of the witches' caldron in Macbeth. After all, thought I, may not this pilfering disposition be implanted in authors for wise purposes; may it not be the way in which Providence has taken care that the seeds of knowledge and wisdom shall be preserved from age to age, in spite of the inevitable decay of the works in which they were first produced? Generation after generation, both in animal and vegetable life, passes away, but the vital principle is transmitted to posterity, and the species continue to flourish. Thus do authors beget authors, and in a good old age they sleep with their fathers, that is to say, with the authors who preceded them, and from whom they had stolen.—
WASHINGTON IRVING.

PREFACE.

THIS book is in great part a revision with many additions of a series of articles which appeared under the same title in the weekly *Singapore Free Press* newspaper, from the time I re-established that paper in 1884, until it became a daily paper in 1887, when I gave it over into other hands. There had been for several years only one newspaper in Singapore, and it was desirable to have a second. The papers about the old history of the place were written with a view to have matter always ready for the paper, to be used in case of need; but in that respect it turned out unnecessary, because it was intended that each issue should consist of 8 pages, while the first number filled 24, and it never was reduced to the size originally intended. The history papers thus printed only reached to the year 1856.

I had the columns of the history cut out of the newspaper, sewn into a book, and interleaved. This was sent to Mr. W. H. Read, who passed it on to Mr. James Guthrie, who died lately at an old age. Their remarks, additions, and corrections were added to others which came in from various quarters, owing to the publicity in the newspaper. The result was that by the kindness and good-nature of many of the old residents of the place, I had the loan of a great number of papers, books, documents and pamphlets, of all kinds, age, and descriptions; some coming to pieces with usage, some eaten through by white ants, and all more or less suffering from the mis-directed energy of insect life. All these papers, with much other material that came to light after the papers were first written, have been worked into this book. It has been carried down to the Transfer in 1867, as the principal mark of an epoch in the story of the place. Occasionally later events have been added, where they seemed likely to be useful, as showing the result at the present time of what was then done.

This work then had been in gradual growth for over twenty years when the first chapter was put in the hands of the present printers; and has been over a year in the press, from various causes, which may explain some of the allusions to the present day, which vary from July, 1901 to September, 1902.

It is unnecessary to say that it is only a compilation, but trouble has not been spared to make it as correct as the existing means of knowledge would allow. It was intended at one time to note the various sources from which the statements were derived, but it was soon found that this would cause such a number of side-notes, and such a mass of inverted commas, as to be impracticable, and was therefore abandoned. The language and even the spelling of Malay names and

places have not been altered, with any attempt at correction, and if some may think that the sentences could occasionally be better expressed, or names spelt differently, the only answer is that they are intentionally left as they were found. Square brackets have been used to explain any allusion in quoted passages by reference to the present time, as for example on page 57, in paragraph 6 of Raffles's letter of instructions, words have been put in brackets to explain what part of the present town his words referred to.

It has long been a matter of regret to me that the writings of Crawfurd, Logan, Braddell and others, who gave so much time to writing about Singapore and the neighbouring countries, should be so soon forgotten, and the books scarcely to be obtained. When a copy is found on the bookshelves of some old library here, it is generally tumbling to pieces. I thought time would be well spent in the attempt to collect the information of the old days that was contained in them, and, as they were not likely to be seen much longer, it would be no literary piracy to reprint their contents just as they were written, when their length allowed it in a book like this, which soon showed signs of becoming much larger than was intended.

For the history of the earlier years of the Settlement, the book is largely indebted to a number of notes made by Mr. Braddell, probably about fifty years ago, when he contemplated writing a book about the Settlements. Other work of a more useful kind to the community afterwards occupied his time so fully, that his intention was not carried out; and it is pleasant to think that this book is carrying on the project of one who gave up so much of his time for many years to enrich the local literature, and brought to bear upon it a knowledge of the Malay language and writings which was at that time very rare.

The book is certainly made up largely of scraps, and it was at one time suggested to collect the various subjects under distinct heads; but it was thought that the chronological way in which it was begun was better, except in a very few instances; and the Index goes far to overcome any difficulty. Still I feel that it reminds one of the story of the boy who, asking for a book to read, was given a dictionary by mistake, and being asked how he liked it, replied that it might be very interesting to grown-up people, but he thought it changed the subject too frequently.

It is a book that will interest those only who have some association with Singapore; and, even to them, many of the details may well seem of little interest, as matters of no importance, or as stories of people of whom they have never heard. But I would suggest to them that such details could never again be found, and, if not kept now, can never be recorded hereafter; and that they may be of interest or possible use to some others for various reasons. Also that it is such details which help to keep alive the memory of those who, in the early days of Singapore, helped to make it what it has become, although at the time they could not have realised what it was to be. Now that eighty-three years have passed away since the Settlement was established, such details of the present time should have much less interest.

It may be that there is no other place, probably no other place that has attained in so short a time the wonderful prosperity of Singapore, that has a record of the details, even to unimportant matters, of its growth from its very birth, and, through babyhood and boyhood, up to manhood; and for this reason also it seemed to me better to err on the side of including too much, rather than to omit any information that was still to be found. It may be that it is only Singapore that has the materials still available for such a record, and, as the place continues to grow, so may the contents of such a book continue to be of interest.

If this book succeeds in keeping alive the contents of many of the old papers, though necessarily in a briefer form, it is only due to the time, thought, trouble, and expense, freely given by the old writers about Singapore, whom I have named. I came to Singapore in 1864, a time when some of the first residents were alive; a few here and many more in Europe. I have sat at dinner, in Governor Cavenagh's time, at Government House in Grange Road, with Mr. Ibbetson, a very old man, who had been Governor of the Straits in 1829, but long resided in Penang; and I had known of the place, as a boy, from a lady in England (mentioned at pages 155 and 297) from whom and her husband, Mr. Seymour Clarke (both long since dead), my brothers and sisters and I received much kindness as children; through whom and Mr. W. H. Read, Mrs. Clarke's brother, it was that I came to Singapore, rather than to India, when I had to leave the climate of England; and it was their children who gave the beautiful peal of bells which hang in St. Andrew's Cathedral. That lady, as a child, used to play about in the garden of her father's house on the slope of old Government Hill, now called Fort Canning, close to where the Freemasons Hall now stands. So I did not undertake the task without some personal knowledge of older days, and some appreciation of the meaning and allusions contained in such old papers as were still to be traced; while it has been to me a work of gratitude to many I have known here, to record what they have done, and a labour of love.

My very warm acknowledgments and those of the readers of the book, are due to Mr. A. W. Bean, an amateur photographer of unusual experience, who has taken the photographs of many old pictures, to be reproduced as illustrations to this book. The result has been better than was anticipated, as some of the originals were old and much defaced, but he took infinite pains to produce the best result possible, which the pictures certainly show.

I wish (solely for my own satisfaction, and on the principle that he who pays the piper has the right to call the tune) to close this preface with a passage from the translation of the *Hikayat Abdullah* (see page 28), which always makes me laugh. It is the end of old Munshi Abdullah's preface or introduction to *his* work about Singapore and matters connected therewith? It is as follows:—

"No doubt there will be found many mistakes, lapses, and things forgotten, both in style and narrative, as well as in junction of the letters or in the entanglement of words. Now may I bow my head

before the Europeans and native gentlemen who take the trouble to read my story, so as properly to have acquaintance therewith; and as thus at the very beginning of my book I have acknowledged my deficiencies and ignorance, I all the more heartily and willingly ask pardon and forgiveness; and I further state that it has no claim to the name of being a clever one, but, on the contrary is full of stupidities and errors in every time and period."*

SINGAPORE, *December, 1902.*

* *N.B.*—This has the same weight as "Your most obedient, humble servant" at the end of an English letter!

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Page.	Para.	Line.	
21	2	last	*After* "Chapter IV," *add* "on page 35."
52	last	8	*For* "ask reinforcements" *read* "ask for reinforcements."
75	last	6	*For* "former years" *read* "after years."
76	3	10	*For* "McSwiney" *read* "Coleman."
95	2	last	*After* "related hereafter" *add* "on page 651."
111	2	2	*For* "Superintendence" *read* "superintendence.
140	3	14	*For* "Journey" *read* "Journal."
145	2	5	*For* "Zero" *read* "Zeta."
146	6	2	"Come to Rhio from Tringanu." Mr. Read writes: "This must be a mistake, as it was Sultan Hussein who went to Pahang not to Tringanu. Abdul Rahman remained at Peningat and Rhio as usual." *See* "Play and Politics, at page 10.
151	3	15	*For* "former years" *read* "after years."
157	3	6	*For* "contained is," *read* "contained in."
164	3	last	*After* "another chapter" *add* "at page 242."
175	4	14	*For* "power us over," *read* "power to hand us over."
177	2	17	*For* "exporation," *read* "exportation."
177	2	last	*After* "first chapter" *add* "on page 7."
187	2	1	*For* "when son" *read* "when his son."
193	4	5	*For* "John Spottiswoode," *read* "William Spottiswoode."
199	4	3	*For* "masts," *read* "mast."
200	footnote		*For* "Crawford," *read* "Crawfurd."
201	4	6	*For* "John Price," *read* "John Prince."
202	—	7	*For* "W. Holloway," *read* "Charles Holloway."
205	last	2	*After* "Straits," *add*;—He had landed at Penang on his way, and dismissed nearly the whole staff the first day. He landed quite quietly early in the morning, and met several officials in gorgeous uniform, who did not recognise him. He determined to put down their plumes and uniforms and otherwise reform the staff.
207	2	—	Mr. Read writes: "It was brilliant moonlight the morning of George's walk. The same thing happened to Archie Spottiswoode and John Connolly who went their usual morning ride, and as they reached the Square, where they lived, the 5 o'clock gun fired. Ships anchoring used occasionally to fire a gun, as a sign they had arrived."
208	2	5	Mr. Schwabe died in London, not Liverpool.
208	2	16	*For* "Mr. Bain" *read* "Mr. Gilbert Bain," and strike out the words "some years."
208	2	19	*For* "James Young" *read* "Jasper Young."

Page.	Para.	Line.	
208	3	2	Mr. Read writes: "Surely the statement that pirate prahus were from six to eight tons and sixty to seventy feet long is a mistake? I should have thought them to be 25 to 30 tons, and some 20 feet shorter." The statement was found in an old paper, but Mr. Read is much more likely to be correct.
219	1	13	*After* "5th September" *add* "1832." (The "Magicienne" came at the time of the second Naning expedition).
219	3	3	1849 (the figures have a broken letter.)
221	2	8	Strike out the words "now Woodsville Cottage." Mr. Balestier's house was on his plantation, near where the Rifle Butts are now; Woodsville Cottage was Dr. Montgomerie's house, still standing.
230	5	5	*For* "present days" *read* "present day."
233	last	4	*Add* that Mr. William Paterson came to Singapore in 1843.
234	last	10	*After* "the two partners" *add* "in Shaw Whitehead & Co"
257	5	3	Mr. Read writes: "Sister St. Joseph was from America, a sister of Mr. Spooner of Russell & Co. of Canton."
269	3	7	*For* "buildings has" *read* "buildings have."
281	6	1	*For* "Marryatt" *read* "Marryat."
297	3	13	*For* "Lucy Julia Beamont." *read* "Lucy Julia Beaumont."
297	5	7	*For* "five last" *read* "four last." Mrs. A. S. Saunders is the daughter of Mr. W. H. Read.
297	5	16	*For* "Lancashire" *read* "Lancaster."
310	3	7	*For* "the Settlement" *read* "that Settlement." Captain C. M. Elliot used to call William Scott the "Ancient of Days."
328	2	last	Mr. Read writes: "Keppel's band struck in the middle of a quadrille. He addressed the band-master 'Eager, what is this?'—'Cannot get anything to drink, Sir.' Mr. Church said 'Nonsense, I gave them three bottles of beer.' The later party was not given by Napier, but at W. W. Ker's house on Beach Road. It is quite true that the band played the Rogues March opposite Church's house."
382		end	The following paragraph, intended to conclude this Chapter, was accidentally omitted from the copy sent to the printers:—Mr. George Henry Brown came to the Straits from Calcutta in or about the year 1840, settling first in Penang. About 1842 he removed to Singapore, where he acquired by grant the property on Thomson Road to which he gave the name of Mount Pleasant. This was then clothed with virgin forest, haunted by tigers. He cleared a large part of it, made roads, built houses, and planted nutmegs. The nutmeg plantation ultimately failed, like all the others in Singapore, though more gradually than some. Mr. Brown was a man of great versatility. He possessed great mechanical ability. During some periods of his career he engaged in carriage-making, and constructed carriages of much finish and durability. He became an expert in

Page.	Para.	Line.	
			gutta percha, and was very successful in mixing various qualities to render them more workable. He was one of the earliest shipowners in Singapore, and had at one time three sailing vessels trading to China and Japan. Mr. Brown was an enthusiast in music, and was a fair performer on the pianoforte and the violin. For some years he had meetings at his house for the practice of instrumental music, which were frequented by the d'Almeida's and other musical amateurs, and at which public performances were sometimes prepared. He was for some years honorary organist of the old St. Andrew's Church. When the Presbyterian congregation was formed, in 1858, Mr. Brown joined it. About the same time, or shortly afterwards, the old Church had to be removed, and during the erection, on the same site, of the present St. Andrew's Cathedral the congregations of both the English and the Presbyterian Church met (at different hours) in the old Mission Chapel belonging to the London Missionary Society, at the angle formed by North Bridge Road and Bras Bassa Road. To that Chapel the old organ was removed, and when the new St. Andrew's was opened, Mr. Brown purchased it for the use of the Presbyterian Church, and from that time, and for many years, was honorary organist, using the same organ until a new one was obtained, which he himself erected in the existing building. (This latter instrument was afterwards taken into the Cathedral of the Good Shepherd, where it is still in use.)
			In his latter years Mr. Brown started the growing of tapioca on his estate, and had works for the manufacture of the root. In September, 1881, he had a terrible accident with the machinery, in which he lost his left arm. He never regained his strength, and died in October, 1882, in the 65th year of his age, at Penang, where he had gone in the hope that the air of the hill would revive him.
419	Names	7	*Read* "Cumming, J. B.," *and take out the* "B" after Crane T. O.
437	7	2	*For* "Curteis" *read* "Curtics."
477	1	2	*For* "Indian Cavalry" *read* "Bengal Cavalry," and for daughter *read* "step-daughter," Mrs. Seymour was a daughter of Mrs. Burton, who was one of the daughters of Colonel Farquhar, and married W. R. George after Burton's death, who had been in A. L. Johnston & Co.'s office. Andrew Farquhar was a son of the Andrew Farquhar mentioned on pages 98 and 166 and a grandson of Colonel Farquhar.
512	1	10	*For* "all good work done Mr. Thomson" *read* "all the good work done by Mr. Thomson."

Page.	Para.	Line.	
514	last	5	*For* "Plumb and Rule" *read* "Plumb-rule."
557	4	5	*For* "Inchi Abdullah" *read* "Moonshi Abdullah."
573	—	—	Monk's Hill House was built by C. A. Dyce who lived in it for some years.
602	1	8	*For* "and the manœvres" *read* "and to the manœvres."
605	2	2	*For* "of the name" *read* "if the name."
611	3	last	Mr. Read writes: "Poor Mauduit fell into a tiger pit, the stake ran through him, and he died shortly afterwards.'
628	1	15	*For* "bowstay" *read* "bobstay."
629	2	2	*For* "Ariel" *read* "Frolic."
631	4	3	Mr. Read writes: "Punch said £2,000. It was a misprint in the Singapore paper."
650	2	—	Mr. Read writes: "Naval charts were funny things in the forties. In his book called 'Rajah Brooke's Journal' published in 1845, Keppel said that he sailed sixty miles inland, according to the Admiralty charts, on his first visit to Borneo in the *Dido*. I had for a long time in my office in Singapore a chart of the China sea on which every shoal or island reported by captains for about 25 years was marked down. I showed it to Raynell of the *Waterwitch*, and he would not look at it, saying that if he did, he would not dare to beat up the China sea against the monsoon. One half of the dangers did not exist. Captains thought they were dangers, but did not verify them."
723	3	3	For "Sir William Jeffcott" *read* "Sir William Norris."
789	1	2	*For* "over a quarter" *read* "nearly a quarter." The last census gave the population of Singapore as 228,555.
Index	—	—	Under Keppel, for "403" *read* "405."

INTRODUCTORY.

CHAPTER I.

Sir Stamford Raffles.

CHAPTER I.

SIR STAMFORD RAFFLES.

THE very remarkable prosperity and continually increasing progress of Singapore are so entirely to be traced to the great ability and noble character of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, that it seems impossible to commence the story of the place without speaking of him.

He was born on board-ship off the island of Jamaica on July 5th, 1781. His father was one of the oldest captains in the West India trade, sailing out of London. The boy was sent to a boarding school at Hammersmith, near London, but he had been there hardly two years when he was placed, at the age of fourteen, as a clerk in the large offices of the Honorable East India Company in Leadenhall Street, in the City of London, where the vast political and commercial interests of the East India Company were supervised from England. He never ceased to regret the necessity which took him so early from school, and throughout his life seemed to feel as if he considered himself in some ways deficient in education, though his published correspondence shews that there was no need for such a feeling, as it is a model of correct and forcible language.

After leaving school, he gave up his time, before and after office hours, to the study of languages and science, and taught himself French so thoroughly that it was of great service to him in after years in Java. All he earned was carried home to his parents, who were at that time in difficulties, which no doubt accounts for his being started so early in life. A little story that is told of his mother complaining of his extravagance in burning a candle in his room at night in order to study, after having been in office all day, tells a pathetic tale of the way the daily wants of the family were supplied. While in his young days he deprived himself of every indulgence for their sake, he delighted, in the after days of comparative affluence, in surrounding his mother with every comfort he could give her.

In 1805 the Directors determined to increase their establishment at Penang, and Raffles, although he was unusually young for such a post, was sent out as Assistant Secretary. On the voyage he taught himself the Malay language, and soon after his arrival, Mr. Dundas, the Governor of Penang, received a letter from Mr. Marsden asking some questions about Malay literature.

William Marsden was the son of English parents of good family who had settled in Ireland in the reign of Queen Anne. He was at school in Dublin, and when he was sixteen, in 1771, went out to Bencoolen, where he was for eight years. Three years afterwards he wrote his "History of Sumatra" which made his reputation. He became Chief Secretary to the Admiralty, where he was for twelve years. He then returned to his favourite studies, and wrote the Malay Grammar and Dictionary. He was the first literary and scientific Englishman, with the advantage of local knowledge, who wrote about the Malay countries, with laborious care and scrupulous fidelity. He died in 1836, eighty-two years old, and left his library to King's College, London, and his Oriental manuscripts, medals, &c., to the British Museum.

Mr. Marsden's letter was at once handed to Raffles, as the person best qualified to answer it, and Mr. Marsden, after receiving the Governor's reply enclosing Raffles' answers to the enquiries in the letter, wrote to Raffles and a brisk correspondence was kept up between them, until he returned to England in 1816, when they met and became warm personal friends. The reply to the letter in question, written so soon after his arrival in Penang, shows how complete his knowledge of the language had become. Three years afterwards, Raffles sent Mr. Marsden a sketch of a Malay grammar he had drawn out and wrote to say that he was compiling a dictionary which Mr. Marsden was welcome to, if it was of any service to him; and two years afterwards he wrote "How goes on the dictionary?" alluding to Marsden's Malay Dictionary which is still indispensable to students of Malay here. While Raffles was in Penang, two Governors died, and he himself was so seriously ill, in the new climate, that little hopes were entertained of saving his life. In 1808 he went for a short trip to Malacca and returned to Penang, and it was entirely in consequence of a long and very able letter he then wrote to the Bengal Government that the intention was abandoned to destroy all the public buildings in Malacca, to take all the inhabitants to Penang, and to abandon the place, in the hope of improving Penang. This had been absolutely decided on but Raffles' despatch prevented what, it can now be seen, would have been a very foolish, unnecessary, and discreditable policy. He afterwards was sent back to Malacca to collect information and to prepare the way for Lord Minto, and left there on the 18th June, 1811, with him on the expedition to Java.

During the first decade of the nineteenth century much damage was done to the English trade in the Archipelago by French privateers which found refuge in the Dutch possessions. The Dutch had been forced by the French into the European wars and the Dutch Colonies had passed into the power of the French when Holland became dependent upon France during the wars of Napoleon; and Lord Minto, the Governor-General of India, had determined to attack Java. The English fleet which numbered ninety vessels, carrying 6,000 European and 6,000 native troops, left Malacca on the 11th June, 1811, and the army landed in Java near Batavia on the 4th August. On the 9th the troops occupied Batavia unopposed, and on the 26th at the great battle of Cornelis, seven miles from Batavia, (in which the English loss was

500, and the enemy's loss was 4,000 and 5,000 were taken prisoners) the English rescued Java from the French, and it became British territory.

Lord Minto remained six weeks in Java, and left Raffles there as the Lieutenant-Governor. The accounts of his extraordinary energy and judgment in the government of six millions of people, divided into thirty residencies, all chafing under former mismanagement, cannot be mentioned here; but when he left Batavia in March, 1816, the roads were filled with boats, crowded with people of all nationalities, who came to see his departure. The deck of the vessel was quite covered with fruit and flowers and offerings of every description; and it was said that it was impossible to describe the scene which took place when the vessel weighed anchor; the people declaring that Java had lost the greatest friend she had ever possessed.

He sailed for England, calling on the way at St. Helena, and having an interview with Napoleon Buonaparte whom he was anxious to see. The ex-Emperor refused to see any visitors, but on being told it was Raffles, late Governor of Java, he immediately consented to receive him. Raffles was told to address him as General, not Emperor, and if Buonaparte received him with his hat on, Raffles was not to continue the conversation uncovered. Buonaparte asked a number of questions about Java and its trade, with which he seemed to be well acquainted. Raffles reached England in October, 1816, and was knighted in the following summer.

In October, 1817, he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Bencoolen, and embarked on board the "Lady Raffles" at Portsmouth, and reached Bencoolen on the 22nd of March, 1818. It was then a most wretched place, and the shocks of earthquakes had so damaged the house he had to live in, that no one else would trust himself in it. It was while he was there in April, 1818, that we find him writing about the necessity for such a port as Singapore. He wrote that it was indispensable that the British government should have regular authority in the Archipelago to declare and maintain British rights; that these at that time extended no further south than Malacca; and that the Dutch wanted to confine Bencoolen to the almost inaccessible and rocky shores of the west coast of Sumatra; that it would be desirable to fix a convenient station, which would probably be somewhere in the neighbourhood of Bintang, or Bentan, (an island opposite Singapore) known to navigators by its hill. He said that the object was not territory; it could be confined to a simple commercial station, with a military guard; and when once formed would soon maintain a successful rivalry with the Dutch, who would be obliged either to adopt a liberal system of free trade, or see the trade of those seas collected under the British flag. How true this has proved, the history of Singapore has amply shown.

This seemed to him a matter of such supreme importance, that he determined to go to Bengal, and urge it in person; and having no choice, and not considering his own comfort, he went with Lady Raffles in a very small vessel with only one little cabin, where centipedes and scorpions roved about at their pleasure. The vessel lost a mast in the Bay of Bengal, and to crown her misfortunes a drunken

pilot put her on shore on a bank at the mouth of the Hooghly, where she literally upset, and Sir Stamford and Lady Raffles were taken up to Calcutta in a boat.

The result of his interviews with Lord Hastings, then Governor-General, was that Sir Stamford was appointed Agent to the Governor-General to occupy some central station within the Archipelago, to the southward of Malacca, so as to secure free trade with the Archipelago and China through the Straits of Malacca, and to concede to the Dutch their pretensions in Sumatra. The effect of this appointment was to render Raffles quite independent of the government of Penang, and to place the management of British interests to the South of Malacca under his government at Bencoolen. Colonel Bannerman was Governor of Penang, and as will be shewn presently, he tried, from jealousy, to mar the efforts of Raffles, and behaved (to use the words of Mr. Boulger) with extraordinary baseness. Colonel Bannerman died on the 8th August, 1819, at Penang. He had been made Governor of Penang on 24th November, 1817. In January, 1819, Raffles had arrived at Penang from Calcutta, and wrote to Mr. Marsden that he was yet uncertain how far he might be successful in his mission, and said that Rhio had been lost by the English neglecting to occupy it, and that there would be difficulty in founding an establishment elsewhere, but that he should certainly attempt it. He also had a mission to Acheen (which we do not enter on here), which gave him much anxiety.

In the *Singapore Chronicle* of 1831, we have found a letter, reprinted from the Asiatic Journal, written by Colonel William Farquhar of the East India Company's service, in which he claims to have had at least a large share in the merit attributed to Sir Stamford Raffles for founding Singapore. Major Farquhar had been for several years Resident and Commandant at Malacca, which he had handed over again to the Dutch in September, 1818. He was on his way home when he met Raffles on his way from Penang to the south. Raffles had brought a complimentary letter from Lord Hastings, the Governor-General, saying that he hoped that circumstances would admit of Major Farquhar accompanying Sir Stamford Raffles, in order to assume the control of the new establishment, at least during its infancy. So he turned back again, and he and Sir Stamford discussed the position of the most advantageous site for the projected settlement.

Major Farquhar says that the Carimon Islands appeared to him to be the best, as they were in the direct track of all ships passing up and down the Straits, but that Sir Stamford thought the old Malay Settlement of Johore, upon the peninsula, was better. On visiting the Carimons on their way, they were found not to afford the local advantages he had expected, so he, Major Farquhar, suggested that it might be advisable to stop at Singapore on the way to Johore. This appears to be very improbable, because we find no trace of this in any of Raffles' writings, and we do find traces of his attention having been attracted, no doubt in his eager studies of Malay literature, to the old sea-port of Singapore. Lady Raffles says "before he left England, Sir Stamford contemplated Singapore, a classical spot, as a place favorably situated to have a British station." And in a letter Raffles wrote on board-ship off Calcutta on December 12th, 1818, to Mr. Marsden, he said

that his attention was principally turned to Johore, and that Marsden must not be surprised if his next letter was "dated from the site of the ancient city of Singapura."

The Major goes on to say that on the following day he went to Rhio for the purpose of endeavouring to obtain permission from the native viceroy to form a new Settlement in Singapore in place of the Carimons, and after some difficulty the viceroy so far acceded as to say that, as far as he was concerned, as governor of the dominions of Johore, he had no kind of objection, but that he had already been *obliged* to sign a treaty with the Dutch by which he was restricted from granting permission to any European power to have a footing within any part of the territory of Johore; but as he had, before the treaty was signed, granted Major Farquhar permission to form a settlement upon the Carimon Islands, he left him and Sir Stamford Raffles to the use of their own discretion in establishing a settlement at Singapore.

So the Major returned there, and in conjunction with Sir Stamford concluded a treaty, which was signed by Sir Stamford alone with both the Native Chiefs who were then present at Singapore. The treaty was signed on the 6th February, and the British flag was formally hoisted, and the island taken possession of, and Sir Stamford sailed the very next day on his return to Penang.

Since the above passages were written in 1884, about Colonel Farquhar's claim to take the credit of the selection of Singapore, a Memorial sent by him to the Court of Directors in London, and of Sir Stamford's reply have came to light in Mr. Boulger's book, but they only bear out what was said. The letter in the *Singapore Chronicle* (which can no longer be found) was probably a reprint of part of the Memorial. Mr. Boulger's conclusion is that Farquhar had no pretension even to a minor contributory part in the acquisition of Singapore.

From Penang in the same month of February, Sir Stamford wrote to the Duchess of Somerset in England, with whom he kept up a continual correspondence, and he explained to her how to find Singapore on the map (which directions have had to be given to many others since, but are yearly becoming less necessary; the English idea that the place is somewhere in the centre of India being less frequent than formerly). He says, in the letter, that on the spot—the site of the ancient maritime capital of the Malays, and within the walls of those fortifications, raised not less than six centuries ago—he had planted the British flag, where he trusted it would long triumphantly wave.

On the 10th June he was again writing from Singapore. He wrote: "I shall say nothing of the importance which I attach to the permanence of the position I have taken up at Singapore; it is a child of my own. But for my Malay studies, I should hardly have known that such a place existed; not only the European, but the Indian world was also ignorant of it. I am sure you will wish me success; and if my plans are confirmed at home, it is my intention to make this my principal residence, and to devote the remaining years of my stay in the East to the advancement of a Colony which, in every way in which it can be viewed, bids fair to be one of the most important,

and at the same time one of the least expensive and troublesome, which we possess. Our object is not territory but trade; a great commercial emporium and a fulcrum, whence we may extend our influence politically as circumstances may hereafter require. By taking immediate possession, we put a negative to the Dutch claim of exclusion, and, at the same time, revive the drooping confidence of our allies and friends. One free port in these seas must eventually destroy the spell of Dutch monopoly."

In these passages about the old Malay capital, Sir Stamford alluded to the Malay history or tradition to be found now at length in the books of Mr. Marsden and Mr. Crawfurd and in Mr. Braddell's translations in Mr. Logan's Journal.

Four months afterwards, Sir Stamford had returned to Singapore, having only stayed at Acheen and Penang a sufficient time to settle the troublesome point he had been deputed in Calcutta to take in hand; and on the 10th June he wrote from Singapore to another friend: "Our station completely outflanks the Straits of Malacca, and secures a passage for our China ships at all times, and under all circumstances. It has further been my good fortune to discover one of the most safe and extensive harbours in these seas, with every facility for protecting shipping in time of war. In short, Singapore is everything we could desire, and I may consider myself most fortunate in the selection: it will soon rise into importance; and with this single station alone I would undertake to counteract all the plans of Mynheer; it breaks the spell; and they are no longer the exclusive sovereigns of the Eastern Seas.

Five days later he wrote: "Everything is going on well here, it bids fair to be the next port to Calcutta; all we want now is the *certainty of permanent possession*, and this, of course, depends upon authorities beyond our control. You may take my word for it, this is by far the most important station in the East; and as far as naval superiority and commercial interests are concerned, of much higher value than whole continents of territory."

Certainty of permanent possession! It is difficult to state shortly what difficulties were thrown in his way, and how (as Mr. Earl wrote in 1838) "Singapore was established, without the concurrence, indeed with the decided disapprobation of the Home Government." A letter had been sent after him by the Supreme Government from Calcutta, after he had started for Penang, which fortunately he did not receive till too late, and Singapore had been founded. The letter ordered him to desist from the attempt to found a station. The Government in Calcutta were afraid of the action of the Dutch. Colonel Bannerman heard in Penang that the Dutch were preparing to seize Singapore by a coup-de-main, and (in his efforts to prevent Raffles carrying out the project) wrote an abject letter to the Dutch Governor of Malacca entreating him to do nothing till he could refer Raffles' action to Calcutta; and a nice letter he wrote to Calcutta! To Major Farquhar in Singapore he wrote advising him to abandon the place at once as it was impossible to resist the overpowering armament at the disposal of Batavia, and saying that *defeat would tarnish British honour more than the retreat of the small party at Singapore.* He refused to send any

assistance. The Dutch did not come, the few Englishmen did not go, and here we are still. All that was required was time for Singapore to show what it was worth. The expense of a whole year, Mr. Egerton says, was less than that of one month in Bencoolen, and no one talked any more about "running away."

It was not until Singapore had been established for three years, and the trade had reached a value of several millions of dollars in the last year, that it was recognised by Great Britain; and it was not until April, 1826, and only three months before his death, that the Court of Directors acknowledged that Sir Stamford had been a match for the Dutch and that the Company were greatly indebted to him for establishing the Settlement of Singapore. His view of responsibility was expressed in his own words, in reference to another matter altogether, when he said that it was true that, by incurring responsibility, a man might lose both his fortune and his fame, but that no man was fit for high station anywhere who was not prepared to risk even more than fame and fortune at the call of judgment and his conscience.

Sir Stamford returned to Bencoolen in a vessel with Lady Raffles and one of their children of four months old, after staying two or three months in Singapore. The ship struck on a bank in the Straits of Rhio, it was feared she could not be got off, and a small boat was got ready to endeavour to take them back to Singapore. Just as they were leaving the vessel, hopes were entertained that by throwing all the water overboard to lighten the vessel still more, she might be got off, and before morning the attempt succeeded. They thought it fortunate it had happened so near Rhio, and stopping there, sent a boat on shore stating what had happened and requesting a supply of water. The Dutch Resident refused all intercourse, asserted that Sir Stamford came as a spy, and would not give the assistance that was urgently needed by Lady Raffles and the baby. The voyage was continued with considerable anxiety, when, in the Straits of Banca, the Captain of an American vessel stopped, at some risk, and, with great difficulty, by means of ropes, conveyed to them some casks of water. Lady Raffles adds that his name was forgotten, but his kindness was always remembered.

For years afterwards, the Dutch refused to allow any person of his name or his family to enter Java unmolested, and when Sir Stamford was going to Bencoolen in June, 1823, the vessel had to put into Batavia to land some cargo from Bengal. Lady Raffles was very unwell, and Sir Stamford asked permission for her to land for two or three days, and received a reply allowing it in very grudging terms and expressing the greatest possible surprise at their coming into the port. Sir Stamford never left the ship but the people were not to be restrained, and the vessel was the scene of a crowd of visitors of all ranks flocking to see him. That Sir Stamford was far above any such ill-natured feelings, on his side, is shown by one anecdote. Some time after this, the Java Government were in distress for money (as Lady Raffles and her child had been in distress for want of water to drink), and it was sought to raise a loan of thirty lacs of rupees in Bengal. But there was a feverish anxiety in Calcutta

as to the security of the Dutch, and the loan was closed, when the only subscription to it, actually realized, was that of Thomas Stamford Raffles.

Another anecdote will show the influence Sir Stamford Raffles was possessed of in other parts of the world than in this Archipelago, where he was principally known. In 1880, two boys, born in Singapore, and sent to school in England, were taken to see the Zoological Gardens in London. The party were in the large new lion house that had been lately built, and were passing along the front of the cages, where the boys were interested in noticing that some of the tigers had been sent from Singapore by the Maharaja of Johore. When they reached the middle of the hall one of the boys suddenly stopped and pointed to a bust placed in the most conspicuous part of the room on the wall over the front of the cages, and said to his brother that it was like that in Singapore. And so it was, for it is a duplicate of the bust made by Chantrey which is in the Raffles Institution, where the boys had been at school. Under the bust is an inscription to the effect that Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles was the Founder and first President of the Society, which has now a world-wide name and reputation.

In an article in the London *Daily Telegraph* of 12th July, 1886, it speaks of this bust, and says that Sir Francis Chantrey took extreme interest in the Zoological Gardens and contributed not a little towards it. It also says that the Gardens were instituted by Sir Stamford Raffles, Sir Humphrey Davy, Lord Darnley, Sir Everard Home, and other distinguished naturalists; placing Raffles first. It seems more than likely that the meeting of Raffles and Chantrey about the affairs of the Society led to the making of the bust. The article concludes by saying, "when the managers of the Zoological Gardens set up the bust of Sir Stamford Raffles in their new "Lion House," they paid a just and graceful compliment to one of the first and most distinguished founders of their Society."

Sir Stamford returned to Bencoolen in August or September, and in November, 1820, he considered it indispensable to proceed again to Calcutta, where he arrived in the same month. He was received with great enthusiasm by the mercantile community, which, like the mercantile community of Singapore, recognised, many years before the Government, the great benefit he had bestowed upon trade. They gave him a public dinner, and made every possible demonstration to please him; and, after he left, sent a representation to Government supporting what he had done. The old saying, that it is astonishing with how little wisdom the world is governed, would never have been better exemplified than if the Government had given orders to break up the establishment at Singapore; which would have been given if it had not been for the steady persistence of Sir Stamford; and the courage, he so strongly possessed, of his own opinions.

In a letter written in 1820 to his cousin, he said: "Singapore continues to thrive most wonderfully, it is all and everything I could wish, and if no untimely fate awaits it, promises to become the emporium and pride of the east. I learn with much regret the prejudice and malignity by which I am attacked at home, for the desperate

struggle I have maintained against the Dutch. Instead of being supported by my own Government, I find them deserting me, and giving way in every instance to the unscrupulous Dutch. All, however, is safe so far, and if matters are only allowed to remain as they are, all will go well. The great blow has been struck, and though I may personally suffer in the scuffle, the nation must be benefited; and I should not be surprised were the Ministers to recall me, though I should, on many accounts, regret it at the present moment. Were the value of Singapore properly appreciated, I am confident that all England would be in its favour; it positively takes nothing from the Dutch, and is to us everything."

Then a series of domestic calamities fell upon them in Bencoolen, of the most distressing kind. In 1850, Dr. Robert Little, of Singapore, wrote in Logan's Journal some lengthy papers on the subject of fever, and in Volume 4, at pages 711 and 715, are remarks upon the reasons for the unhealthiness of Bencoolen at that time. In October, Lady Raffles' brother died there from the effects of an illness occasioned by the fatigue and exposure of a campaign. In 1821 their eldest boy Leopold, named after the Prince, died after a very short illness; in the January following two more of their children were buried in Bencoolen. No one reading Sir Stamford's letters written at that time, interspersed with long letters on affairs of State and frequent reference to Singapore, can fail to see how much his life was affected by these trials; and no wonder that, in their consternation, the parents lost all confidence in the climate, and after a struggle sent away to England, in the very first vessel, with their old nurse, their only remaining child at that time, an infant named Ella. One of the boys that died was named Marsden, after Mr. Marsden his godfather. Lady Raffles' health was in a very precarious state.

In January, 1822, Sir Stamford wrote: "We have, thank God, recovered very much of late, and Sophia (Lady Raffles) is quite herself again. I am but a crazy mortal at best, but, on the whole, am quite as well in health as I have any right to expect in a climate which is anything but congenial to my constitution. We still hold our determination of quitting India for Europe about the end of next year; neither of us can hold out longer. We now pass our time in great retirement." On the 15th September, the day they left Bencoolen for Singapore, they buried another dear and invaluable friend, Dr. Jack, who died on board a vessel in the harbour, to which he had been taken to sail for the Cape after a serious illness.

On the 10th October, 1822, Sir Stamford again landed, for the third time, in Singapore. He wrote: "It is imposible for any one to see it, after Bencoolen, without surprise and emotion. And after the loss of almost everything that was dear to me on that ill-fated coast, and after all the risks and trials to which Singapore has been exposed, what must be my feelings to find it grown and advanced beyond measure, and even beyond my warmest anticipations and expectations—in importance, wealth and interest, in everything that can give it value and permanence. I felt, when I left Bencoolen, that the time had passed when I could take much active interest in Indian affairs, and I wished myself safe home; but I already feel differently. I feel a new

life and vigour about me; and if it please God to grant me health, the next six months will, I hope, make some amends for the gloom of last sixteen."

Sir Stamford remained in Singapore until the 9th June, 1823, having been there for eight months, and never returned. He went to Bencoolen, and waited for the arrival of a vessel called the *Fame*, which was to take him to England. She did not arrive when expected, and at last, wearied out by disappointment, and beginning to think (as he wrote) that they seemed doomed to end their days in Bencoolen, for Lady Raffles had had another severe illness, and another infant, the last one remaining with them in Bencoolen, had been lost, they decided to leave in the *Borneo*, the same small vessel in which they had sent away their little child Ella, and the nurse, two years before. The vessel was ready for sea when the *Fame* arrived, fortunately as they supposed. The *Borneo* made a safe passage, the fate of the *Fame* we shall give in some of Sir Stamford's own words. It may be added that the *Fame* was insured, so the owner suffered no loss; that the East India Company had only a few tons of saltpetre on board for ballast, so they suffered no loss: and all the loss fell, as a last reminiscence of unhappy Bencoolen, on the man who met with an almost overwhelming calamity.

Throughout Sir Stamford's life in the East, he had taken a great interest in science, and had made collections of many different kinds, which could never be made again; he carried on a large correspondence with Mr. Marsden and others on scientific subjects, and on this his last voyage to England, after so many years, he took all his treasures with him.

The vessel sailed at daylight, and in the evening she was on fire, which was caused by the steward going with a naked light to draw some brandy from a cask, which took fire. They had just time to get clear of her in the boats, without time even to put any clothes over their sleeping dresses, when the vessel blew up. The first alarm was given at twenty minutes past eight; at half past eight there was not a soul on board, and soon after the magazine exploded, leaving them in open boats at sea, fifty miles from land, at night. There were two children with them, whose names are not mentioned. Their last child in Bencoolen had died shortly before. One of the two children was snatched out of bed when it was already on fire. This, it is thought, was William Charles Raffles Flint, afterwards Vicar of Sunningdale in England, and the subsequent heir to Sir Stamford's property, part of which is known as Flint Street here now. Ella Raffles, the child who was sent home in the *Borneo* died in 1841 at St. Leonards-on-Sea of consumption under twenty years of age, and Mr. Flint came into the property. The other was probably a child of Dr. Jack, who had died shortly before. The two children were wrapped up in the sailors' neckcloths, and everything else was swallowed up in one big ruin, as Sir Stamford expressed it.

After this chapter appeared in the *Free Press* newspaper in 1884, a letter was received from old Mr. Thomas Dunman in England, who is often referred to further on. He wrote "Will you allow me to tell you a story, told me by my dear late friend Captain William Scott of

Singapore. It may interest those who read your papers about old Singapore. In the *Free Press* of October 4th, I read this—"The other was probably a child of Dr. Jack," &c. Not so I think, for William Scott told me that on board the *Fame*, which was burnt to the water's edge, his son David was rescued from death by Sir Stamford Raffles. It was thought all hands were safe and in the boats, when it was discovered the child David was still on board. Raffles rushed back, found him and took him to the boat; David Scott was afterwards an officer in the Indian Army, and came to Singapore to see his father, and I was at his father's house on the last day, and we had a very pleasant evening together. The next morning he left in a sailing vessel for Calcutta to join his regiment and she was never heard of." And old Mr. James Guthrie, since dead, added under Mr. Dunman's note (which had been sent to him to look at) "Guthrie & Co. had a small shipment on board, insured with the Commercial Insurance Company, you might find the name of the ship, which Tom Dunman forgets, in their books. Besides Lieut. Scott, Mr. Lewis of the Bengal Civil Service was on board. She must have gone down in a hurricane in the Bay of Bengal."

They reached Bencoolen in safety after much anxiety and discomfort. The description written by Sir Stamford, two days afterwards, of the fire and of his loss, is too long to be printed here, but it should be read by every one who can admire a steady mind and quiet courage in the face of a great calamity. When he reached shore, he says that he went to bed at three o'clock in the afternoon and never woke until six the next morning. The only portion of the account which we reprint is Sir Stamford's remarks upon his loss; he wrote on the day after he reached the shore: "The loss I have to regret, beyond all, is my papers and drawings; all my notes and observations, with memoirs and collections, sufficient for a full and ample history, not only of Sumatra, but of Borneo, and almost every other island of note in these seas; *my intended account of the establishment of Singapore*; the history of my own administration; eastern grammars, dictionaries, and vocabularies; and last, but not least, a grand map of Sumatra, on which I had been employed since my arrival here, and on which, for the last six months, I had bestowed almost my whole undivided attention. This, however, was not all; all my collections in natural history; all my splendid collection of drawings, upwards of two thousand in number; with all the valuable papers and notes of my friends, Dr. Arnold and Dr. Jack; and, to conclude, I will merely notice that there was scarcely an unknown animal, bird, beast, or fish, or an interesting plant, which we had not on board—a living tapir, a new species of tiger, splendid pheasants, &c., domesticated for the voyage; we were in this respect a perfect Noah's ark. All—all has perished; but, thank God, our lives have been spared, and we do not repine; our plan is to get another ship as soon as possible. Make your minds easy about us, even if we should be later than you expected. No news will be good news."

In the Hakayit Abdulla, of which we shall often have occasion to speak further on, is a passage in which Abdulla, who was the Malay writer for Raffles and was much attached to him, wrote of the loss of

the *Fame*. His words were spoken of, many years ago, as giving "a literary photograph of the collection of treasures that were lost." The following translation was made by Mr. J. T. Thomson:—Abdulla says, "I learnt from Colonel Farquhar that the ship in which Mr. Raffles was a passenger, having sailed from Bencoolen, had on the same evening been burnt with all his baggage and collections. When I heard the news I was breathless, remembering all the Malay books of ancient date collected from various sources; all these lost with the wonderful collection. As to his other property I did not care, for, if his life were spared, he could reinstate this. But the books could not be recovered, for none of them were printed, but in manuscript; they were so rare that one country might have only two of them. That is what distressed me. I further remembered his intention of composing a work on these countries, and his promise to put my name in it. All this was gone! When I thought of him I was the more grieved, because it not only was a great personal loss to him, but to Europe, as he had materials for several histories; one on Celebes, one on Borneo, one on Singapore, besides many other subjects. But the material of all these was now gone! My thoughts then turned to the origin of his taking them, but I consoled myself that he himself was saved. In this there was praise due to God, who orders to be and not to be, and acknowledgments are due to his power over his slaves."

It was very characteristic of the wonderful character and indomitable energy of Raffles that the next day after the loss of all that he had been collecting for so many years, he recommenced sketching the map of Sumatra, set all his draftsmen to work on new drawings of some of the most interesting specimens of natural history, sent numbers of people into the jungle to collect more animals, and, instead of any complaints or lamentations, he returned thanks, on the ensuing Sunday, for having preserved the lives of all on board, who had at one time scarcely contemplated escaping death in the open boats so far from shore.

This was not the end of their troubles, for another vessel was engaged, and when they were prepared to embark, her commander went quite suddenly and unexpectedly raving mad. At last, two months after the *Fame* had started on her short voyage, they left by the fourth vessel they had engaged, and reached England safely in August.

He reached England on Sunday the 22nd August, 1824, and only lived for two years, dying suddenly on the stairs from an apoplectic attack, with no one near him, having risen before five o'clock in the morning. His two years in England were clouded over with troubles with the Court of Directors regarding his pecuniary claims on the East India Company and his administration of Java and the establishment of Singapore, all of which will be found fully explained in Mr. Boulger's book. He died at his house, Highwood, Middlesex, on the 5th July, 1826, on his forty-fifth birthday, a young age for one who had done so much for the good of all around him, and for his fellow countrymen after him.

Soon after these papers appeared in the *Free Press*, Mr. Bicknell, who is now the Government Auditor at Penang, was going on leave, and he offered to try to find the grave of Sir Stamford and to copy

the inscription. He afterwards wrote the following, which was put in the *Free Press* on the 28th November, 1885:—"I found the walls of the small Parish Church of Hendon covered with tablets, and memorials, but neither in the Church nor in the Churchyard could I find any record of Sir Stamford Raffles. The curate, who was a new arrival, and the old sexton, could give no definite information, but the latter said he was probably buried at Mill Hill, a village not far from Hendon. I accordingly made my way to Mill Hill, which is near Highwood, where the Raffles' family seat was situated. Here also I was unsuccessful in finding the grave of Raffles, but on a stone which was much worn, I found the following hardly legible inscription: "Here resteth the body of Sophia, widow of Sir T. Stamford Raffles, of Highwood, Kt., who departed this life December 12th, 1858, aged 72 years." The sexton of Mill Hill Church, who had been on the place for over 40 years, maintained that Raffles was not buried there, but, as Sir Stamford died even before his time, he may be wrong, especially as the condition of Lady Raffles' grave would justify one in thinking that all traces of her husband's resting place, who died many years before her, might have passed away. Hearing that there was no Church at all at the hamlet of Highwood, I was reluctantly compelled to give up my quest."

In Mr. Boulger's book, written twelve years later, he says, on page 387, that the exact position of the grave at Hendon Church is unknown; and that in 1887 the Rev. R. B. Raffles and his brother erected out of their slender means a brass tablet on the wall of the Church with the following inscription:—

In Memory of

SIR THOMAS STAMFORD RAFFLES, F.R.S., LL.D.,

STATESMAN, ADMINISTRATOR, AND NATURALIST, FOUNDER OF THE COLONY AND CITY OF SINGAPORE, 29TH JANUARY, 1819;

BORN 5TH JULY, 1781, DIED AT HIGHWOOD, MIDDLESEX, 5TH JULY, 1826, AND BURIED NEAR THIS TABLET.

ERECTED IN 1887 BY MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY.

Sir Stamford was twice married. First on 13th March, 1805, at St. George's, Bloomsbury. His wife died quite suddenly in Java in November, 1814, and was buried in the cemetery at Batavia, and a handsome monument was erected in the Government Gardens at Buitenzorg. Lord Minto described her as an accomplished and clever lady. Abdulla in the Hakayit Abdulla spoke very highly of her, saying she was always busy and a great help to her husband. He married his second wife, Sophia, before leaving England the second time in 1817, and had five children, four of whom died in his lifetime. Lady Raffles died in 1858. Four years after his death the widow published the Memoir of his Life and Public Service. The book has been useful as preserving materials that would otherwise have been lost, but it was written with an unfortunate determination to entirely omit any reference to any papers or letters which contained any allusion whatever to the first wife, who is only mentioned in a very short foot-note at page 234, which as Mr. Boulger shows is itself incorrect and misleading. The omissions detract from the value of the book.

Two editions of this Memoir were published. The first by John Murray in 1830, dedicated to Gilbert, Earl of Minto, the son of the Governor-General of India at the time Raffles went to Java. It is in one large volume, and has a picture of Chantrey's Bust, a sketch map of Singapore island, a view taken from Government Hill (now Fort Canning) a picture of the Rafflesia Arnoldi flower, some pictures of Java and Sumatra, and a map of the Eastern Archipelago. The second edition was published by James Duncan, 37 Paternoster Row, in June, 1835. It was dedicated to Chevalier Bunsen, and is in two smaller volumes with the same portrait, and a facsimile of a letter of Raffles written in Java in 1814.

Since 1884, when these papers were first written, two more lives of Raffles have been published. One by Mr. Boulger in one large volume by Horace Marshall & Son in 1897, which has eighteen illustrations and maps. The views of Singapore town are taken from modern photographs, a picture of The Raffles Library and Museum being wrongly called The Raffles Institution, a very different building. It has also a facsimile of Raffles' hand-writing, and a portrait, sitting in a room, which is in the National Portrait Gallery at Trafalgar Square. There are some inaccuracies in the book which should be corrected if it is reprinted. On page 34 it is said that Penang is seven miles distant from the mainland. On page 339 it speaks of Singapore being not quite one degree north of the equator.

This book is very complete and interesting and must have been the result of much labour and research. The author tells us that Sir Stamford had always been one of his heroes, and the work was certainly taken up with enthusiasm. When it was intended to republish those papers it became a question whether it was worth while to reprint this first chapter, now that Mr. Boulger's book tells the whole story of Raffles' life so much more fully; but it was decided to leave it in, as it is part of the object of this book to show who and what the founder of Singapore really was, and those who read it may well be led to read Mr. Boulger's book which contains the account of all Sir Stamford's life, and not merely that part of it connected with Singapore as this book does.

Another life of Raffles was published in May, 1900, by T. Fisher Unwin, in one small volume, in the edition called The Builders of Greater Britain. It is written by Hugh E. Egerton, and has a picture of Chantrey's bust and two maps. It has an appendix which reprints part of the instructions given by Raffles on November 4th, 1822, which it says were obtained from the Acting Governor in Singapore as they had not been published before. This was not so. They had been printed in Volume 8 of Logan's Journal at page 102 in 1854; they were printed in these papers in the *Free Press* in 1884; and were afterwards printed in a pamphlet about the Verandah Question in 1896, and in the Municipal Report for that year; and have been frequently referred to for the last fifty years. The paper is again given in this book at full length in its proper place.

On the south side of the North Aisle of Westminster Abbey near the Transept is the large statue of Raffles. Over his head is the tablet to the Musician Purcell, with the well-known quaint inscription about

his having "gone to that blessed place where only his harmony can be exceeded." Under the statue of Raffles is this inscription:—

TO THE MEMORY OF
SIR THOMAS STAMFORD RAFFLES, LL.D., F.R.S.,
LIEUT.-GOVERNOR OF JAVA
AND FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE ZOOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF LONDON,
BORN 1781. DIED 1826.

SELECTED AT AN EARLY AGE TO CONDUCT THE GOVERNMENT
OF THE BRITISH CONQUESTS IN THE INDIAN OCEAN
BY WISDOM, VIGOUR AND PHILANTHROPY
HE RAISED JAVA TO HAPPINESS AND PROSPERITY
UNKNOWN UNDER FORMER RULERS.

AFTER THE SURRENDER OF THAT ISLAND TO THE DUTCH
AND DURING HIS GOVERNMENT IN SUMATRA,
HE FOUNDED AN EMPORIUM AT SINGAPORE
WHERE IN ESTABLISHING FREEDOM OF PERSON AS THE RIGHT
OF THE SOIL
AND FREEDOM OF TRADE AS THE RIGHT OF THE PORT
HE SECURED TO THE BRITISH FLAG
THE MARITIME SUPERIORITY OF THE EASTERN SEAS.

ARDENTLY ATTACHED TO SCIENCE
HE LABOURED SUCCESSFULLY TO ADD TO THE KNOWLEDGE
AND ENRICH THE MUSEUMS OF HIS NATIVE LAND.

PROMOTING THE WELFARE OF THE PEOPLE COMMITTED
TO HIS CHARGE
HE SOUGHT THE GOOD OF HIS COUNTRY
AND THE GLORY OF GOD.

In 1889 the compiler of this book had a photograph taken by the Photographer to the Queen, with the consent of the Dean, of the monument, and gave it to the Raffles Library where it is placed. It was said to be an absolutely permanent photograph, and was of the largest size, 4 feet by 2 feet, that could then be made, but it is already beginning to discolour. Might not a replica of the Monument be placed in the centre of the large domed hall of the Museum, how few people here know that the name of Singapore is to be found in Westminster Abbey?

On Jubilee Day, Monday the 27th June, 1887, the day on which was celebrated the 50th anniversary of Queen Victoria's reign, the statue of Sir Stamford Raffles on the Esplanade was unveiled. It is of bronze, eight feet high, with head a little bent and folded arms as if in thought, with a map of the Settlement at his feet. On comparing it with Chantrey's bust the features seem harder, but it was said that they represent his expression more truly than the bust, which seems very unlikely, as Sir Francis Chantrey, R.A., saw Raffles, and Mr. T. Woolner, R.A., the sculptor of the statue never did. No inscription has been placed on the pedestal. The sculptor executed the statue of Lord Lawrence at Calcutta and several statues at Sydney and Christchurch. The statue was then close to the chains on the Esplanade

enclosure; the reclamation from the sea made three years afterwards had not then been made; it now stands in the centre of the plain. The total cost of the statue was $20,446.10.

The following particulars of the various portraits of Sir Stamford Raffles were obtained by Mr. W. H. Read from Mr. S. Raffles Flint in June, 1901. He says that the large portrait was painted by Mr. George Francis Joseph, A.R.A., in 1817 (when Sir Stamford was in England before his first visit to Singapore), and was hung in the dining room at Highwood. At Lady Raffles' death, in 1858, the Rev. W. C. Raffles Flint, finding that it was a larger picture than he could manage to house, presented it to the National Portrait Gallery. The reason, Mr. Flint supposes, why Lady Raffles had the bust engraved for the frontispiece for her book was that Chantrey's work was a better portrait and gave more of the character of the man. Mr. Hugh Egerton consulted Mr. Flint as to the portrait he should reproduce for his book in 1900, and Mr. Flint suggested the engraving of the bust for the above reasons. There is another three-quarter portrait, also by Joseph, which belonged to Captain Travers, who was A.D.C. to Sir Stamford in Java, which was left to Mr. Flint some years ago by Mrs. Travers, his daughter-in-law. Mr. Flint has also a miniature by Chalon taken, he believes, in 1817. All these portraits Mr. Woolner had when he was at work on his statue.

Singapore, as is well known, was fondly looked to by Raffles as a fit spot in which to plant a torch that would send its rays into the depths of native ignorance, idolatry and superstition; and his expectations, although slowly realized, have not been altogether frustrated or disappointed; for the career of improvement has set in with assured and steady steps from Singapore, as far as Borneo on the one side, to the Native States in the Malay Peninsula on the other. It is often the act of one generation merely to strike out principles which it is the fortune of the next to put in play, and Singapore of the present day is carrying out her part in what Sir Stamford projected. Sir William Norris, the Recorder, in his charge to the Grand Jury in 1837, said that he could not better conclude his address than with some of the words of Sir Stamford Raffles when he founded the Singapore Institution in 1823, when he said: "If commerce brings wealth to our shores, it is the spirit of literature and philanthrophy (and his Lordship added, of religion and justice) which teaches us how to employ it for the noblest purposes. It is this that has made Britain go forth among the natives, strong in her native might to dispense blessings to all around her. Let it still be the boast of Britain to write her name in characters of light; let her not be remembered as the tempest whose course was desolation, but as the gale of spring reviving the slumbering seeds of mind, and calling them to life from the winter of ignorance and oppression. If the time shall come when her empire shall have passed away, these monuments will endure when her triumphs shall have become an empty name."

Before the story of Singapore is begun, it is wished to refer briefly to the names of three persons who afterwards were so very well



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SIR THOS. STAMFORD RAFFLES, KT., PRESIDENT OF THE ZOOLOGICAL SOCIETY, LL.D., F.R.S., S.A.L.S., &C.

known in Singapore, where they met and became very close friends, and whose names will be so prominently mentioned in our stories of later years. When the British flag was hoisted here, a boy named James Brooke had been born sixteen years before, at a place now called Secrose, a suburb of Benares in India. A boy named Henry Keppel the third son of the Earl of Albemarle, was ten years old, and soon afterwards joined the navy. On 7th February, 1819, the day after the flag was hoisted here, a boy was born in London, whose name is known to all our readers as William Henry Macleod Read.

Sir James Brooke, Rajah of Sarawak, first landed at Singapore on 28th May, 1839; he died in England in 1868; The Hon. Sir Henry Keppel first came here on 5th September, 1832, and is now an Admiral of the Fleet, the highest rank in the British Navy and at the very top of the Active List. He came back to Singapore on the 31st December, 1899, when over ninety years of age, to revisit for a short time the place he liked so well; and Mr. W. H. Read, who was the first unofficial member of the Legislative Council when it was established in the Colony, is now living in England.

CHAPTER II.

1511—1818

FOR the purposes of this book it is not desirable to refer except in the briefest way to the old history, if it can even properly be so called, of Singapore. It is, as Mr. John Crawfurd wrote in his Dictionary of the Indian Islands, published in 1856, "full of obscurity."

Captain Newbold in his book on the Straits of Malacca, published in 1839, at page 272 of the first volume, speaks of the subject. Munshi Abdulla in his book gives a most interesting account of Newbold and of the great pains he took in Malacca to enter deeply into the history and usages of the Malay countries, so that he probably learned all that could then be ascertained from the old books and from the Malays themselves on the subject. He tells us that the Island of Singapore is celebrated in the Malayan history as being the first place of settlement of the early Malay colonists, who afterwards founded the Empire of Malacca. It is said in the Malay history, called the *Sejara Malayu*, that Sang Nila Utama, supposed by Mohammedan historians to have been a descendant of Alexander the Great, settled on the island with a colony of Malays from Palembang in Sumatra and founded the city of *Singhapura* in A. D. 1160, when they changed the original name of *Tamasak* to *Singhapura*, the city of the Lion; from the tradition of Sang Nila Utama having seen a *Singha*, or Lion, near the mouth of the river. This lion is described in the *Sejara Malayu* as an animal very swift and beautiful, its body red, head black, and its breast white; very active, and in size larger than a he-goat.

The derivation of the name of Singapore has caused a discussion for many years. One month after these papers commenced to appear in 1884, Mr. William E. Maxwell, Mr. W. H. Read and others were waking it all up again in the correspondence columns of the *Free Press* in November. It was suggested that it was derived from *singgah*, to touch at, and *pulau*, an island, which became changed to *pura*; which derivation one correspondent preferred to Mr. Crawfurd's opinion, which was the Sanscrit word *singha*, a lion, and *pura*, a city. To which Mr. Maxwell (afterwards Sir William Maxwell) retorted that "Cream Tartary" was not derived from "Cream of Tartar" nor was Singapura (the Malay spelling) derived from *singgah* to stop. He said that it did not follow because the word was Sanscrit that the island was called after the animal, as it was possible that it was named after a legendary king, who was called Raja Singa. Mr. Maxwell was satisfied that Mr. John Crawfurd was right. An intelligent Malay nobleman said that the tradition among the natives was that a Rajah on landing here saw a wild animal on shore and asked what it was, and was told *Singha*, a lion; and he said *para-para* which means

"gammon"; as it was impossible, in his opinion, there could be such an animal in the island; so it was called at first *Singapura-pura.* There is a somewhat similar tradition in regard to Malacca, where it is said that a Rajah on landing, saw a pelandok (mouse deer) attack a dog and drive it into the water, so he said "This is a fine place where the very pelandoks are full of courage, let us found a city here," and asking the name of a tree under which he was standing, was told it was the *Malacca* tree, *Phyllanthus emblica* so he called the name of the place Malacca. In the old books the name is spelt in various ways, such as Sinkepure, Sincapoor, Sincapura, and Singapoura. The French official letters to the Post Office are even now addressed to Sincapour, and Admiral Keppel still addresses his to Sincapore, as Sir Stamford Raffles himself spelt it at first (*see* Boulger page 304).

It is certain that Singapore, though not reclaimed to civilization for 220 years afterwards, bore in 1598 the same name that it does now and gave its name to the Straits at the foot of the Peninsula. This is shown by the inscription on a tombstone in the old ruined Church of the Visitation of Our Lady, afterwards called St. Paul's Church, on the hill at Malacca. Begbie wrote that it lies in the centre of the Church opposite the door or principal entrance, and that the inscription, though much worn, was still (in 1833) legible, as follows :—

HIC JACET DO
MINVS PETRVS
SOCIETATIS
JESV SECVN
DVS EPISCOPVS
JAPONENSIS
OBIIT AD FRE
TVM SINGAPV
RA MENSE FE
BRVARIO AN
NO 1598.

The principal thing observable, Begbie remarks, being the studied division of the words. He gave a translation (for the information of the fairer sex) as follows.—Here lies (the body of) Lord (Bishop) Peter, of the Society of Jesuits, (and) the second Bishop of Japan. He died at the Straits of Singapore in the month of February in the year 1598." In the Journal of the Straits Asiatic Society, No. 34 for 1900, is a complete account and plan of the graves and the inscriptions in the old Church, the above being the oldest of all. It was compiled by Mr. E. M. Merewether, and contains some very interesting matter, which would otherwise have been lost.

In a very old book published by a Captain Hamilton called a "New Account of the East Indies" he says "In the year 1703 I called at Johore on my way to China, and he (the King of Johore) treated me very kindly and made me a present of the island of Singapore but I told him it could be of no use to a private person, *though a proper place for a company to settle a colony in,* lying

in the centre of trade, and accommodated with good rivers and a safe harbour, so conveniently situated that all winds served shipping both to go out and come into these rivers." Mr. Crawfurd, in re-printing this in his Dictionary at page 403, says it is remarkable that Singapore was so unmistakably pointed out over a century before, and that this striking recommendation did not occur to Sir Stamford Raffles when he went to look for a suitable locality; but in this Crawfurd may have been mistaken, as Sir Stamford was so well acquainted with the old histories, and it may have been one of the passages he alluded to in his letters to Marsden.

The lines of the old city and its defences were still to be traced in 1819, according to a passage in a letter of Sir Stamford Raffles to Mr. Marsden at page 376 of his Memoirs by his widow; but Mr. Crawfurd (Dictionary page 402) wrote that the remains discovered in Singapore were certainly not such as to convey a high opinion of what De Barros calls " the celebrated city of Singapura, to which resorted all the navigators of the western seas of India, and of the eastern of Siam, China, Campa and Camboja, as well as of thousands of islands to the eastward," because there was not a vestige of granite used which abounds in the neighbourhood and was in Mr. Crawfurd's time so largely employed.

Captain Newbold tells us that in 1252, the Javanese invaded Singapura, destroyed the city and dispersed its inhabitants over various parts of the Malay Peninsula, the majority going to Muar and Malacca where they settled and founded that city. The Javanese did not remain on the island, and Crawfurd says it remained submerged (as he terms it) for about five and a half centuries without being occupied, being only the occasional resort of pirates. In 1811 the Tumongong of Johore came to Singapore with about 150 followers, a few months before the British expedition passed Singapore on the way to conquer Java. Mr. Crawfurd says that the Tumongong himself told him this in 1823.

In order to understand the necessity which Raffles foresaw for establishing a settlement at Singapore it is necessary to refer to the history of Malacca which was again in the hands of the Dutch in 1818, whose object was to create a monopoly of all the trade to the south of that place.

The Malays having been driven to Malacca in 1252, were attacked by the Portuguese in 1511. Albuquerque, who was Governor or Viceroy of the Portuguese possessions in the East, disembarked his troops from Cochin, consisting of 800 Portuguese and 600 Malabars, or native soldiers, from nineteen vessels on the 24th July, the eve of Saint James the Apostle (Begbie.) He did not succeed and had to re-embark with a loss of ten men from poisoned arrows. A few days afterwards he made another attack and occupied the town. It is said in one account that Albuquerque built the fortress and the old Church now in ruins on St. Paul's Hill, and the Convent of the Visitation of Our Lady close by, and that St. Francis de Xavier arrived at Malacca in the year 1547. In 1641 the Dutch, with the help of Johore, after a siege of six months' duration, took Malacca from the Portuguese, which was a fatal blow to them, and they never recovered their footing in this quarter of the globe.

The Dutch retained possession till August 1795, when they surrendered the town to the expedition of the British under Captain Newcome, R.N. of H. M. S. *Orpheus* and Major Brown of the East India Company's service. Malacca was to have been restored to the Dutch at the peace of Amiens in 1802, but war recommenced before it was done, and the Dutch Settlements falling into the power of France it remained under the British until September, 1818, when it was restored to the Dutch in accordance with the Treaty of Vienna. The Dutch did not lose a month in obtaining a footing in Rhio, which is 45 miles to the south from Singapore, with a view to establish a monopoly from Malacca to the southward, which led to the disputes which afterwards arose about our occupation of Singapore. In order to understand the difficulty which Raffles met with, and the clever way in which he took advantage of the peculiar circumstances of the case to overcome them, it is necessary to state as briefly as possible how the Dutch claim over Rhio gave them an excuse to object to what Raffles did, and even for threats to drive out the British from Singapore by force of arms. It may be called "The Story of the Two Sultans;" and although events have settled down for many years in such a way as to prevent any possible good arising from further discussion on the subject, which created more argument and dispute than probably any occurrence in Singapore, it should not be passed over here.

The Malay countries are usually ruled by a Rajah, (in the case of Singapore he was in 1819 called the Tumongong) in whom the real power of government rests, and to whom the soil of the country belongs, on the principle that he holds the country in trust for the people, which is clearly and emphatically laid down by the Mohamedan law. But in these countries in the Malay Peninsula there was also a Suzerain or Lord Paramount, called the Sultan, whose position and dignity were recognised, but whose rule was purely nominal. Colonel Low in an article on the Straits says "The Sultan of Johore was formerly and still considers himself, perhaps, the nominal superior of the Peninsula states." Captain Begbie says that in 1758 the Rajah of Johore (that is the Sultan) assigned the nominal authority which he possessed over the states of Rumbow, Sungei Ujong, Johole, and Nanning, to the Dutch. He further says, speaking of the Penghulu of Nanning, which lies between Rumbow and Malacca, adjoining the same countries, "Notwithstanding this extent of authority (on the part of the Chief of Nanning) the whole acknowledge a superior influence which is vested in an individual named the Iang de Pertuan Besar. This personage may be denominated a titular chief, who receives his honours from Menangkabow (in Sumatra, whence the Malays originally came) but derives neither power nor fixed revenue from the office." Mr. Cameron says in his book, "It would appear from the first that the Tumongong had more voice in the government than the Sultan, especially in all that regarded Singapore, the soil of which appears to have been his property;" and again on page 137, "With respect to the island of Singapore, it is beyond doubt that the Tumongong's family had great claims, both because they so cordially assisted our settlement, and because, although subject to the seignory of the Sultan, the soil appears to have been their property." See also the remarks in Chapter IV.

There is therefore reason to doubt whether it was necessary to have the concurrence of the nominal Sultan in obtaining the settlement of

Singapore. But it was desirable for political reasons and the question arose as to who was the proper individual to assent. The Dutch insisted that one Abdul Rahman, their *protege*, was the proper man; Raffles said it was one Hoosain, generally known as Tunku Long; and the question was which of these two half-brothers was the Simon Pure.

Sultan Mohamed Shah of Johore and Lingga, under whose authority, whatever it may have been, the island of Singapore was included, had in the year 1809, four wives. The first and fourth of these were of royal blood, and had no children. The second and third were of low extraction. The second was the mother of Hoosain or Tunku Long; the third was the mother of Abdul Rahman. Objections were afterwards made that neither of the two being of royal blood, but being of low birth, could in accordance with the Malay custom succeed their father. But this was not much insisted on. The Sultan intended his first born son Hoosain to succeed him and told him to go to Pahang to marry the sister of the Bandahara or Chief of that country there. Before he left the Sultan went with him from Lingga, an island south of Rhio and 125 miles from Singapore, to one of the islands at Battang opposite Singapore town, and as a proof of his intention that Hoosain should succeed him, the Sultan caused him to hoist the royal flag, while he himself hoisted the white flag which was emblematical of his retirement from the cares of government. This was surely good ground for Raffles insisting that *his* Sultan was the real man.

Hoosain sailed for Pahang and the Sultan returned to Lingga, where he almost immediately died, not without suspicion of having been poisoned by Rajah Muda Japhar, who was then in Lingga. He had been appointed Raja Muda by the deceased Sultan; in effect he was the viceroy or governor at Rhio appointed by the Sultan to act for him. He had a quarrel with Hoosain, and was afraid of losing his power if he became Sultan, while he had great influence over the younger brother Abdul Rahman.

Hoosain was out of the way, and he only heard of his father's death a few days after he landed at Pahang, and then it was only a rumour. Subsequently he got a crafty letter from Rajah Japhar who antedated his letter and told him nothing about the attempt to instal his brother Abdul Rahman in his stead. Besides this, Hoosain could not then leave Pahang on account of the monsoon.

What took place at Lingga on the morning after the Sultan's death is so well told by Captain Begbie, and is so interesting as to the ways of the Malays in appointing a sovereign that it is now taken at length out of his book:—

"On the morning subsequent to the demise of Sulthaun Mahomed Shah, the Rajah Moodah assembled such of the chiefs as were either able or willing to attend, and thus addressed them—

"'Our Sulthaun is no more. He died yesterday evening, but he has left us two sons—say which of the two will you choose as your sovereign?'

"Two of the oldest and most influential of the chiefs, named Dattoo Pengawa Bukka and Dattoo Hadgi Peng-Hadgi, thus replied, 'Agreeably to the constitution of the Empire, the eldest son must ever be selected to fill the vacant throne. We therefore wish that

Tuankoo Houssain may be proclaimed Sulthaun of Johore.' Upon hearing this speech Rajah Japhar exclaimed in a peevish and discontented tone, 'Your wishes run exactly counter to my own.' The two chiefs replied, 'If your highness be desirous of acting contrary to the custom established by law, and of subverting the fundamental principles of the empire, why did you assemble us for the purpose of learning our sentiments. The desire that we have expressed is in strict accordance with the law of the state, and if your Highness, Iyang de Pertuan Moodah, persist in your endeavour to set it aside, we must solemnly protest against it as a violent infraction of the constitution.'

"The firm tone in which this speech was delivered, and the force of the argument it contained, overpowered the Rajah Moodah, who quitted the council without reply, the other chiefs following him, so that the agitating question of the succession was left undecided; and, had Rajah Moodah been the only person concerned in the intrigue, it had probably fallen to the ground. But, although Tuankoo Abdul Rachman himself was thoroughly destitute of any hankering after empire, his immediate relatives eagerly thirsted after that reflected power which they would derive from his exaltation. Accordingly, two of his uncles, named Ibrahim and Mahomed, alarmed at the indecision and agitation which Rajah Japhar had displayed, proceeded, directly the assembly had thus abruptly broken up, to the house of their sister Inchi Mariam, Tuankoo Abdul Rachman's mother, and carried her along with them to the step-sister of the Rajah Moodah, Tuankoo Boontet, both of which ladies possessed great influence with him. The whole party, accompanied by a chief, named Inchi Kaloo, called upon Rajah Moodah Japhar that evening, and eventually succeeded in binding him firmly to the cause of Tuankoo Abdul Rachman, whom the junto proclaimed as sovereign that evening.

"The following morning the members of the cabal proceeded to the residence of the newly elected monarch, who, having heard somewhat of the intrigues that were carrying on in his favor, had closely secluded himself since the death of his father, in the hope that when not encouraged by him they would die away.

"When the door of his room was opened (Rajah Moodah is accused of having forced it) this chief thus addressed him:—'The body of your late father, and our sovereign, lies still unburied. You are aware that according to our custom, it cannot be committed to the earth, until the successor to the throne be appointed. Your brother is still absent, and who can tell when he will arrive? There is consequently no one but yourself eligible to the crown and the election has fallen unanimously on you.'

"Tuankoo Abdul Rachman thus replied,—'My father, the late sovereign, expressed his earnest desire that my brother Tuankoo Houssain should succeed him according to custom, as well as that I should devote myself to the priesthood, and with that view I should proceed to Mecca on pilgrimage. I dare not consequently, and positively declare that I will not, disobey his wishes, lest I draw down a curse from heaven, and not a blessing. I therefore request you, Rajah Japhar, to act as Regent until the return of my brother.'

"Rajah Japhar Moodah, whose real reasons for wishing to substitute Tuankoo Abdul Rachman for his brother were that there was an existing feud between his family and that of Tuankoo Houssain, in consequence of which he feared a serious diminution of his authority in the event of that prince's succession; while the weakness and vacillation of Tuankoo Abdul Rachman's character held out to him a prospect of great power, especially as he was his own nephew, exclaimed, in a tone of apparently great surprise, 'How can I venture to assume the authority of the Sulthaun, when one of his sons is actually on the spot?' He was joined strongly in his remonstrances by the party, who accompanied him, and the weak and wavering Abdul Rachman, whose actions invariably took on the colour imparted to them by his advisers of the hour, felt his good resolves yield to the impulse of the moment, and after a few faint struggles consented to his nomination as Sulthaun.

"This advantage gained, the faction was by no means dilatory in improving it. That very evening, as many of the people of Lingga as could be assembled together, were apprized of his election by the zealous Rajah Moodah, who rebelled in the anticipation of unlimited sway under his imbecile master. This ceremony having been undergone, the remains of the deceased Sulthaun Mahomed Shah were committed to the dust with all the pomp becoming his rank. On the third day subsequent to the funeral, the new Sulthaun ascended the throne of his forefathers with all the solemnities usually observed on such occasions, and received the homage of his subjects, the fealty of the Malayan nations going with the stream.

"As soon as the monsoon changed Hoossain sailed back to Lingga, but found he was comparatively friendless. He went to his brother Abdul Rahman who at first received him very kindly, but Rajah Japhar had too much influence over Abdul Rahman, and threatening him with being left without means like his brother was, induced him to treat Hoossain with coldness and neglect."

The fourth widow of the dead Sultan was a spirited old lady, who lived where she had been born on the island of Pinigad, opposite Rhio, and she strongly supported Hoossain, saying, "Who elected Abdul Rahman as sovereign of Johore? Was it my brother Rajah Japhar, or by what law of succession has it happened? It is owing to this act of injustice that the ancient empire of Johore is fast falling to decay." The old Sultan, on his last visit to Pinigad, had left the regalia with this wife, who was called Tuanku Putri, and the old lady absolutely refused to give them up to Abdul Rahman, the Malay tradition being that the possession of the regalia was necessary to constitute a Sultan.

In the year 1818, Sir Stamford Raffles commenced those negotiations which ended in Singapore being established. Under ordinary circumstances a reference to England would have been indispensable, but Colonel Low remarks that Raffles foresaw that before any reference home could be replied to, the Dutch would have perfected their long cherished scheme of repressing the British name and influence in the eyes of the Malayan States, and of monopolizing a very disproportionate share of the Eastern trade. Raffles also justly argued that the Dutch could not fairly claim Singapore on the plea of prior engagements which

they might have entered into with native princes before the transfer of Malacca to the British in 1795; because the Dutch authorities who transferred Malacca in that year had declared that Rhio, Johore, Pahang and Lingga were *not* dependencies of Malacca, while it was on the ground that Rhio *was* a dependency that the claim had now been set up; and also that engagements had been entered into by the English with the Rajah of Rhio, to retract from which would have been an acknowledgment of inferiority to the Dutch.

Major Farquhar had been sent to Rhio in August, 1818, from Penang, to see what could be done. He found the Rajah Muda Japhar, who has been spoken of, to be the only person with whom he could negotiate, and made a Treaty with him at Rhio on the 19th August, 1818, which it is not necessary to print here as it can always be found in the printed copies of the books relating to Treaties with the Native States. It was made between the East India Company and Jaffir, Rajah Muda of Rhio on behalf of Sultan Abdul Rahman, King of Johore, Pahang and Dependencies. It was not signed by Abdul Rahman. It provided for mutual liberty of navigation and commerce in the ports and dominions of Johore, Pahang, Lingga, Rhio and other places subject to the Sultan. In Mr. Cameron's book he says that the treaty also secured a right to build a factory on the island of Singapore, but the name of Singapore is not in the treaty at all. It was part of Johore, and therefore was impliedly affected, but it was not mentioned by name.

Sir Stamford Raffles afterwards used this as a second string to his bow in answer to the Dutch objections, by saying that the English had obtained the consent of the Dutch protege, Sultan Abdul Rahman, as well as of his elder brother Hoossain.

It is worth recording as it does not seem to have been mentioned in other books, in connection with the scheme of Sir Stamford Raffles to form a station to cope with the Dutch, that, some time before, he had said that Bencoolen was far out of the way of the great trade routes through the Sunda and Malacca Straits and its position was therefore unfavorable to trade. On this account he had obtained an anchorage (so it is written) at Simangka Bay in the Sunda Straits, his idea being to establish a commercial *entrepot* to rival Batavia. The Simangka Bay settlement proved a failure and then Raffles began afresh to secure some position in the narrow passage at the foot of the Malay Peninsula between India and China; which led to his visit to Calcutta and the eventual settlement at Singapore.

Colonel Low says (9 Logan's Journal, 313) that the Penang Government had attempted to form an establishment on the island of Bentan, opposite Singapore, but before their measures were taken the Dutch had occupied Rhio, and Colonel Bannerman retired from any further attempt, thinking it useless. Raffles was to succeed where he had failed.

CHAPTER III.

1819

SIR STAMFORD RAFFLES left Calcutta for Penang about the 10th December, 1818. His instructions from Lord Hastings, the Governor-General, as to the establishment of a port at the south end of the Malacca Straits, at Rhio or elsewhere, are printed at length at page 298 of Mr. Boulger's book. He was told to attend to this after the conclusion of the negotiations he was to conduct at Acheen. It is said in the letter that the proceedings of the Dutch left no room for doubt as to their policy of possessing themselves of all the commanding stations in the Archipelago, and so completely excluding British shipping and commanding the only channels for direct trade between China and Europe.

Raffles arrived at Penang on the 31st December, 1818, and hearing of the proceedings of the Dutch regarding Rhio, he let the mission to Acheen stand over and went to the south. He was blamed afterwards for having overruled his instructions by not going to Acheen first, but in the end the Court of Directors exonerated him from all blame, and admitted that he had acted wisely. If he had not gone to Singapore until after he had been to Acheen, there is good reason to think that Singapore would have fallen under the control of the Dutch as Rhio had done already.

Sir Stamford Raffles left Penang on the 19th January, 1819. It was thought to be impossible after this lapse of time to find out the number of the vessels, or their names, which formed the expedition. Abdulla mentions four ships and two ketches or schooners, and in some correspondence the name of a brig *Ganges* and a ship *Nearchus*, and two hired vessels called the *Mercury* and *Enterprise*, were mentioned. The matter has now been ascertained from a very dilapidated Directory of Penang for 1820. This contains a great deal of interesting and amusing information which concerns Penang and not Singapore, but it has a full list of all Arrivals and Departures of vessels at and from Penang, which is headed "The Naval Register for 1819." From this can be seen the arrivals and departures of all vessels between Penang and Singapore in that year, which throws a lot of light upon how communication was first carried on, and the length of voyages. There was a distinction in the way of naming the East India Company's ships. Some were styled H.C.S. meaning the Honorable Company's Ships, and in the column of the commanders, the Captains are always described as Esquire. For instance H.C.S. *Warren Hastings*, G. Welstead, Esq., sailed from Penang on 7th September, 1819, for China. Other ships were described as H.C.C. which meant Honourable Company's Cruisers, and in their case the commander was always styled

Captain or Lieutenant. We know that Raffles left Penang on the 19th January, and the following is the list of departures from Penang on that day as it is printed in that Directory—

	Name of Vessel.	Commander.	Destination.
January 19	H.C.C. Nearchus	Captain Maxfield	Sea
Do.	Do. Minto	Lieut. Criddle	do.
Do.	Mercury	J. R. Beaumont	do.
Do.	Indiana	James Pearl	do.
Do.	Ganges	F. J. Barnard	do.
Do.	Enterprise	R. Harris	do.

This shows that Abdulla was right as to the number. From the same Directory it is possible to gather more information about the ships. The *Nearchus* and *Minto* had arrived at Penang before January, as they are not in the list for 1819; and we know that Raffles arrived in Penang on 31st December, 1818. In the letter of instructions given to Raffles in Calcutta on 28th November, it was said that a frigate would be appointed to convey him to Rhio and eventually to Bencoolen. Whether the *Nearchus* or the *Minto* was a frigate, or what class they were, is not now known. It is probable that Raffles came from Calcutta to Penang with these two ships which were to take him to Acheen from Penang. He did afterwards go from Penang to Acheen in the *Minto* accompanied by the *Indiana*. And the list shows that the *Minto* took him from Singapore on 7th February, the day after the Treaty was signed, accompanied by the *Indiana*, reaching Penang on the 14th, a passage of seven days. The *Nearchus* afterwards made two voyages between Singapore and Penang, and left Penang for Calcutta on 10th October, and does not appear again in the list. The *Minto* left Penang for Acheen, with Sir Stamford on 8th March; and on 22nd May left Penang for Singapore. On 23rd September she left Singapore for Penang and arrived there on 2nd October, a passage of nine days. She left Penang again on the 10th October for Singapore, so that she was evidently employed in connection with the place.

The *Mercury* left Calcutta on 10th December, and reached Penang on 12th January, a passage of thirty-three days. She left Singapore on 15th February and reached Penang on the 23rd, in eight days. She left Penang for Calcutta on 7th March; left Calcutta on 28th May reaching Penang on 19th June in 22 days, and left there for Singapore on the 25th June.

The *Indiana* left Calcutta on 20th December, 1818, and reached Penang on 1st January, 1819, in eleven days. She left Singapore with the *Minto* for Penang and accompanied her to Acheen. The two vessels left Acheen on the 26th April and reached Penang together on the 29th. On the 22nd May she left for Singapore, and left there on 15th October reaching Penang on the 27th. On 16th November she sailed for Calcutta.

It is probable from this knowledge of the voyages of these two vessels, that they were hired to carry the troops and stores. They were most likely country ships trading out of Calcutta, and when matters had somewhat settled down in Singapore they returned to Calcutta.

The other two ships are to be found in the same Directory in a list headed "Ships and Vessels belonging to the port of Prince of Wales Island," that is, Penang. There are twenty-seven vessels. The *Ganges* was a brig of 130 tons, owned by Bapoo Doory; and the *Enterprise* was a schooner of 85 tons owned by Alexander John Kerr, who we see in another place in the Directory was then the Registrar of the Court of Judicature. The book among many other odd things contains a list of the Executors, &c., of Estates in 1819, and it appears that Bapoo died and Mr. Kerr, the owner of the other vessel, was the Administrator of his estate.

The *Ganges* left Singapore for Penang on the 11th August, making the passage in six days, and in December sailed from Penang to Bombay. The *Enterprise* made several trips during the year to Singapore, and went once from Penang to Calcutta, and once to Bencoolen.

So the expedition consisted of two of the East India Company's men-of-war; two ships engaged in Calcutta; and two local vessels chartered in Penang.

On the way south they met Major Farquhar returning to Penang, and at his request Raffles went to view the Carimons, where Captain Ross of the surveying ship *Discovery* had been sent previously. This must be the Captain Ross mentioned in Newbold's book as being at Singapore when Sir Stamford reached there. The Carimons were not found suitable. It was the place which Farquhar had warmly recommended, as he did again a year or two afterwards, as a more central position than Singapore. The result has shown that Raffles was unquestionably right in his judgment. The ships anchored off St. John's Island on the evening of the 28th January. That island lies about five miles from the town on the west side of the harbour. It is said in Moore's book that "it was called by the Malays Si Kijang or 'the roe' an animal to which it had no resemblance, and the name having fallen upon the obtuse ears of some person who did not understand Malay, has ever since been called St. John's by Europeans."

The best account of the first landing at Singapore is in Munshi Abdulla's Hakayit Abdulla (or Autobiography of Abdulla) but as he did not come to Singapore until four months afterwards, he only tells what he had been told and is certainly incorrect in some particulars, but on the whole he probably gives a very good idea of what took place.

It will be well to explain here who Munshi Abdullah was, as his book gives so much interesting information about Malacca and Singapore which could not be found elsewhere. It is a book of his personal reminiscences, and is for a native Mohamedan a remarkable work. Parts of the book have been translated many times, that by Mr. Braddell in Logan's Journal, in 1852, and that by Mr. J. T. Thomson in his book called "Translations from the Hakayit Abdulla," published in 1874, are the only ones likely to be now obtainable. The whole of the book has not yet been translated. It is a standard reading book for students of Malay. Abdulla was an Arab of Yemen of mixed race, three removes from a pure Arab. His father and mother were both born in Malacca, his grandfather on the father's side (to which alone the Malays give importance) was the son of an Arab of Yemen and had

been born at Nagore, South India, and married a Malay in Malacca. He was a tall, slightly bent, spare man, very energetic as his book shows, with a bronze complexion, and an oval face, as Mr. Thomson, who learned Malay from him, tells us. When he was a boy of 11 or 12 years old he was a Malay writer for Raffles in Malacca, and was much attached to him. He did a great deal of work in translating for the Missionaries at the Anglo-Chinese College in Malacca, and was the Malay teacher to the Europeans in Singapore in its early days, and to Mr. Keasberry. Abdulla's father had been Malay teacher to Marsden. Raffles wanted him to go to Java with the expedition, but his mother would not part with him as he was the only son and then only fourteen years old. In later years he was a master in the Raffles Institution. He sailed from Singapore in an Arab ship for Jeddah in February, 1854, intending to go to Mecca and then to pay a visit to Europe; but he died in Mecca on the 27th October in that year. His son Ibrahim bin Abdullah is now the Dato Bintara Dalam of Johore, an official of high rank, who accompanied the late Sultan Abubakar to Europe in 1878. Several passages from his book are quoted further on; they are examples of the manner of his writing, and of the thoughts of a Mohamedan. The stories are told in a very amusing way.

There is one other account by a Malay of what took place when Raffles landed for the first time. It is to be found in the Journal of the Straits Asiatic Society, No. 10 for 1882, and was taken down by Mr. H. T. Haughton of the Straits Settlements Civil Service, who died to the great regret of all in the Straits, in 1897, while still a young man. He took it down from an old Malay, said to be then about eighty years old, which would make him about fifteen in 1819, but as usual with these people, his age was quite uncertain. In the following number was a note by Mr. W. H. Read giving his reasons for thinking that the old man could not be very correct in his recollections. However that may be, his account in many ways coincides with Abdulla's, and taking the two together we can arrive at a pretty good idea of what took place.

Before doing this let us try to form a picture of what the entrance to the river looked like when Sir Stamford Raffles and Major Farquhar rowed into its mouth. There are little statements in several of the old books, besides these two accounts, which help in this. The right bank, which is the proper name for the side of the river where the Square is now, was a rising hill covered with jungle, and beyond the hill in the direction where the Police Courts are now and beyond, was what Abdulla calls a marsh. There was no one living on that side of the river then. On the left bank of the river (the Esplanade side as it is now called) the bank was covered with low jungle. On that bank, most probably somewhere between the present site of the Court House and Elgin Bridge, though some have thought as far up as the Ice House at Hill Street, were a few houses. Abdulla says four or five small huts, with six or seven cocoanut trees, and one larger house for the Tumongong; while the old Malay called Wa Hakim told Mr. Haughton that there were under a hundred small huts with a large one for the Rajah. It was probably between the two, as the Tumongong four years afterwards told Mr. Crawfurd that 150 Malays had accompanied him from

Johore in 1811. Abdulla tells us that the plain (the Esplanade) was covered with Kamunting and Kadadu plants. The river in fact was just what may be seen at other places round the island where a great town such as Singapore is now has never been commenced. Both Abdulla and Wa Hakim speak of the *orang laut* (men of the sea) and Abdulla as a Malay, (and in his own estimation a most superior being for which he had some reason), speaks of them in a contemptuous manner, as being like wild beasts. These were the descendants of the aborigines of Johore before the Malays crossed from Sumatra, and were born, lived and died in boats, a sort of sea-gipsies. One prow often contained, besides the head of the family, a grandmother, mother and several young children, who were left in some place of safety when the men went out on piratical expeditions. They were radically Malays, speaking the language and nominally Mohomedans, but really believing in a sort of fetishism like all untutored peoples. The place where their boats lay was called, Wa Hakim says, Kampong Tumongong. Such boats full of these people may still be seen occasionally in the river; they were very numerous forty years ago round the island at Telok Blangah and Selitar. Abdulla says. "There were also only two or three small huts at the extreme end of Campong Glam, belonging to the Glam tribe or clan who made their living by making kadjangs and mat sails, hence the name of the place." Captain Begbie says, "The Malay town is generally called Campong Glam on account of the Glam trees in its neighbourhood. The Glam is a species of the Kayu Putih whose leaves yield the well-known medicinal oil commonly contracted into Cajeput. It is called white wood from its bark being white. The rind peels off in ragged paper like shreds." The huts Abdulla speaks of were probably put up after the English came; he himself did not come until four months afterwards.

Such was the condition of the place and the people when Raffles and Farquhar landed in the morning, with one sepoy carrying a musket, as Wa Hakim says. The orang laut, frightened, all ran away, and Raffles walked up to the Tumongong's house. Abdulla says Farquhar sat down under a *Kalat* tree on the plain, and waited till the Tumongong came. Wa Hakim says he followed Raffles to the house to the edge of the verandah, as a Malay boy would do. The Tumongong gave them rambutans and other kinds of fruit, and then Raffles went inside. He explained why they had come and that it would be a good thing for the Malays in carrying on their traffic. The Tumongong made a speech of his own unworthiness (as usual) and said the question of the succession to the late Sultan was still unsettled, and that Tunku Putri had all the regalia; but he was the inheritor of the island by the Malayan law. Colonel Farquhar said "Sir Stamford Raffles has well considered, and he will put all straight." Being asked what was the name of the hill behind the plain (Fort Canning now) he said it was called Bukit Larangan, "Because the Rajah resided there in old times and erected his palace there, and would allow no one to go up, so it was called the Forbidden Hill."

They returned on board at 4 o'clock, and afterwards (Wa Hakim says twelve days which is out of the question, but such a Malay has very little idea of time) it was no doubt the next morning, the 29th

January, the tents and baggage were brought ashore, and half of the Malay sailors commenced to cut down the scrub on the plain while the other half put up the tents. This took two hours. Then a well was dug below the *Kalat* tree, from which they all drank. Thirty Malacca Malays were landed, and relieved each other in keeping guard near the tents that night. The people of Singapore were too frightened to approach at first, and one boy was drowned off Teluk Ayer; for, meeting one of the ship's boats, he became so alarmed that he jumped overboard, and the tide was running so strong that he was overpowered and drifted out to sea.

We cannot doubt that Raffles spent the afternoon in talking to the Tumongong and the Malays, and interesting them in his proposals. It is a pity that little Abdullah did not come with him from Malacca or we should have had a most amusing account of the conversation. Raffles speedily convinced the Tumongong of his friendship and good intentions and Farquhar went away to Rhio to see about the regalia. Sir Stamford made the Preliminary Arrangement mentioned in the next chapter on the following day, and waited for the return of Major Farquhar. Begbie says that Raffles sent Farquhar to endeavour to persuade Tunku Putri to give up the regalia but the old lady was inflexible. She is described as a fine intelligent lady, whose countenance lit up with great animation, when talking of old days She was residing in Malacca in 1833. Farquhar returned with Sultan Hoossain on the evening of 5th February, and the treaty which concluded—what Raffles had tried to accomplish, in the face of so many difficulties, was made the next day.

The remainder of this chapter relates to the controversy that has gone on for many years and still keeps occasionally cropping up, in the most hopeless way, about the true date of the foundation of the Settlement. It is not of the least practical importance, and those who attach no interest to it can turn over to the end of the chapter.

After spending much time in hunting into it, the conclusion seems to be irresistible that the 6th February, which has always been kept as the anniversary is beyond any reasonable doubt, the proper date.

Sir Stamford Raffles and Major Farquhar were the only persons actually present in Singapore at the time, who have left anything in writing about the date when the British flag was hoisted. If the diary and all the papers of Raffles had not been burnt in the *Fame* the question would never have arisen. Unfortunately in a memorial Raffles addressed to the Court of Directors, when in England not long before his death, he had given the date as the 29th February. Lady Raffles was in Penang at the time and could not speak from her own recollection, and in her book she copied the same date, which was repeated in the second edition. The 29th February was impossible, there could be no such day, as 1819 could not be a leap year, and if Lady Raffles had turned over two pages of her own book she would have seen that her husband was back again in Penang writing letters on the 19th February. We know that he left Singapore on 7th February and did not return until June. There is one other passage relating to the matter in the writings of Raffles; a letter he wrote to Marsden, which is printed in Lady Raffles' book, dated 31st January, in

which he said "The lines of the old city and its defences are still to be traced and within its ramparts the British Union waves unmolested." This language in a private letter to his friend is certainly somewhat imaginative when it speaks of ramparts, because in April 1821 it was written in a despatch that "the place was covered with jungle with the exception of a small spot on the eastern side of the river, barely large enough to pitch the tents on." It may have been Raffles' way of expressing to his friend that there the English were and they were going to stop. Mr. Egerton tells us in his very recent work that a letter by a member of the expedition dated 29th January, showed ignorance still of its exact object, which would have been known to him at once if he had seen the British flag flying on shore; and that Captain Butler of the *Hope* who passed Singapore on the 31st, saw tents pitched on shore but made no mention of any flag there.

Now we come to what Major Farquhar wrote on the subject. In a long memorial which he addressed to the Board of Directors in 1824 he said, "On the 5th February I returned to Singapore and on the morning of the 6th the British flag was formally displayed. On the following day Sir Stamford Raffles left the Settlement, after having placed me in charge as Resident and Commandant with a letter of general instructions."

The Major had a good reason to remember the date as he had been to Rhio to fetch Sultan Hoosain. We know, as will be explained in the next chapter, that Raffles made a provisional agreement (as he styled it) with the Tumongong alone on the 30th January, and that the treaty which Sultan Hoosain himself signed together with the Tumongong, was made on the 6th February, the day the proclamation by Raffles was issued which is printed in the next chapter. There would have been no right (as Mr. Egerton suggests) to hoist the flag until the treaty was concluded, or to put it at the best, before the preliminary arrangement was made on the 30th. We know also that Raffles only arrived at Singapore on the evening of the 28th January, and then most probably Raffles sent some Malay on shore to tell the Tumongong who he was, and to prepare him for his visit the next day; which would be the usual course on such an occasion. We are told that he and Major Farquhar landed in the morning, which would then be the 29th, and if the date so often insisted on, and again repeated in 1887 in the inscription in Hendon Church is correct, the flag must have been hoisted at once, before the preliminary agreement was made. It seems incredible that the flag should have been hoisted with any pretensions to any right to do so, on the very day Raffles landed, and while he was discussing the terms of the arrangement that was only signed the next day, and while Sultan Hoosain was expected from Rhio to support it. It is possible that Sir Stamford hoisted a flag over a tent as a precaution in case the Dutch should hear of his arrival and try to hoist a flag themselves under a pretext of authority from the Raja Muda of Rhio and his *protege* Sultan Abdul Rahman, and the Malays on shore may not have cared whether a flag was put up or not, but it could not have been hoisted under any claim of right, or with any proper authority. As well might a foreigner go and hang up his country's flag in the middle of the Esplanade at this day.

On the 6th February the right to do so was given, and Major Farquhar's statement that the flag was formally hoisted on that day seems conclusive. Only five years after, on 6th February, 1824, the Governor, John Crawfurd, gave the first anniversary dinner at Government House, and he especially was not likely to make any mistake about the matter, nor the small European community who dined there, and the first words were "To-day being the anniversary of hoisting the British flag on this island," which appears in a diary written at the time. In Mr Read's book at page 12, he says "Sultan Houssein came at once to Singapore and a definite treaty was drawn up, signed and sealed by Raffles and the two chiefs, on February 6th, 1819, when the British flag was formally hoisted and saluted;" and Mr. Read was one, for reasons that will appear afterwards in this book, with particular means of being well acquainted with the history of the place.

There seems to have been an actual fatality in the misprints about the date, which began in Lady Raffles' book, and continues to this day. In Moor's book published in 1837, it says the flag was hoisted on 20th January, which in 1844 was remarked to be a misprint. In the Glossary by the late Sir Henry Yule, who travelled in Java in 1860, and is spoken of in Mr. Boulger's book, page 306, as "so careful a writer" it is printed as the 23rd February.

In a little book printed at the Malacca Mission Press in 1823, about the formation of the Singapore Institution in that year, it says at page 91, in Rules drawn up for the management, that the Annual General Meeting shall take place on the 29th day of February being the Anniversary of the establishment of Singapore. It does not seem improbable that, after the *Fame* was burned, a copy of that pamphlet may have been sent to Sir Stamford and that he copied the date from it in England.

In John Crawfurd's Journal of an Embassy to Siam, &c., published in 1830, he says:—"On 6th February, two days after the arrival of the expedition, the British flag was hoisted and the Settlement duly formed." In 1834, in Captain Begbie's book, he says, "In February Sir Stamford Raffles founded the Settlement of Singapore." In Newbold's book, in 1839, he gives no date of the month, but says that Singapore was ceded in February. Mr. Boulger's book in 1897, sticks to the 29th January. Mr. Egerton does not commit himself to any date, but says it is not clear by what right the flag could have been hoisted as early as the 29th January. The contention that the proper date should be the 29th January probably arose from the assumption that in Lady Raffles' book the word February must have been a misprint for January, and that the day of the month was correct because Raffles was here on that day in the month of January.

After the above was written attention was called to a "Note" printed at page 114 of the number of the Notes and Queries of the Journal of the Straits Branch of the Asiatic Society No. 4 for 1887, which had escaped notice when this chapter was written. It throws light upon the "various errors" and the way in which they arose. It is a letter written in 1886 or 1887 (the Governor gave no date) by the Rev. R. B. Raffles to the Governor at Singapore, which said that Mr. Raffles hoped the error as to the date of the foundation of

Singapore which had crept into many books (the 29th February) would not be reproduced on the pedestal of the statue which was to be erected in Singapore; in connection with which date he had seen *various errors*; and that Colonel Yule in his glossary "Hobson Jobson" had given the date as 23rd February, but had now accepted "without controversy" the correction which Mr. Raffles submitted. This was only a case of the blind leading the blind, unless Mr. Raffles could establish his case. His argument was that there could be no 29th February in 1819, which no one has ever doubted, and then he says that a letter (which has been quoted above) was dated Singapore, 31st January, 1819, announcing the occupation of the island. This is not so, the word occupation, or any similar expression is not used in the letter. And then he draws this conclusion: "It is thus plain that in the sentence in Lady Raffles' Book, giving the 29th February, the date '29th *January* 1819' should be read instead of '29th *February*, 1819.'" The italics are his own. The only thing that is plain is, that there is a mistake somewhere in the sentence. It is not plain that it is in the name of the month. Both Raffles and Farquhar are at one about that. It is common experience that misprints in figures are infinitely more likely than misprints in words, because there is no context to point to the error, and it is solely a question of careful reading, not correcting. An example of it is in Mr Boulger's book on page 306, where the date of the Treaty is printed 5th February, and the correct date, 6th February, is printed on page 313. Sir Stamford Raffles when he wrote his memorial had lost all his papers, and there is no reason to suppose Colonel Farquhar was wrong when he wrote the 6th February. The whole thing is explained if Mr R. B. Raffles' conjecture that the misprint could only have occurred in the name of the month has been the cause of all the previous "various errors." It is to be hoped that the day which has from the first been kept as a holiday for the anniversary may not be again questioned. *Requiescat in pace!*

CHAPTER IV.

SATURDAY, 6TH FEBRUARY, 1819.

THE Treaty made on the 6th February states in Article 1 that a Preliminary Agreement had been made on the 30th January. There had been no trace of that agreement for many years. Mr. Braddell made a note over fifty years ago that it could not be found; and in all the printed copies of the treaty that have been published, there is a foot-note to that Article in the treaty that "No copy of these Preliminary Articles is to be found." As will be explained presently the counterparts of these old documents which had been kept by the Tumongong, have, since the preceding chapter of this book was in print, very unexpectedly come to light in Johore, while the information obtained has thrown some further light upon matters that have been already spoken of. This agreement made with the Tumongong alone is on one side of a large piece of foolscap; it is in fair preservation though not as good as that of the treaty signed eight days afterwards. The thick, heavy sealing-wax of the large seal of the East India Company having broken and torn away part of the writing. It is in Malay only; there is no English counterpart as there is in the treaty: the Arabic writing is in the same hand as that in the treaty. It is the writing of a native, and was no doubt written by one who accompanied Raffles, as neither the Sultan nor Tumongong could write; and the old Malays say now that there would not, probably, have been anyone with the Tumongong who was able to do so. Munshi Abdulla was not with Raffles, as he lived in Malacca, then in the hands of the Dutch, for which reason he came to Singapore in June, four months later, as Raffles had then returned to the place, and the English had formed the settlement.

It will be seen that Sir Stamford Raffles treated on the 30th January with the Tumongong alone (the Sultan did not arrive till the 5th February) giving him a yearly sum of $3,000 for the privilege of establishing a Factory, and the opinion of the Sultan was to be taken when he arrived. In addition to what has been said on page 21 as to the practical independence of the Tumongong, Raffles wrote in a letter (see Lady Raffles' Memoir page 398) "As the land was the property of the Tumongong we did not hesitate to treat for the occupation of the port." And it will be noticed that in the Treaty the Tumongong is described as Chief of Singapore and its dependencies, and he, and not the Sultan, is dealt with as exercising sovereign rights with respect to a portion of his own "Dominions" (Article 3); and in the last article it provided that one half of the duties were to be paid to him alone, the Sultan receiving no share. In 1824 when it was desirable to make a further treaty for the whole of the island, Mr. Crawfurd in a despatch to Bengal, quoted further on, in order to furnish information

regarding the position of the Native authorities, said, "The principal Officers of the Government of Johore from early times were the Bandahara or Treasurer, and the Tumongong or First Minister of Justice. These offices appear to have been for a long time hereditary in the families of the present occupants, who were indeed virtually independent chiefs; the former of them residing and exercising authority at Pahang, and the other at Singapore." In another despatch to Bengal he spoke of the Tumongong as "Not only exercising his powers of Government, but being, like other Asiatic sovereigns, *de facto* the real proprietor of the soil." Mr. Crawfurd was a man of great knowledge regarding the Malay countries, and he expressed in 1824 the same opinion as Sir Stamford Raffles had done in 1819.

The following is a translation of the agreement, the first few words have been torn away by the sealing wax :—

[Agreement made by?] the Dato Tummungung Sree Maharajah, Ruler of Singapore, who governs the country of Singapore and all the islands which are under the government of Singapore in his own name and in the name of Sree Sultan Hussein Mahummud Shah, Rajah of Johore, with Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, Lieutenant Governor of Bencoolen and its dependencies on behalf of the Most Noble the Governor General of Bengal.

On account of the long existing friendship and commercial relations between the English Company and the countries under the authority of Singapore and Johore it is well to arrange these matters on a better footing never to be broken.

Article 1. The English Company can establish a factory (logi) situated at Singapore or other place in the Government of Singapore-Johore.

Article 2. On account of that the English Company agree to protect the Dato Tummungung Sree Maharajah.

Article 3. On account of the English Company having the ground on which to make a factory they will give each year to the Dato Tummungung Sree Maharajah three thousand dollars.

Article 4. The Dato Tummungung agrees that as long as the English Company remain and afford protection according to this Agreement he will not enter into any relations with or let any other nation into his country other than the English.

Article 5. Whenever the Sree Sultan, who is on his way, arrives here, all matters of this Agreement will be settled, but the English Company can select a place to land their forces and all materials and hoist the English Company's flag. On this account we each of us put our hands and chops on this paper at the time it is written on the 4th day of Rabil Ahkir in the year 1234.

Seal of the East India Company. (Signed) T. S. RAFFLES.
Chop of the Tummungung.

The Treaty of Saturday, the 6th February, is written on rough, thick, white, foolscap paper. The writing on the left side of half the page being in English and in Malay on the right. The following is a correct copy, with the spelling, capital letters, and all marks of punctuation exactly followed. The printed copies in use in Singapore are all incorrect, as was suspected but could not be shown until the



To face page 36.

PHOTOGRAPH FROM THE ORIGINAL AGREEMENT OF JANUARY 30TH, 1819.

original counterpart kept by the Tumongong was found. Words had been spelt differently, some omitted, some displaced; and the Malay date was wrong, which led to the original being traced.

There are some curious things to be noticed. The East India Company is throughout styled the *English* East India Company, in one place the English Government is mentioned, and the last words speak of the *British Government*. These particular words were no doubt used purposely. The word Johore is spelt throughout with a final e, as it is spelt in Johore to this day, but Sir Stamford Raffles after his signature spelt it Johor, which may please some small minds, but does not prove it is correct. The seal of the East India Company is two and a half inches in diameter, of thick red sealing wax. The English ink has somewhat faded, but the Malay in Indian ink is as black as the day it was written. The signatures are on the sixth page.

The way in which the original came to light after so many years was rather curious. It will be seen that the Mohamedan date is the 11th of the month. In the copy made in Mr. Braddell's notes, the date was given as the 11th. But in the printed copies of Government and also in the Book of Treaties, Part III, published by the *Straits Times* Press in 1877, the date was given as the 19th, or eight days later. There was of course no question as to the English date, the 6th February, and the Malay date would not have signified but for a reason that will more fully appear in the next chapter. The Malay chiefs who signed the treaty wrote letters to Rhio dated the 20th day of the same Malay month, saying that soldiers had been landed at Singapore without their consent and that they had not acted voluntarily. If the date given in the Government copy was right those letters were written on the 7th February, the day after the treaty was signed and the very day Raffles left for Penang, just as his back was turned. This seemed unlikely. On the other hand, if Mr. Braddell's date was correct, the letters were not written until the 15th February, eight days later, and there was plenty of time for the Dutch to have heard of what Raffles had done, and to seek means to found an objection. Enquiry was first made in Singapore, but not one of these old documents is in existence. White ants, insects, and a damp climate account for a good deal, and mistakes or carelessness may account for more. It was also said that there was no means of ascertaining with any certainity the equivalent Malay date for any English date so long back as 1819. It was useless to search further in Singapore, so enquiry was made at the Government offices at Johore, on the Bank holiday in August, 1901. There again it was said that the Mohamedan Calendar was very erratic but it might perhaps be worked out; still it would not have been decisive of the question, without which it was no use. The Dato Bintara Dalam (the only surviving son of the old Munshi Abdulla) asked why so much trouble need be taken about it, why not look at the original? This sounded absurd, but he said it was in the safe. It has been said that truth lies at the bottom of a well, and it might be at the bottom of an iron safe. So a large safe was opened and the papers laid out on a big office table, and the Malay endorsements looked through. Near the bottom

were some large folded pieces of parchment; the ink had entirely disappeared to the naked eye, the parchment was discoloured, and broken up into pieces like thin glass. One of these seemed to be about the year 1824, from the remains of a seal hanging to it, and it was said that it was no use looking any further, because the treaty of 1819 would be in the same state. But then Raffles may not have had any parchment with him. Soon after in a bundle of old papers the treaty was found, together with all the other original documents of that time. It seemed almost like a voice from the dead (or, as a Malay said, like unwrapping an Egyptian mummy) to open it out on the table and see the signature of Raffles and the chops of the chiefs which had been made in the attap house in the jungle on the bank of the river on that eventful day, on a site which is now the very centre of the large town of Singapore. The Dato Dalam was quite right, and also Mr. Braddell, and the question was at rest. Two counterparts of the treaty were of course made, one Sir Stamford Raffles or Major Farquhar kept, and the other was given to the Tumongong. The one copy, in the hands of English clerks, with secure safes, had not been forthcoming for many years and the copies of it were incorrect, while the copy that had been handed to the Malay chief who had not a table, chair, envelope, or safe, had been kept carefully wrapped up and preserved, and handed down through four generations and nearly a century to the hands of his great grandson, now styled the Sultan of Johore. The document it will be observed was not kept by the Sultan but by the Tumongong. If the Sultan had ever had it, it would have been lost without delay. It was the old story again of misprints of figures, but the result of this instance was to bring to notice this very historical document, and the trouble the misprint caused was turned to an excellent and most unexpected purpose.

THE TREATY.

Treaty of Friendship and Alliance concluded between the Honorable Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles Lieutenant Governor of Fort Marlborough and its Dependencies, Agent to the Most Noble Francis Marquess of Hastings Governor General of India &c., &c., &c., for the Honorable English East India Company on the one part and their Highnesses Sultan Hussein Mahummud Shah Sultan of Johore and Datoo Tummungung Sree Maharaja Abdul Rahman Chief of Singapoora and its Dependencies; on the other part.

ARTICLE 1ST.

The Preliminary Articles of Agreement entered into on the 30th of January 1819 by the Honorable Sir Stamford Raffles on the part of the English East India Company; and by Datoo Tummungung Sree Maharajah Abdul Rahman Chief of Singapoora and its Dependencies, for himself and for Sultan Hussein Mahummud Shah Sultan of Johore, is hereby entirely approved, ratified and confirmed by His Highness the aforesaid Sultan Mahummud Shah.

ARTICLE 2ND.

In furtherance of the objects contemplated in the said preliminary agreement; and in compensation of any and all the advantages which may be foregone now or hereafter by His Highness Sultan Hussein Mahummud Shah Sultan of Johore, in consequence of the stipulations of this Treaty; the Honorable English East India Company agree and engage to pay to His aforesaid Highness the sum of Spanish Dollars Five Thousand Annually; for and during the time that the said Company may, by virtue of this treaty, maintain a Factory or Factories on any part of His Highness's hereditary Dominions,; and the said company further

agree to afford their protection to His Highness aforesaid as long as he may continue to reside in the immediate vicinity of the places subject to their authority. It is however clearly explained to and understood by His Highness that the English Government in entering into this alliance and in thus engaging to afford protection to His Highness is to be considered in no way bound to interfere with the internal politics of his States, or engaged to assert or maintain the authority of His Highness by force of Arms.

ARTICLE 3RD.

His Highness Datoo Tummungung Sree Maharajah Abdul Rahman Chief of Singapoora and its Dependencies having by Preliminary Articles of Agreement entered into on the 30th of January 1819 granted his full permission to the Honorable English East India Company to establish a Factory or Factories at Singapoora or on any other part of His Highness's Dominions; And, the said Company having in recompence and in return for the said Grant settled on His Highness the yearly sum of Spanish Dollars Three Thousand and having received His Highness into their Alliance and protection, all and every part of the said Preliminary Articles is hereby confirmed.

ARTICLE 4TH.

His Highness the Sultan Hussein Mahummud Shah Sultan of Johore and His Highness Datoo Tummungung Sree Maharajah Abdul Rahman Chief of Singapoora engage and agree to aid and assist the Honorable English East India Company against all enemies that may assail the Factory or Factories of the said Company established or to be established in the Dominions of their said Highnesses respectively.

ARTICLE 5TH.

His Highness the Sultan Hussein Mahummud Shah Sultan of Johore and His Highness Datoo Tummungung Sree Maharajah Abdul Rahman Chief of Singapoora agree, promise and bind themselves their heirs and successors, that for as long time as the Hon'ble the English East India Company shall continue to hold a Factory or Factories on any part of the Dominions subject to the authority of their Highnesses aforesaid, and shall continue to afford to their Highnesses support and protection, they their said Highnesses will not enter into any treaty with any other Nation and will not admit or consent to the Settlement in any part of their Dominions of any other power European or American.

ARTICLE 6TH.

All persons belonging to the English Factory or Factories or who shall hereafter desire to place themselves under the protection of its flag, shall be duly registered, and considered as subject to British authority.

ARTICLE 7TH.

The mode of administering Justice to the native population shall be subject to future discussion and arrangement between the contracting parties, as this will necessarily in a great measure depend on the Laws and usages of the various tribes who may be expected to settle in the vicinity of the English Factory.

ARTICLE 8TH.

The port of Singapoora is to be considered under the immediate protection and subject to the regulation of the British Authorities.

ARTICLE 9TH.

With regard to the duties which it may hereafter be deemed necessary to levy on Goods, Merchandize, Boats or Vessels, His Highness Datoo Tummungung Sree Maharajah Abdul Rahman is to be entitled to a moiety or full half of all

the amount collected from Native Vessels. The expenses of the Port and the collection of duties to be defrayed by the British Government.

Done and concluded at Singapoora this 6th day of February in the year of Our Lord 1819, answering to the 11th day of the Month Rubbelakhir and Year of the Hujira 1234.

Seal of the East India Company.

T. S. RAFFLES
Agent to the Most Noble the Gov. Genl. with the States of Rhio Lingin and Johor.

Seal of the Tummungung.

Seal of the Sultan.

The impression of the native chops on the paper is made by holding the brass seal in the smoke of a flame until it is covered with lamp-black, and then pressing it on the paper.

Mr. John Crawfurd, writing in about 1828, spoke of this treaty as follows:—"In the first agreement with the native chief, the arrangement amounted to little more than a permission for the formation of a British factory and establishment, along two miles of the northern shore, and inland to the extent of the point-blank range of a cannon shot. There was in reality no territorial cession giving a legal right of legislation. The only law which could have existed was the Malay code. The native chief was considered to be the proprietor of the land, even within the bounds of the British factory, and he was to be entitled, in perpetuity, to one-half of such duties of customs as might hereafter be levied at the port. In the progress of the settlement, these arrangements were of course found highly inconvenient and embarrassing, and were annulled by the subsequent treaty." Mr. Crawfurd in speaking of the subsequent treaty means that of the 2nd August, 1824, which is printed on page 168, by which the whole island of Singapore with the adjacent seas, straits, and islets within ten miles from the Coast of the island, was ceded to the East India Company for ever.

On the same day the following Proclamation was issued by Raffles :—

PROCLAMATION.

A treaty having been this day concluded between the British Government and the native authorities, and a British establishment having been in consequence founded at Singapore, the Honourable Sir T. S. Raffles, Lieutenant-Governor of Bencoolen and its Dependencies, Agent to the Governor-General, is pleased to certify the appointment by the Supreme Government of Major Wm Farquhar, of the Madras Engineers, to be Resident, and to command the troops at Singapore and its Dependencies; and all persons are hereby directed to obey Major Farquhar accordingly.

It is further notified, that the Residency of Singapore has been placed under the Government of Fort Marlborough [Bencoolen], and is to be considered a dependency thereof; of which, all persons concerned are desired to take notice.

Dated at Singapore, this 6th day of February, 1819.

By order of the Agent of the Most Noble
the Governor-General.

(Signed) F. CROPLY,
Secretary.

On the day this was published, Sir Stamford addressed a letter to Major Farquhar giving him general instructions as Resident and Commandant of the station. It is impossible to read the letter without remarking the great foresight and high-minded policy of the writer. It contained instructions of a political nature, which after-events proved to have been almost prophetic*; it made all necessary provisions for finance, and for the appointment of a Master Attendant, and this in a port which, with the exception of his own vessels and a few native boats, was then empty; but which, in a short time, was to become a very busy harbour. He arranged for a watering place for the shipping that was to come, and established a European boarding officer with a boat and a crew for it. He said that Captain Ross having surveyed the coast, and he himself having inspected the nature of the ground, he had determined upon the site, and gave authority for the immediate erection of a small fort on the hill overlooking the Settlement [now Fort Canning] with a barrack for 30 European Artillery, and several batteries on positions he pointed out. He arranged for a garrison and stores and provisions.

The letter is printed at length, as it is of much interest:—

SINGAPORE, *6th February,* 1819.

TO MAJOR WILLIAM FARQUHAR,
Resident and Commandant,
Singapore.

SIR,

Herewith I have the honor to transmit to you one of the copies of the treaty this day concluded between the Honorable the East India Company, and their Highnesses the Sultan of Johore, and the Tummungong of Singapore and its dependencies.

2. As the object contemplated by the Most Noble the Governor General in Council, namely the establishment of a station beyond Malacca, and commanding the southern entrance of the Straits, has thereby been substantially accomplished, I proceed to give you the following general instructions for the regulation of your conduct in the execution of the duties you will have to perform as Resident and Commandant of the station which has been established.

3. As you have been present at and assisted in the previous negociations, and are fully apprized of the political relations existing between the states in the immediate vicinity of this island, it is only necessary for me to direct your particular attention to the high importance of avoiding all measures which can be construed into an interference with any of the states where the authority of His Netherlands Majesty may be established. Whatever opinion may be formed with regard to the justice or nature of the proceedings of the Dutch authorities in these seas, it is not consistent with the views of His Lordship in Council to agitate the discussion of them in this country; and a station having been obtained which is properly situated for the securing the free passage of the Straits, and for protecting and extending the commercial enterprizes both of the British and native merchant, all questions of this nature will necessarily await the decision of the higher authorities in Europe.

4. It is impossible, however, that the object of our establishment at Singapore can be misunderstood or disregarded, either by the Dutch or the native authorities; and while the former may be expected to watch with jealousy the progress of a settlement which must check the further extention of their influence throughout these seas: the latter will hail with satisfaction the foundation and the site of a British establishment, in the central and commanding situation once occupied

* This passage, written in 1884, is quoted in Mr. Boulger's book (1897) at page 313.

by the capital of the most powerful Malayan empire then existing in the East, and the prospect which it affords them of the continuance, improvement and security of the commercial relations by which their interests have been so long identified with those of the British merchant. It is from the prevalence of this feeling among the natives and the consequences which might possibly arise from it, that I am desirous of impressing on your mind the necessity of extreme caution and delicacy, not only in all communications which you may be obliged to have with the subjects of any power under the immediate influence of the Dutch, but also in your intercourse with the free and independent tribes who may resort to the port of Singapore either for the purposes of commerce or for protection and alliance. The offer which is understood to have been made to the Sultan by the Bugguese, is a sufficient proof that in all communications regarding the proceedings of the Netherlands Government we should carefully guard against the expression of any sentiment of dislike or discontent, however justly those feelings might be excited, lest our motives be misconstrued, not only by the Dutch but by the natives themselves.

5. With regard, however, to those states which have not yet fallen under their authority, it is justifiable and necessary that you exert your influence to preserve their existing state of independence. If this independence can be maintained without the presence of an English authority it would be preferable, as we are not desirous of extending our stations; but as from the usual march of the Dutch policy, the occupation of Tringano, and the extension of their views to Siam, may be reasonably apprehended, a very limited establishment in that quarter may become ultimately necessary. It is at all events of importance to cultivate the friendship of these powers, and to establish a friendly intercourse with them; and as the recent application from the Sultan of Tringano for a small supply of arms affords us a favorable opportunity of advancing towards this object, you will avail yourself of the first opportunity to comply with his request.

6. A similar line of policy in relation to the states of Pahang and of Lingin will be conducive to the maintenance of the influence and just weight which the English nation ought properly to possess in these seas. As it is my intention to return to this island after the completion of the arrangements at Acheen, I shall then be able to avail myself of the information you may have collected in the intervening period, relative to the political state of Borneo Proper, Indragiri and Jambi. In the meantime, it is probable that a knowledge of our establishment at this station will have considerable weight in preventing these powers from falling under the influence of the Dutch.

7. With reference to the native authorities residing under our immediate protection, it is only necessary for me to direct your attention to the conditions of the treaty concluded with these chiefs; which it will be incumbent on you to fulfil, under any circumstances that may arise, in a manner consistent with the character and dignity of the British Government. In the event of any question of importance being agitated by the Dutch Government at Batavia, or the authorities subordinate to it, you will refrain from entering into any discussion that can be properly avoided, and refer them to the authority under which you act.

8. To enable you to conduct the civil duties of the station with efficiency, I have appointed Lieutenant Croply your assistant; and that officer will conduct the details of the Pay Department, Stores and Commissariat with such other duties as you may think proper to direct. The allowances for your assistant have been fixed at Spanish dollars 400 per month, subject to the confirmation of the Supreme Government.

9. As the services of Lieutenant Croply as my acting Secretary, will be for some time required under my immediate authority, Mr. Garling of the Bencoolen Establishment will officiate until his return. In the event of its being necessary for you to leave the station or of any accident depriving the Company of your services, your assistant is appointed to succeed to the temporary charge until further orders.

10. Mr. Bernard has also been appointed to take charge provisionally of the duties of the port as Acting Master Attendant and Marine Storekeeper, and in consideration of the active duties that may be required in this department, and the general services which this officer may be required to perform, he is allowed provisionally to draw a monthly salary of 300 dollars per month.

11. As the convenience and accommodation of the port is an object of considerable importance, you will direct your early attention to it, and to the formation of a good watering place for the shipping. You will also be pleased to establish a careful and steady European at St. John's with a boat and small crew, for the purpose of boarding all square sailed vessels passing through the Straits and of communicating with you either by signals or by a small canoe as you may find most advisable.

12. It is not necessary at present to subject the trade of the port to any duties; it is yet inconsiderable, and it would be impolitic to incur the risk of obstructing its advancement by any measure of this nature.

13. In determining the extent and nature of the works immediately necessary for the defence of the port and station, my judgment has been directed in a great measure by your professional skill and experience. With this advantage and from a careful survey of the coast by Captain Ross, aided by my own personal inspection of the nature of the ground in the vicinity of the Settlement, I have no hesitation in conveying to you my authority for constructing the following works with the least delay practicable:—

On the hill overlooking the Settlement, and commanding it and a considerable portion of the anchorage, a small Fort, or a commodious block-house on the principle which I have already described to you, capable of mounting 8 or 10 pounders and of containing a magazine of brick or stone, together with a barrack for the permanent residence of 30 European artillery, and for the temporary accommodation of the rest of the garrison in case of emergency.

Along the coast in the vicinity of the Settlement one or two strong batteries for the protection of the shipping, and at Sandy Point a redoubt and to the east of it a strong battery for the same purpose.

The entrenchment of the Cantonment by lines and a palisade, as soon as the labor can be spared from works of more immediate importance.

14. These defences, together with a Martello tower on Deep Water Point, which it is my intention to recommend to the Supreme Government, will in my judgment render the Settlement capable of maintaining a good defence. The principle on which works were charged for at Malacca, is to be considered as applicable to this station, and it is unnecessary for me to urge on you the necessity of confining the cost of these works within the narrowest limits possible. As the construction of them, however, will necessarily demand a greater portion of care and superintendence than the performance of your duties will permit you to devote to them, I have appointed Lieutenant Ralfe of the Bengal Artillery to be the assistant Engineer. This officer will likewise have charge of the ordnance and military stores, and for the duties attendant on both these appointments conjoined I have fixed his salary at Spanish dollars 200 per mensem, to commence from the 1st instant, and subject to the confirmation of the Supreme Government.

15. As you will require the aid of a Staff officer to conduct the duties of the garrison, I have thought proper to authorize the appointment of a cantonment adjutant on the same allowances lately authorized at Malacca. As this officer may be considered your personal staff, I shall not make any permanent arrangement regarding it, but have appointed Lieutenant Dow to the temporary performance of its duties.

16. The indent for ordnance and stores which you have handed to me shall be transmitted to Bengal without delay, and I request you will lose no time in the erection of store-houses for their reception. An application for the number and description of troops which you have recommended to form the garrison of the residency will accompany the indent, together with an application for provisions equal to their supply for 12 or 15 months.

17. I should not think myself justified at the present moment in authorizing the erection of a house for the accommodation of the chief authority, but I shall take an early opportunity of recommending the adoption of that measure, or in the event of the Supreme Government declining to authorize it, the grant of a monthly allowance sufficient to compensate for the inconveniences to which, in the infancy of the Settlement, the Resident is necessarily liable. A store-house for the Commissariat department is at present of indispensible necessity, and you will accordingly be pleased to erect a house of this description, of such materials as can be procured, and as soon as you may find practicable. A maga-

zine built of such materials, for the military stores, would be subject to some risk; and I therefore confide to your professional judgment the adoption of such measures for their security as you may judge most expedient under the circumstances.

18. For a very short period it may be necessary to retain the brig *Ganges* as a store vessel, but I rely on your discharging her the moment her services can be dispensed with.

19. In the event of your adopting this arrangement, you will be pleased immediately to tranship to that vessel the public property now on board the H. C. hired ship *Mercury*, whose charter expires on the 24th instant, previously to which you will accordingly be pleased to discharge her from the public service. You will inform the commander, that I am entirely satisfied with his conduct while he was under my authority, and that as tonnage will probably be required to convey troops and stores from P. of W. Island, I shall be happy, in the event of his early arrival at that port, to consider his request for the further employment of his ship to be entitled to some consideration.

20. You are already apprized that the H. C. ship *Nearchus* has been put under your orders, and the services of the schooner *Enterprize* will be also available by you, during the remainder of the period of two months for which she was engaged.

21. The accounts of the residency are those which detail the receipt and disbursement of the public money. These are principally:—

(i.) An account particulars of military disbursements in which every military abstract and disbursement is clearly and correctly entered.

(ii.) A general account particulars, which will comprize the particulars of every disbursement of whatever nature, and containing also, under the head of "Military Establishment," a correct copy of No. 1, and,

(iii.) A general treasury account, shewing on the one side the general amount of the disbursement made on each particular account or head, with the balance remaining on hand; and on the other, the balance which remained on the 1st of the month, together with all the sums which may be received during the course of it.

22. The accounts of the commissariat cannot at present be arranged according to the established forms, they can however be kept with correctness by Mr. Garling, and I shall take care to procure and to forward from Pinang the necessary forms under which the first assistant will probably be able to arrange them on his taking charge of his appointment. You will of course exercise a strict superintendence over this department, no disbursements from which are to be made without your authority; and you will be pleased to examine the accounts rendered to you previously to transmitting them to Fort Marlborough.

23. A quarterly account of expenditure and remains of military stores will be transmitted to me. You will also be pleased to forward the usual returns to the Presidency of Fort William [Bengal] agreeably to the regulations of the service.

24. It does not occur to me that there is any other point of importance on which it is necessary at present to give you any instructions. I shall probably return to this residency after a short absence, and if in the meantime any important matter should occur, which I have not anticipated in this letter, I have the satisfaction afforded me by a perfect reliance on your acknowledged zeal, in the advancement and protection of the honor and interests of our country, moderated by the prudence and judgement which the infancy of our present establishment so particularly demands.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) T. S. RAFFLES.

Sultan Hussein died at Malacca in September, 1835, and was buried at the Tranquera Mosque. On his death no steps were taken as to the succession. The old empire, Mr. Braddell writes, was too far gone to admit of any hope of regeneration, and without the aid of the English Government, the Sultan's son could not attain a position of authority. The slight degree of influence attained by the late

Sultan, through the countenance of Sir Stamford Raffles and the East India Company, died with him. He had benefited by the pension which gave him means he could not otherwise have hoped to obtain. The whole influence over the mainland of Johore remained in the hands of the Tumongong, to the exclusion of the Sultan, who fell into indolent habits. Sultan Hussein was living, Mr. Earl says in his book, in a large, rambling attap habitation at Campong Glam, and could not attend to his own affairs, which were administered by several hadjees and petty chiefs attracted about him by the government pension. He was succeeded by his son Sultan Allie who was then fifteen years of age, and died in Malacca in 1877.

Mr. Earl speaks of Sultan Hussein as being so enormously stout that he appeared constantly on the point of suffocation, and Munshi Abdulla in his book described him thus:—"I now must ask pardon of such gentlemen as read my story, for it is necessary that they should know the disposition and appearance of Sultan Hussein; for new comers have not seen him. For this reason I must describe him. When he first arrived in Singapore from Rhio, he was not stout, but thin, but when he had become Sultan at Singapore, his body enlarged with his days and his size became beyond all comparison. He was as broad as he was long, a shapeless mass. His head was small, and sunk into his shoulders from fat, just as if he had no neck; his face was square, his nose was moderate, his mouth wide, his breast proportionate; he was pot-bellied in folds, his legs were thin, without contour; his feet were wide, his voice husky, with an awful sound; and it was his custom to fall asleep wherever he sat down. And when he was speaking, strangers were startled at the clashing sounds. His complexion was light yellow; but I need not dilate on this, as many know it, and have seen his appearance; but as far as my experience has gone, I have never seen so unwieldy a man, he could not even carry his own body. And, to my apprehension, in such enormity there can be no pleasure or ease to the body, but nothing but trouble."

Tumongong Abdul Rahman died in Singapore on the 8th December, 1825, and was buried in the *makum*, or Rajah's burial ground, at the mosque at Telok Blanga. He was succeeded by his second son named Ibrahim, because his elder son, Abdulla, did not wish to rule. Ibrahim was then fifteen years of age. He died in 1862 and was buried at the same place. He was succeeded by his eldest son Abubakar, who died at the age of 63 in London, while on a short visit to England, on 4th July, 1895, and his body was brought to Johore, being carried in an English man-of-war from Penang, and buried in Johore on 7th September with much ceremony. His son, Ibrahim, succeeded him, being named after his grandfather. He was born on 17th September, 1873, and is the present Sultan. The ruler of Johore was styled Tumongong until 1868, when with the approval of the British Government he was styled Maharajah; and subsequently, at the expressed wish of the people, it was agreed by the treaty with the British Government of 11th December, 1885, that the ruler should in future be recognised as the Sultan of the State and Territory of Johore. It was shown in some correspondence with the Secretary of State for the Colonies in July, 1878, when the question of the assump-

tion of the title of Sultan of Johore by the Maharajah first arose, that the Tumongongs were lineally descended from the Sultan Abdul Jaleel (the third of the name) who was killed at the mouth of the Pahang river in resisting an invasion from Siak about 1726. Suleiman, one of his sons succeeded him as Sultan, while another, named Abbas, was the common progenitor of the lines both of the Bandaharas of Pahang and the Tumongongs of Johore. The first of the Tumongongs was named Abdul Jamal, while the second in succession, named Ibrahim, was the father of Tumongong Abdul Rahman who made the treaty with Raffles. There was Bugis blood in the family, as the death of Sultan Abdul Jaleel, in 1726, was avenged by a Bugis chief called Jaya Putra, who with his followers drove out the Siak chief, and restored the government to Suleiman the eldest son of the late Abdul Jaleel; in reward for this he was made the first Rajah Muda of Rhio, an office not before known, and married into the Sultan's family. A long account of the genealogy of the Johore Royal Families, written by Mr. Braddell, is in 9 Logan's Journal, page 66.

Abdulla's description of Sir Stamford Raffles has been printed more than once, part of it is in Mr. Boulger's book. As Mr. Thomson remarks, Raffles probably little thought that the young native boy writing in his office was so apt a sketcher. This is a part of Mr. Thomson's translation of Abdulla's chapter upon Sir Stamford:—

"When I first saw Mr. Raffles, he struck me as being of middle stature, neither too short nor too tall. His brow was broad, the sign of large heartedness; his head betokened his good understanding; his hair being fair, betokened courage; his ears being large, betokened quick hearing; his eyebrows were thick; his nose was high; his cheeks a little hollow; his lips narrow, the sign of oratory and persuasiveness; his mouth was wide; his neck was long; and the colour of his body was not purely white; his breast was well formed; his waist slender; his legs to proportion, and he walked with a slight stoop.

"Now I observed his habit was to be always in deep thought. He was most courteous in his intercourse with all men. He always had a sweet expression towards European as well as native gentlemen. He was extremely affable and liberal, always commanding one's best attention. He spoke in smiles. He also was an earnest enquirer into past history, and he gave up nothing till he had probed it to the bottom. He loved most to sit in quietitude, when he did nothing else but write or read: and it was his usage, when he was either studying or speaking, that he would see no one till he had finished. He had a time set apart for each duty, nor would he mingle one with another. Further, in the evenings, after tea, he would take ink, pen, and paper, after the candles had been lighted, reclining with closed eyes in a manner that I often took to be sleep; but in an instant he would be up, and write for a while till he went to recline again. Thus he would pass the night, till twelve or one, before he retired to sleep. This was his daily practice. On the next morning he would go to what he had written, and read it while walking backwards and forwards, when out of ten sheets, probably he would only give three or four to his copying clerk to enter into the books, and the others he would tear up.

"Now, Mr. Raffles took great interest in looking into the origin of nations, and their manners and customs of olden times, examining what would elucidate the same. He was especially quick in the uptake of Malay with its variations. He delighted to use the proper idioms as the natives do; he was active in studying words and their place in phrases; and not until we had told him would he state that the English had another mode. It was his daily labour to order post letters to the various Malay countries to support their good understanding with his nation, and increase the bond of friendship; this with presents and agreeable words. This gained the good will of the various Rajas, who returned the compliment with respect and thanks and moreover with presents. There also came a great many presents of books from various countries.

"Mr. Raffles's disposition was anything but covetous, for, in whatever undertaking or project he had in view, he grudged no expense so that they were accomplished. Thus his intentions had rapid consummation. There were numbers of people always watching about his house, ready to seek for whatever he wanted, to sell to him or take orders; so that they might obtain profit. Thus loads of money came out of his chest daily, in buying various things, or in paying wages. I also perceived that he hated the habit of the Dutch who lived in Malacca of running down the Malays. But Mr. Raffles loved always to be on good terms with the Malays, the poorest could speak to him; and while all the great folks in Malacca came to wait on him daily, whether Malays or Europeans, yet they could not find out his object of coming there—his ulterior intentions. But it was plain to me that in all his sayings and doings there was the intelligence of a rising man, together with acuteness. If my experience be not at fault there was not his superior in this world in skill or largeness of heart."

There is a short, appreciative note of Mr. Braddell's, at page 602 of 6 Logan's Journal, in which he says that Abdulla's description of Sir Stamford Raffles contained a portrait of the man, which was said, by those who knew him, to be as faithful as it was striking.

CHAPTER V.

1819—*Continued.*

THE exact position of Singapore has been frequently mistated in the books that refer to the place. The little observatory house at the point of the river near the Master Attendant's Office is accurately in Latitude N. 1°: 17′. 13.7″ and Longitude E. 103°: 51′: 15.7′, or about 77 geographical miles north of the Equator, and in time 6 hours 55 min. 25.05 seconds east of Greenwich.

This book contains no description of its scenery, but Mr Cameron's book has much on the subject which is charmingly expressed. He says that he had seen both Ceylon and Java and admired their many charms in no grudging measure, but for calm placid loveliness he placed Singapore high above them both. The view from the top of Bukit Timah of the panorama of the magnificent tropical forest and jungle, with the numerous little green islands scattered like gems over the sea surrounding Singapore, and the large hills of Johore to the North is ample confirmation of Mr. John Cameron's opinion.

In a letter of 31st January, Sir Stamford mentioned the excellent harbour, and said that he had six draftsmen employed from eight o'clock to four, and that he expected to be able to leave, in the course of a few days, to return to Penang, where he was very anxious to rejoin Lady Raffles. He said that if he could keep Singapore, he would be quite satisfied, and in a few years British influence over the Archipelago, as far as regards commerce, would be fully established.

Major Farquhar, as has been said, wrote that Sir Stamford Raffles left Singapore on the day after the flag was formally hoisted and this is now confirmed by the old Penang Directory. In the list of shipping before referred to, are the arrivals at Penang on 14th February of H.C.C. *Minto* and the *Indiana* which left Singapore on February 7th. The same torn pages show that the two vessels left again for sea on March 8th, which is the day other accounts say that Raffles left for Acheen.

At this time the Indian Government and its Presidencies are set out in the same Directory, as follows:—

Supreme Government of Fort William at Calcutta.
Government of Fort St George at Madras.
Government of Bombay.
Government of St Helena.
Government of Ceylon.
Government of Mauritius.
Government of the Cape of Good Hope.
Island of Sumatra. The Hon. T. S. Raffles, Lieutenant Governor at Bencoolen.
Government of Fort Cornwallis, Prince of Wales' Island.

Singapore was under Bencoolen; and the only mention of it is under the heading of "Fort Marlbro', Bencoolen" as "Singapore, Major W. Farquhar, Resident and Commandant."

Major Farquhar, being installed as the first Resident and left in charge of Singapore, must have been very much occupied in a manner that has seldom, if ever, fallen to the lot of another. The fishing village grew into a town in the most unexampled manner. He sent the news of the Settlement to Malacca by a sampan, asking the Malays to come, and urging them to bring fowls, ducks, fruits, and provisions of all kinds, for which they would obtain a large profit. And others who had gone to Singapore with the expedition sent letters to the same effect.

Abdulla tells us that the news soon spread over the bazaar there, and numbers of persons started from Malacca, but pirates cut many boats off (forty Malacca Malays were all murdered in one boat) and although many were stopped, he says, by the Dutch, who did all in their power in Malacca, and by stationing a gunboat in the Straits, to prevent any person reaching Singapore, yet many hundreds reached there safely; and provisions being very dear, a fowl being sold for two rupees and a duck for a dollar, they made large profits. In the course of a year, the population had risen from 150 to 5,000, and a large trade was springing up, and that of Malacca and Rhio sinking fast.

This is Mr. Braddell's translation of a capital descriptive passage from the Hakayit Abdulla; it reads like a passage from the Arabian Nights. "At this time no mortal dared to pass through the Straits of Singapore. Jins and Satans even were afraid, for that was the place the pirates made use of, to sleep at and divide their booty, after a successful attack on any ship's boats or prahus. There also they put to death their captives, and themselves fought and killed each other in their quarrels on the division of the spoil."

Abdulla tells us of a remarkable conversation about this time between Sir Stamford and the native chiefs. Raffles had proposed that Mr. Palmer of Calcutta should send down goods for the Sultan and Tumongong to sell on commission for him, and that premises should be erected to store the goods and carry on the business and they might rise to riches. "They laughed and said that such was not their custom, for the Malay princes to trade would be a disgrace to them. Mr Raffles' countenance altered and became quite red, but he replied smilingly 'I am astonished to hear of such a foolish and improper custom: so that to trade is a disgrace but to pirate is not a disgrace.' The Sultan replied that pirating had descended from their forefathers, and therefore it was not a disgrace; and furthermore pirating had not its origin with the Malays."

It has been remarked that while Sir Stamford was founding a station to be second to none in Asia, and while he seemed fully to anticipate the extraordinary success that afterwards attended it, the first Resident, Major Farquhar, seems, from the records of his rule, to have scarcely seen beyond the prospect of a mere village fitted for the accommodation of a limited supply of goods and the temporary residence of traders. There is no doubt that the presence of Mr. Farquhar, and his influence after having been fifteen years among the Malacca Malays, induced many of them to come to Singapore and settle there to supply provisions, but it is added that it may well be doubted whether the irregularities that were admitted

of his administration, which was not a strong one, peculiarly subject to native influence, and largely controlled by native ideas, did not counterbalance such benefits.

The following interesting account of Major Farquhar's services is found in a note made by Mr. Braddell. Farquhar, appointed cadet in 1791, arrived Madras 19th June, 1791; ensign, 22nd June; joined Lord Cornwallis' Grand Mysore Army, August, present at storming of Nundy Droog, Savorn Droog, seige of Seringapatam 1792; taking of Pondicherry 1793; Lieutenant, 16th August 1793; appointed Chief Engineer, July 1795 to expedition to proceed to Malacca; surrender of Malacca 18th August, 1795; appointed to Manila expedition, but that given up recalled to Madras, 25th April, 1798. Returned to Malacca 29th May, 1798; full Captain 1st January, 1803; succeeded Colonel Taylor 12th July in Civil and Military authority at Malacca, Brevet Major 25th June, 1810; Major in Corps 26th September, 1811. Appointed to join the expedition to Java under Sir S. Auchmuty. Appointed by him in charge of intelligence and guides. Landed at Chillinching near Batavia, present at Weltevreden; Cornelis carried by storm 26th August, 1811. Surrender of Soerabaya 22nd September. Appointed by Admiral Stopford to chief civil authority at Soerabaya, but did not assume charge. Returned to Batavia, offered British Residency at Joejocarta, but refused and returned to Malacca 31st October, 1811.

Abdulla described him as "A man of good parts, slow at fault finding, treating rich and poor alike, and very patient in listening to the complaints of any person who went to him, so that all returned rejoicing."

After Raffles had left, Sultan Hoossein and the Tumongong began to be a little nervous about their proceedings in allowing him to open the settlement, and the three following letters were written to Rhio, trying to throw the responsibility off their own shoulders and pleading compulsion. Mr. Boulger says there was nothing strange in this, considering the influence and reputation of the Dutch. These letters are to be found in Malay with an English translation at page 101 of the Notes and Queries of the Straits Asiatic Society's Volume for 1887, being considered apparently as something that had not been published before. They were in the original of these papers on 11th October, 1884, and were then taken from a translation by Mr. Braddell, which was published in 1855 in the 9th Volume of Logan's Journal at page 444. The only date is in the second letter as the 20th day of Rubil Akir, which we now know was the 15th February, eight days after Raffles had left for Penang and Acheen:—

From the Tumongong Abdulrahman, residing at Singapore. To the Iang De Per Tuan Mudah of Rhio. (Tuanku Jaffar, the Rajah Mudah.)

After compliments.

"Your son informs his father that a party of English, having at their head Mr. Raffles and the Resident of Malacca, arrived at Singapore; the latter went on to Rhio, the former remaining. Their coming was quite without your son's knowledge, and it is by compulsion only that he has been necessitated to admit them to reside at Singapore, for he could not prevent their landing their men and stores and proceeding to establish themselves, by constructing quarters, as they consulted their own inclinations only. At this time your son Tuanku Long (otherwise called Hoossein) arrived from Rhio, having been surprised by the reports of the arrival of so many vessels and ships at Singapore. As soon as he

landed he met Mr. Raffles, the latter forcibly laid hold of him, and declared him Rajah, giving him the title of Sultan Hussain, and confirming the same by a written instrument (chop). Your son was thus compelled to a compliance with all their wishes."

From the Iang De Per Tuan of Singapore (Hussain). To the Iang De Per Tuan Besar, Sultan of Lingin (Abdulrahman).

"Your elder brother informs his younger brother that, by the dispensation of Almighty God towards his slave, things have turned out entirely beyond his previous conception. Abang Johor, being deputed by the Tumongong, came in the middle of the night, and acquainted him that a great number of vessels had lately arrived at Singapore, and, without the Tumongong's consent, had landed a large party of soldiers. Your brother was thrown into great agitation and perplexity of mind by the suddenness and unexpected nature of the intelligence, and apprehensive only for the safety of his son (who was at Singapore) without reflecting, he forthwith quitted Rhio without giving notice to his father and mother. As soon as your brother arrived at Singapore he was met by Mr. Raffles, who immediately laid hold of him and declared him Rajah. Your brother had no choice left; indeed, being in the power of Mr. Raffles, what could he do? He was therefore necessitated to fall in with the views of this gentleman; had he not complied his ruin must have followed, as my brother will know. Although my brother may (seem) to comply with their views, never fear, nor entertain the least suspicion that he intends to do anything that will cause future ill or animosity. God avert this! Such is your brother's situation, for being in the hands of the English, they would not let him go: they even refused his request to return for a short time to fetch his wife and children, desiring him to send for them."

Written at Singapore, 20th day of the month Rabil Akir, in the year of Mahomed 1234.

From the Iang De Per Tuan of Singapore (Hussain). To the Iang De Per Tuan Mudah of Rhio (Tuanku Jaffar).

After compliments and formalities.

"Your son informs his father that Abang Johor arrived in the middle of the night, and acquainted him that several ships had lately arrived at Singapore, and disembarked soldiers and stores. Being greatly surprised, perplexed, and agitated by the suddenness of the news, your son quitted Rhio that very night, scarcely possessing the use of his senses, without giving his father and mother notice of his departure. On his arrival at Singapore he met Mr. Raffles, who forcibly detained him and made him Rajah, by the title of Sultan Hussain Mahomed Shah, giving him a patent or chop to that effect. Your son now begs pardon, assured that it will be granted, both as it respects this and the world to come. Your son will never lay aside his respect for his father. With regard to your son's family, Mr. Raffles requests they may be sent to Singapore, and Rajah Tuah and Inche Saban are sent for the purpose of escorting them hither, and further. Inche Saban will receive charge of all the property inherited from his late father, whether it consists in duties received from China vessels, or from the China bazaar, or from the Custom House. These are required to pay your son's debts and defray the expenses of removing his family. Your son puts his trust in Almighty God and his Prophet, and then in his father, under all circumstances (meaning the Rajah Mudah)."

The Dutch had by this time seen the advantage that Sir Stamford had gained over them, and began to make a stir. On the 1st March Major Farquhar wrote as follows to Colonel Bannerman, Governor at Penang, as Raffles had left Singapore in order to proceed to Acheen: "Having obtained what I conceive to be authentic information that the Governor of Malacca has addressed a letter to you intimating that the British Establishment recently formed at Singapore has been effected

in a forcible manner without the previous consent of the Local Authorities of the country, and having at the same time ascertained that this information has been grounded on a letter from hence by his Highness the Tumongong to Mr. Adrian Koek [then senior Member of the Dutch Council at Malacca] of Malacca, I beg leave herewith to transmit an explanatory document, signed by Tunkoo Long, Sultan of Johore, and the Tumongong of Singapore, which will no doubt remove every doubt which may have arisen in your mind relative to the proceedings which have taken place. I must also take the liberty to request that in the event of the erroneous statement the Hon'ble Mr. Timmerman Thyssen [the Dutch Governor of Malacca] is said to have transmitted having been received and subsequently forwarded on to the Supreme Government, you will have the goodness to transmit a copy of the present despatch for the information of the Most Noble the Governor-General by the first opportunity."

Enclosure.

"This is to make known to all whom it may concern, that our friend Major William Farquhar, British Resident of the Settlement of Singapore, has called upon me to declare whether or not any letter or letters have been written by me to the Governor of Malacca, or to any person under his authority, or to the Rajah Mudah of Rhio, intimating that the factory which the English have recently established here was forcibly formed entirely against my will; I hereby freely acknowledge that I did write a letter to Mr. Adrian Koek of Malacca, and one to the Rajah Mudah of Rhio, to the above effect, but my motive for so writing arose solely from the apprehension of bringing on me the vengeance of the Dutch at some future period. But I here call God and His Prophet to witness that the English established themselves at Singapore with my free will and consent: and that from the arrival of the Honorable Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles no troops or effects were landed, or anything executed but with the free accord of myself and of the Sultan of Johore. In token of the truth whereof we have hereunto affixed our respective Seals."

At Singapore this first day of March, 1819. A true translation, W. Farquhar, Resident, &c."

The Dutch Government at Malacca had written protesting against the action of Raffles, and Colonel Bannerman sent the letter on to Calcutta, with a minute of his own, supporting the Dutch complaint, and afterwards hearing that the Dutch were fitting out an expedition to attack Singapore, he wrote to the Dutch Government at Malacca asking him, *from motives of humanity*, to wait until an answer could be received to a letter he had sent to the Governor General at Calcutta. Major Farquhar had written to Penang on the 6th March to ask reinforcements to meet any hostile attack. Colonel Bannerman, as has been said in the first chapter, refused to send any help and advised Farquhar to send back all the party from Singapore in the *Nearchus* and the *Ganges*. All this will be found told with telling effect in Mr. Boulger's book at pages 314 to 318.

Sir Stamford, as soon as he arrived in Penang in February, sent down tools for building, and provisions to the value of about $5,500.

A plague of rats set in at this time, and they are described as very large ones, which used to attack cats and get the better of them. Major Farquhar, as they became quite unbearable in his tent, offered a reward of one anna for each dead rat, and every morning the people came, some with 50 or 60, and some with 6 or 7. It soon, therefore, became an expensive matter, and the reward was much reduced; but they were still brought in, until they ceased to be troublesome; and so, Abdulla says, "the rat disturbance or war ceased." After this, great numbers of centipedes appeared, and stung people, so Major Farquhar paid for them also, and they gradually diminished, until Abdulla says "the lipan (centipede) disturbance and war also ended, and people ceased to mourn from the pain of their stings." The rat nuisance (bandicoots) appeared again in the merchants' houses on Kampong Glam Beach in 1845.

Shortly afterwards, Major Farquhar wanted to ascend Bukit Larangan. The tombs of the old Rajahs were there, and it was considered sacred, as it is to the present day. Malays were frequently seen until late years crowding up the hill and decorating old graves there. This is the hill now called Fort Canning. As the Tumongong's people would not go up on account of their fear of ghosts, Mr. Farquhar went up with his Malacca Malays, and drew up a gun, but not a single Singapore man went up. There was not much jungle, nor many large trees on the hill. When the gun was got up, a salute of twelve guns was fired, and a post set up to hoist the flag. After this, orders were given to clear the hill and a road was made up it. Government House was afterwards built on the hill, as will be mentioned further on. Major Farquhar's temporary house was near the place where the cricket pavilion is now, near the Town Hall. A house was made for the Master Attendant, Captain Flint, Sir Stamford's brother-in-law, at the end of the point near the present Master Attendant's Office. The houses were built with attap roofs and kajang (mat) walls. The large, old angsana trees at the river end of the Esplanade, were brought at this time from Tanjong Kling at Malacca in the boat of one Rajah Hadjee. The road from Malacca to Tanjong Kling, seven miles from the town, used to be lined with these beautiful trees, but they all died together about the same time, some twenty-five years ago. The handsome trees at the corner of the Esplanade in Singapore were fast decaying in 1882 when the first one was cut away altogether, and those still remaining will soon become things of the past. When they were all in full bloom, and covering the road with the golden leaves of their flowers they were very handsome. When the Esplanade was widened about 1890, some persons were much opposed to trees being planted along the side of the Esplanade facing the sea, as it was thought they would shut out the view of the sea. The trees are now well grown up, and the lower branches are well up from the ground and the view of the sea is open beneath them. When the trees grow to their full size it will be as handsome a sight as the famous avenue was in Malacca thirty-five years ago.

On the 5th April the *Mary Ann*, Webster, master, left Singapore for Penang and arrived there on the 14th. This was the first vessel,

other than those in the Expedition, to leave Singapore for Penang. Besides the six vessels of the Expedition, some of which, as has been said, went to and fro, only six other vessels sailed between Penang and Singapore during the year. The only other East India Company's man-of-war that came to Singapore during the year, had left England on 23rd April, reached Penang on 30th September, (five months) and left Penang on 29th October for Singapore. It was H.C.S. *Bridgewater*, C. S. Timins, Esq., commander. On 18th November there sailed from Singapore the *Singapore*, which reached Penang on 17th December. Her commander was Inchee Alley, and she must have been the first ship with that name.

Mr. Francis James Bernard, the son-in-law of Major Farquhar, was made Assistant to the Resident and put in charge of the Police, as a Magistrate. He became the first Master Attendant until Captain Flint arrived. Mr. Bernard had been the master of the *Ganges*, but had appeared in the Penang shipping list as F. J. Barnard. The vessel sailed in August from Singapore to Penang and the commander was then changed. Several of the first members of the mercantile community and officials had been sailors, as was most likely to be the case, as it was the cause of their being so far away from England.

Abdulla tells us that one of Major Farquhar's dogs was taken by an alligator one morning when he was at the Rochore river. The alligator was surrounded and killed. It was eighteen feet long and the body was hung on the banyan tree at Bras Basah. This referred to a large and semi-sacred tree at Institution Bridge, which was accidentally burnt and was taken away about twenty years ago.

On the 29th May, 1819, the Rev. Dr. Milne, of the Anglo-Chinese College at Malacca applied for ground to build a school. He had established a Christian Mission at Malacca in the year 1815, when there were no schools there for the gratuitous instruction of children. He returned to Malacca in 1823, as Abdulla tells us, with his wife and children. Abdulla says "I observed the bearing and deportment of Mr. Milne to be those of a gentleman; his conversation was polite and refined," and tells a great deal about him. Dr. Morrison the famous Chinese scholar came to stay with Dr. Milne at Malacca. Abdulla says that if Dr. Morrison had worn a Chinese dress no one would have taken him for a European; as he spoke Chinese so well, and his manner, voice and the pen he wrote with were all like the Chinese. Dr. Morrison, of the University of Glasgow, was sent out to Macao in 1807, by a Society of Members of various British Churches for the purpose of acquiring the Chinese language; as is stated in the Deed drawn up at Canton on 21st March, 1820, regarding the Anglo-Chinese College at Malacca, to which he gave £1,000 which he had saved. It says that he entrusted the building of the College, the foundation stone of which was laid in Malacca on 11th November, 1818, to Dr. William Milne, his first associate, he says, in the Chinese Mission. Dr. Morrison was the first Vice-President of the Raffles Institution in 1823, and drew up a long paper of suggestions for Sir Stamford Raffles respecting it, which is found among some old papers printed at the Malacca Mission Press in 1823 from which the above

particulars about these two prominent Missionaries, the pioneers in the Straits and China, have been found. Another old Malacca book printed at the Anglo-Chinese Press in 1819, called the Indo-Chinese Gleaner, contains a long memoir of Mrs. Milne, who died in Malacca on 20th March, 1819, 36 years of age.

The Reverend Robert Morrison, D.D., wrote at Macao his grammar of the Chinese language and his Dictionary, the expense of printing, £12,000, being paid by the East India Company. It was on his suggestion that Sir Stamford Raffles called the meeting on 1st April, 1823, to found the Singapore Institution. He was the first European who prepared documents in Chinese which they would consent to receive, and the first paper he wrote was supposed to have been the production of a learned Chinese, so means were taken to try to discover its author, as it was an act then regarded in China as treason. Dr. Morrison died at Macao on 1st August, 1834, and a long memoir appeared in the London Asiatic Journal for March, 1835.

When Raffles was Governor of Java, in a letter written at Buitenzorg in February, 1815, he wrote to his cousin Thomas: "The Rev. Mr. Milne is attached to the Mission in China. He is a liberal well-informed, excellent man. He is now in China, having touched at Malacca on the way. Such men do good wherever they go, and are an honour to their country and to the cause they espouse. As you are a Director of the Missionary Society you may possibly be able to promote his views, and I am anxious you should do so. Modest, unassuming, strictly kind and conciliating in everything he does, conviction is carried before the head enquires why." And in January 1823, Raffles wrote at Singapore: "The death of my friend, Dr. Milne of Malacca, has for a time thrown a damp upon missionary exertions in this quarter, but I expect Dr. Morrison here from China in March and I hope to make some satisfactory arrangement with him for future labours. The two missionaries who are here are not idle; Messrs. Milton and Thomson, the former in Chinese and Siamese, the latter in Malay and English printing." The Rev. J. Milton, who was the first missionary sent out by the London Missionary Society, established a school for Chinese and Malay children in this year. He was four years afterwards one of the Trustees of the Singapore Institution. Sir Stamford gave him $150 on condition that he would perform the usual Church Services.

Raffles was back again in Singapore in June as we find from his letters in the Memoirs. There is a letter to the Duchess of Somerset written in Penang on the 22nd February, and the next is dated Singapore, June 10th. From the shipping list, which has turned out so useful, it is seen that the *Minto* left Penang on 22nd May and as Lady Raffles says (on page 379) that her husband "was most agreeably occupied for some time in marking out the future town and giving instructions for the arrangement and management of the new colony," it may be that he remained until the 23rd September, when the *Minto* sailed to Penang, but he wrote the letter quoted presently on 25th June, speaking of his intending to leave. It is uncertain how long he remained. When he left he took back with him to Bencoolen a printing press and native type.

On the 11th June Raffles wrote to the Duchess of Somerset "My new colony thrives most rapidly. We have not been established four months and it has received an accession of population exceeding five thousand, principally Chinese, and their number is daily increasing. It is not necessary for me to say how much interested I am in the success of the place: it is a child of my own, and I have made it what it is."

In laying out the town, six building lots were reserved by Raffles:—One for Carnegy & Co., one for F. Ferrao, one for T. Macquoid, one for Captain Flint, and two to be disposed of by Raffles himself. Twelve lots along the North Beach were only to be sold to Europeans. Six were disposed of as above, and the other six were to be sold on application. It is almost certain no leases were ever drawn up, and no records exist now of any counterparts before 1826.

On the 4th June, the Rajah of Tapamana wrote to the Sultan of Johore, that the Rajah Mudah of Rhio has gone over to the Dutch, and was against his countrymen. The Rajah asked the Sultan to join forces and drive the Rajah Mudah and the Dutch out of the place and to instal a new Rajah Mudah, and to be careful above all things not to let him levy heavy duties. On 16th June, the Resident (Farquhar) wrote to Calcutta to request that some arrangements might be made at Singapore as otherwise in the event of anything occurring to him, the settlement would be left in charge of Mr. Montgomerie, a very young Assistant Surgeon.

Mr. Garling, of the Bencoolen Establishment, had been sent on a mission to Pahang. He was directed to return, and Mr. D. Napier, who was then expecting an appointment as writer in the Bencoolen service, was directed to be sent to Pahang as Resident. On the 6th of July, Captain Maxfield of the *Nearchus*, in a letter to the Resident, pointed out the existence of a good harbour between Point Romania and the Island.

On the 25th June, Raffles wrote to Major Farquhar as follows:—

1. Previous to my departure, I think it necessary to call your particular attention to the 11th para. of my letter of the 6th February, and to the importance of immediately improving the conveniences of the port for shipping, an object to which in the present advanced state of the Settlement all others ought to give way.

2. Points of primary importance to be attended to, should be the construction of convenient watering places, and affording to ships the means for watering, ballasting, as well as loading, with the least possible delay. The want of these conveniences has already been felt in several instances which have occurred during my stay here, and I feel satisfied that you will concur in the necessity of giving your early attention to this subject, as well as to the removal of the present temporary buildings between the stores and the river, and the erection of a convenient shed or bankshall at which merchants may load their goods. The removal of the bazaar from its present site is indispensible.

3. With regard to Police and the Administration of Justice, it does not appear to me necessary in the present state of the Settlement that any precise regulations should yet be laid down. As Resident, you are necessarily vested with the authority of chief magistrate and will of course exercise that authority, as is usual in places subject to British control, but where British laws may not have yet been introduced. As also the larger portion of the population may in a certain degree be considered as camp followers and consequently subject to your military authority as commandant, it will be left to your discretion to act in either of these capacities according to circumstances, by which, with the

assistance of the native authorities, you will be fully competent to provide for an efficient police and the settlement of such matters as do not require a more regular judicial proceeding. The Chinese, Bugguese and other foreign settlers are to be placed under the immediate superintendence of chiefs of their own tribes to be appointed by you, and those chiefs will be responsible to you for the police within their respective jurisdictions.

4. In higher cases of a criminal nature for which the military regulations or usage may not provide, the law of the country as it exists must necessarily be considered in force. The mode in which this law is to be carried into effect, will hereafter be defined as experience may direct, and in the meantime the present mode may be observed as far as in your judgment may appear advisable for the attainment of substantial justice. In the conduct of these proceedings you will of course exercise a personal superintendence and your sanction and confirmation is to be considered necessary to all decisions. It is to be hoped that cases of this nature will be of rare occurrence, and it is considered of importance that disputes between natives should as far as possible be left to be settled among themselves, according to their respective usages and customs.

5. These duties as above directed must in all cases be exercised by yourself or your assistant, as your representative, and cannot be delegated to any separate authority.

6. The whole space included within the Old Lines and the Singapore river [that was about between where the Cathedral compound and Elgin Bridge are now] is to be considered as Cantonments and of course no ground within this space can be permanently appropriated to individuals. Whenever you may have planned the lines, parades, &c., for the troops and set apart sufficient accommodation for magazine, &c., it will be necessary to allot sufficient space in a convenient and proper situation for officers' bungalows. The extent of each to be regulated by you according to circumstances, and the ground to be occupied by the officers as is usual in other Cantonments. The residency of the Tumonggong [this was on the river bank somewhere between where the Court House and Hill Street are now] is of course to be considered the only exception. The whole of the hill extending to the fort within the two rivers and the fresh water cut is to be reserved for the exclusive accommodation of the Chief Authority and is not to be otherwise appropriated except for defences.

7. Beyond these limits, the opposite point of the river, including the whole of the lately cleared high ground, and a space of 200 yards from the old lines, should also be reserved entirely for public purposes and no private building whatever for the present allowed within the same. In the native towns, as they have been and will be marked out, proper measures should be taken for securing to each individual the indisputive possession of the spot he may be permitted to occupy, which should be regularly registered in your office, certificates of which may be granted.

8. The European town should be marked without loss of time; this should extend along the beach from the distance of 200 yards from the lines as far eastward as practicable, including as much of the ground already cleared by the Bugguese as can possibly be required in that direction, re-imbursing the parties the expense they have been at in clearing and appropriating to them other ground in lieu. For the present the space lying between the new road and the beach is to be reserved by government, but on the opposite side of the road, the ground may be immediately marked out into twelve separate allotments of equal front, to be appropriated to the first respectable European applicants. To these persons a certificate of registry and permission to clear and occupy may be granted, according to the following form:—"No.—This is to certify that A. B. has permission to clear a spot of ground situated and of the following dimensions and to occupy the same according to such general regulations as are now or may hereafter be established for the Factory of Singapore."

9. Whenever these allotments may be appropriated, others of convenient dimensions may in like manner be marked out in line and streets or roads formed according to regular plan.

10. It would be advisable that a circular carriage road should be cut in each direction from the cantonments during the present dry season.

11. A bridge across the river so as to connect the cantonments with the intended Chinese and Malay towns on the opposite side of the river, should be constructed without delay and as soon as other more immediate works are complete a good bungalow for the residence of the chief authority may be constructed on the hill.

T. S. RAFFLES.

Singapore, 25th June, 1819.

On the 26th June the following Arrangement was made with the Sultan and Tumongong. It is in Malay only, the following is a translation :—

JOHORE 1819.

ARRANGEMENTS MADE FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF SINGAPORE, IN JUNE 1819.

No. 1.

Be it known to all men, that we, the Sultan Hussain Mahomed Shah, Ungko Tumungong Abdool Rahman, Governor Raffles, and Major William Farquhar, have hereby entered into the following arrangements and regulations for the better guidance of the people of this Settlement, pointing out where all the different castes are severally to reside, with their families, and captains, or heads of their campongs.

ARTICLE 1.

The boundaries of the lands under the control of the English are as follows: from Tanjong Malang on the west, to Tanjong Katang on the east, and on the land side, as far as the range of cannon shot, all round from the factory. As many persons as reside within the aforesaid boundary, and not within the campongs of the Sultan and Tumungong, are all to be under the control of the Resident, and with respect to the gardens and plantations that now are, or may hereafter be made, they are to be at the disposal of the Tumungong, as heretofore; but it is understood, that he will always acquaint the Resident of the same.

ARTICLE 2.

It is directed that all the Chinese move over to the other side of the river, forming a campong from the site of the large bridge down the river, towards the mouth, and all Malays, people belonging to the Tumungong and others, are also to remove to the other side of the river, forming their campong from the site of the large bridge up to the river towards the source.

ARTICLE 3.

All cases which may occur, requiring Council in this Settlement, they shall, in the first instance, be conferred and deliberated upon by the three aforesaid, and when they shall have been decided upon, they shall be made known to the inhabitants, either by beat of gong or by proclamation.

ARTICLE 4.

Every Monday morning, at 10 o'clock, the Sultan, the Tumungong, and the Resident shall meet at the Rooma Bechara; but should either of the two former be incapable of attending, they may send a Deputy there.

ARTICLE 5.

Every Captain, or head of a caste, and all Panghulus of campongs and villages, shall attend at the Rooma Bechara, and make a report or statement of such occurrences as may have taken place in the Settlement; and represent any grievance or complaint that they may have to bring before the Council for its consideration on each Monday.

ARTICLE 6.

If the Captains, or heads of castes, or the Panghulus of campongs, do not act justly towards their constituents, they are permitted to come and state their grievances themselves to the Resident at the Rooma Bechara, who is hereby authorized to examine and decide thereon.

ARTICLE 7.

No Duties or Customs can be exacted, or farms established in this Settlement without the consent of the Sultan, the Tumungong, and Major William Farquhar, and without the consent of these three nothing can be arranged.

In confirmation of the aforesaid Articles, we, the undersigned, have put our seals and signatures, at Singapore, the 2nd day of the month of Ramzan 1234, answering to 26th June, 1819.

Seal of the SULTAN.	[L. S.]	(Signed)	T. S. RAFFLES.
Seal of the TUMUNGONG.	[L. S.]	(Signed)	W. FARQUHAR.

The Arrangement speaks of a large bridge, which must mean the place where Elgin Bridge is now, and the Chinese campong evidently became the present Boat Quay as it occupies the position pointed out. These plans could only be carried out in course of time, as the site of Boat Quay was a swamp which had to be filled up with the earth taken from the hill where the Square is now.

In August an invoice of civil stores, amounting to $42,963, was sent from Bencoolen. Many of the articles were stated to stand in the books at rates far beyond their value, and the Resident was instructed if possible to sell them for prime cost and charges, if not they were to be reduced to the level of prices at Penang and Batavia.

Mr. Dunn, a gardener, arrived with letters of recommendation from Raffles, and with a supply of spice plants, which were planted out on the Government Hill; near where the S. P. G. Mission House now stands, a few remained till late years. In this year 125 trees were planted. In 1848 the number of nutmeg trees planted in the island was over 7,000, and about that time nutmeg plantations became a sort of mania in Singapore, even private gardens close to European dwelling houses being given up to make room for more trees. The cause of the death of the trees was never accurately known, but the bad result and the heavy pecuniary loss is well described in Mr. Cameron's book at page 168.

A letter from the Supreme Government, dated 15th October, contains the following directions regarding the Government Establishments:—The Resident's salary to remain as fixed, but his successor to be Commandant, with Staff pay for civil duties. The Assistant to the Resident to be discontinued. Store-keeper and Master Attendant to be united on $150 salary. The Resident to take charge of Pay Office. Mr. Read, of the Bencoolen Service, may stay till required at Bencoolen. Resident's Establishments pay to be $130; Master Attendant's $110.

A subsequent letter, dated 11th January, 1820, directed the Resident to take the Police and Magistrate's duties; and remarked that Singapore was to be considered rather as a military post than as a fixed settlement, that artificial encouragement was not to be given to the immigration of natives, that if many people settled a magistracy might

be formed if necessary, and moderate import dues fixed, taking care to prevent shackles to trade. Commerce, which formed the chief object of eastern settlements, not to be lost sight of in local revenue; but if a revenue could be had then it ought to be levied. The Resident proposed on 2nd November to appoint an Officer to act as Registrar of the Court of Justice; and also proposed to put restrictions on the sale of opium and spirits and on the practice of gaming, to sell the exclusive rights and to apply the proceeds one-third to the Sultan, one-third to the Tumongong, one-third to Government, the latter one-third to pay Police, allowances to the Captains of Tribes, &c.

A Bugis prince was summarily put to death by the Dutch at Rhio for alleged treason. His brother Balana rebelled and when finally driven out of Rhio took refuge in Singapore with 500 of his followers. The Malacca authorities demanded the person of the prince, but the demand was rejected by the Resident, and his refusal was afterwards approved by the Supreme Government.

The troops stationed in the Straits and Bencoolen in 1819 were the 2nd Battalion of the 20th Regiment of Bengal Native Infantry. Colonel T. Shuldham was Commandant at Penang, Major R. Hampton at Bencoolen, and Captain J. Seppings commanding the detachment at Singapore with Second Lieutenants W. Bonham and H. D. Coxe, and Dr. Montgomerie, so well known in Singapore for many years afterwards, as Assistant Surgeon.

The Governor-General of Java complained to the Governor-General of India that the Tumongong, with the sanction of the Singapore authorities, had sent a letter to the Sultan of Sambas exciting him against the Dutch. The Resident (Colonel Farquhar) denied the charge. The Governor-General in Calcutta wrote that he was anxious to prevent any fresh misunderstanding, as commissioners were engaged at home looking into the differences between the Dutch and English in the Eastern Seas.

At the beginning of October, Raffles was writing letters at Bencoolen. He heard there of the death of Colonel Bannerman, the Governor of Penang, on 8th August, and he went again to Calcutta to urge his views about Singapore and the general administration of the eastern islands. There was only one ship likely to touch at Bencoolen for some months, which was the vessel that brought the news of Colonel Bannerman's death, and as she had only one cabin, of which he could only have part, he was obliged to leave Lady Raffles behind. On the way, at sea, in the Bay of Bengal on the 9th November he wrote: "You will be happy to hear that the occupation of Singapore has been a death-blow to all the Dutch plans, and I trust that our political and commercial interests will be adequately secured." In Calcutta in January, 1820, he wrote: "Singapore continues to rise most rapidly in importance. It is already one of the first ports in the East. I could write volumes in its favor, but it may suffice to say that it has in every respect answered beyond my most sanguine expectations."

The following paper was written in 1819 by the eminent Hydrographer James Horsburgh, F.R.S., after whom the lighthouse on Pedra Branca is named. It is worth preserving as the opinion, even at that early

period, of the estimation in which Singapore was held in England by those who were able to judge of its value from personal knowledge. Horsburgh was at this time (as appears from the old Penang Directory) in England as Hydrographer to the Court of Directors:—

"The settlement of Singapore, lately established by Sir Stamford Raffles being, in my opinion, of the utmost importance both in a political and commercial point of view to the British empire, particularly in the event of a war with France, Holland, or America, the Dutch Government will no doubt strongly remonstrate against that measure, and endeavour to make us relinquish it; but I think every possible argument, founded on truth and experience, should be brought forward in order to secure to us that valuable settlement.

"The Bugguese prows from Celebes and other parts of the Eastern Islands, will resort to the settlement of Singapore with their goods, and barter them for our manufactures, in preference to going to Malacca or Batavia, and it will soon become a depôt for the Eastern traders.

"The Straits of Sunda and Malacca are the two gates or barriers leading into the China Sea for all the commerce of British India, Europe, and the Eastern coasts of North and South America, which gates the Dutch fully command, if we do not retain the settlement of Singapore; for our settlement of Prince of Wales' Island being situated far to the northward and on the coast of an open sea, it affords no protection to our China trade, nor to ships passing through Malacca Straits, whereas the possession of Malacca and Rhio by the Dutch, also of Java and Banca, gives them the complete command of the Straits of Sunda, Banca and Malacca.

"If we retain the settlement of Singapore, great security will be afforded to our China trade in the event of war; for by possessing a naval station at the entrance of the China Sea, no enemy's cruisers will ever dare to wait off Pulo Oar to intercept our ships from China, which Admiral Linois did with the Marengo line-of-battle ship and two frigates, when he attacked the valuable fleet under the command of Captain Dance: and it was fortunate for the Company and the commerce of British India, that Linois had not a larger force.

"I trust you will excuse the liberty I have taken in addressing you on this subject; but considering it of great importance, I thought it right to do so in case you deem it proper to communicate it to Mr. Canning, or any others of those concerned."

J. HORSBURGH.

CHAPTER VI.

1820—1821.

1820.

SIR STAMFORD was strongly opposed to Singapore being placed under the orders of the Penang Government, and the Government at Calcutta in making arrangements at this time for the establishment of Singapore as a British settlement, and for the proceedings of the Resident, determined that the administration of affairs should be distinct from that of Penang, on account of the great difference between the previous governments and the commercial policy of the two islands.

Abdulla tells us:—"Every morning Mr. Farquhar was accustomed to walk about to examine the country, but it was covered with large jungle, except the centre of the plain where there were only kurmunting and sikadudu bushes, with some kalat trees, and the sea beach was covered with ambong and malpari and bulangan trees, and branches of them were strewed about. On the other side of the river nothing was seen but mangrove trees and jeraja. There was not a spot of good land, except a place ten fathoms wide, the rest was a mud flat except the hills. There was a large hill at the end of the mouth of the Singapore river."

This year found people of all nations coming to Singapore, Chinese, Arabs, and a few Europeans. Among the earliest of the Arabs was Syed Omar Bin Ally Al Junied who came from Palembang; he had been trading at Penang, and settled at Singapore with his uncle as a partner, named Syed Mahomed Bin Haroun Al Junied. Syed Omar was the innocent means of the attack upon Major Farquhar by a man who ran amok in 1823, of which the story is told among the events of that year. It was during 1820, or more probably in 1819, that Mr. Alexander Laurie Johnston came to Singapore. When he left Singapore in 1841, he said, in reply to an address that was presented to him, that he had been longer in Singapore than any one he left behind him, and that he had witnessed its rise from little better than an uninhabited jungle. He was a native of Dumfrieshire in Scotland, and belonged to a highly respectable family of that country. He first went out to India in the Merchant Navy of the East India Company, and when he had risen to the rank of Chief Mate, he left the service and took the command of a vessel of which he was owner. He enjoyed the especial friendship, and was much in the confidence, of Sir Stamford Raffles, who placed his name, as we shall see, at the head of the first list of Magistrates who were appointed to administer the laws of the infant Settlement. The letters and notes addressed by Sir Stamford to Mr. Johnston bear ample testimony to the frequency and benefit with which his advice and assistance were sought in all matters affecting the interests of the Settlement. In almost every public transaction, Mr. Johnston was at the head. He was one of the first Trustees of the Raffles Institution, he was the first Chairman of the



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ALEXANDER LAURIE JOHNSTON.

Chamber of Commerce, and the precedence which was always accorded to him on all public occasions showed the respect and esteem with which he was regarded and the kindliness of his manners and disposition. The natives and Chinese readily sought his advice, and in cases of dispute his decision was as much respected as a judgment of the Court, so highly was he appreciated by them. It was said that no Court was required in his day, as no one thought of going to law while there was Mr. Johnston to determine the matter, and all disputes of importance were laid before him as a matter of course. He was liberal and hospitable in the extreme, and in the earliest cash book that seems to have been opened when he commenced business here, the first entry to his personal debit is as follows:—"A. L. Johnston,—Paid subscription for release of a female European slave, $10." He established the house of A. L. Johnston & Co., the pioneer European mercantile firm in the place. He died in Scotland in 1850, and was spoken of by the *Free Press* at that time as one of the most sterling of the "worthies" of Singapore. Johnston's Pier was named after him.

One of the objections raised by the dissatisfied authorities in Calcutta against the settlement at Singapore was that the harbour was not defensible, and it is fortunate for the place that even up to the present time, the dispute has never been, in any way, elucidated by forcible example. Major Farquhar, now promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel, answered by a denial of the assertion, and said that New Harbour was capable of containing the largest ships, while smaller vessels could take refuge in the Singapore river and behind Sandy Point, which were all easily defensible. It is evident from this that the Resident in no way contemplated the crowd of vessels which (until the much later days of steamers at the wharves) filled the open anchorage. The Penang merchants objected to the position of Singapore, and recommended the Carimons, and Colonel Farquhar was sent again to visit them. Their argument was that, while Singapore only commanded one entrance to the Straits of Malacca, the Carimons commanded four, namely, Sabon, Dryon, the Old Straits round by Johore, and the New Straits round by St. John's Island.

In March the Resident proposed establishing Opium and Spirit farms, but Raffles wrote from Bencoolen to say that he considered it highly objectionable (although there were such farms at Penang and Malacca) and inapplicable to the principles on which the establishment at Singapore was founded. The farms were however sold, and $395 was received monthly for four opium shops, $160 for arrack shops, and $95 for gaming tables. The money was spent in paying the Superintendent of Police and Assistant Resident $200; twelve constables, a sergeant and a tailor $100; and $325 was paid to the Sultan and Tumongong for assisting in Police duties. Colonel Farquhar sent in his resignation during this year, and Captain Travers, who was Superintendent of Convicts at Bencoolen, was appointed Resident in his place, but Colonel Farquhar withdrew his resignation in time and continued in charge.

Complaints had been made about undue restrictions on trade. The Resident called a committee to enquire into it, and they reported on 13th April that there were no grounds for complaint, as the former

practice of the Nakodahs of native vessels making presents to the Sultan and Tumongong had been discontinued. But a proclamation in November 1822 showed that the practice was not altogether stopped. This was the first of the contests by the mercantile community to maintain entire free trade.

On the 24th April, Captain Flint, Sir Stamford's brother-in-law, arrived and took charge of the Master Attendant's Office. He had married in Malacca in 1811, one of the three sisters of Sir Stamford. She was the widow of Mr. Thompson, an official in Penang, whom she had married there. His salary was $250, and $181 allowed for the establishment. Port charges on vessels were collected from the 1st May from $5 on brigs to $10 on vessels over 400 tons. The gaming tables were placed under the special supervision of the "Captain China" and a tax levied on them. The proceeds of the gaming tax were to be applied to keeping the streets clean. Two of the opium shops were in Kampong Glam where a sufficiently large native town had already sprung up by the 1st of May to call for their introduction. The farm revenues were kept as a separate fund and applied to local purposes until May 1823, when they were ordered to be paid into the Treasury.

The Bengal Government was always dissatisfied about the expenditure, and on the 20th October the Secretary wrote quarrelling about the expense of a shroff and two coolies in the store department, and in the next month wrote deprecating expenses on any public works "under the present circumstances of the Settlement." In September a petition from the Sultan, Tumongong and representatives of all the tribes in Singapore was presented, stating that there were reports that the place was to be given up, and earnestly begging the Government not to abandon it to the Dutch "from whom God defend us." They attributed much evil to the Rajah Muda of Rhio. They asked Captain Holt M'Kenzie, the Secretary to Government at Bencoolen, then on his way to Bengal, to take charge of their petition and present it to the Governor-General.

On the 12th August in this year Raffles issued a proclamation at Fort Marlborough, as Bencoolen was officially called, giving notice that the custom duties there, with the exception of that on opium, were abolished from that date. And regulations about pilotage and boat-hire were officially made; the latter on pepper was fixed at 16 cwt. to the ton, as it remains here to this day. Demurrage was allowed at the rate of double boat-hire if the boat was not discharged the first day. Mr. Thomas Church, afterwards Resident Councillor of Singapore, was Assistant Judge and Magistrate at this time in Bencoolen, where there was a large staff of officials, about thirty-six Europeans in all, including a Chaplain, a School-master and a Printer, and three European Residents in the interior. In the Memoirs will be found a long and very interesting account of a remarkable expedition Mr. Church made with Sir Stamford Raffles into the interior of Sumatra from Bencoolen. Mr. Presgrave was an official in Bencoolen then and also went on such expeditions.

While Singapore was a free port and attracting the trade of all the surrounding places, a revised scale of duties on goods imported in

Penang by private merchants was published there, calculated on the price which they realised when sold at the Company's sales, and on the estimated value when sold by private bargain. The rates varied on different goods, that on piece-goods being two per cent. The business at the Penang Post Office must have been very small in those days, as an alphabetical register was kept of all letters that passed through the office, and a stamped receipt was given for each letter posted. This practice was carried on in Singapore for many years.

In a private letter Colonel Farquhar wrote to Sir Stamford on 21st March, he said: "Merchants of all descriptions are collecting here so fast that nothing is heard in the shape of complaint but the want of more ground to build upon. The swampy ground on the opposite side of the river is now almost covered with Chinese houses, and the Bugis village is becoming an extensive town."

The story of the mysterious disappearance of treasure from the Bencoolen chest, told first in Mr. J. T. Thomson's book at page 152 and afterwards in Mr. Cameron's book at page 13, and the bad character given to white ants in consequence, is so well known, that it may be interesting to some persons to learn that in the London *Globe* of October 22nd, 1828, also in 3 Carrington and Payne's Reports, page 358, is the report of a trial before Lord Tenterden, in the Court of King's Bench, Guildhall, between the East India Company and Mr. E. J. Lewis, the Sub-Treasurer at Bencoolen from 1814 to 1818, to recover the amount of a deficiency in the treasure under his charge. Mr. Brougham and several very eminent lawyers were engaged in the case. The plaintiffs were non-suited on the ground that the defendant was a covenanted servant of the Company, which in the form in which the action was brought, lost them their case, a result which in these days would not prevail. This shows that the old story of the Company having sent some files to be used against the teeth of the white ants, and being satisfied with that explanation, is not likely to be true. The discovery was made, when there should have been about $150,000 in the chest, on a surprise survey being held by Captain T. O. Travers, the Superintendent of Convicts at Bencoolen, soon after Raffles' arrival there in 1818. Mr. Lewis died in Paris about 1874.

It was in the year 1820 that Mr. Alexander Guthrie came to Singapore. He had been at the Cape of Good Hope. He started in business in his own name, and on the 1st February, 1823, issued a circular stating that he had joined Captain T. T. Harrington under the name of Harrington & Guthrie. Captain Harrington used to sail to neighbouring places, and from the old letter book of Mr. Guthrie, in which the letters were copied in his own writing (as were the letters of A. L. Johnston & Co., by Mr. C. R. Read) it appears that Harrington had some property in Malacca, and that his family were residing there. Letters used to be sent in triplicate in those days, all copied by hand; and an answer from Europe received in eighteen months was the usual course of business. Captain Harrington went to Malacca in November, 1823, and on the 8th of that month Harrington & Guthrie sent round a circular stating that the firm was dissolved, and that the business would be carried on by Mr. Guthrie in his own

name. On the 7th March, 1824, Mr. Harrington who is said to have always afforded plenty of amusement with his jokes and hearty laugh, went on board the *Fassel Kerrim* at 9 p.m. after a farewell dinner at Mr. Johnston's, and the vessel sailed in the morning. He was on his way to England. In February, 1824, a fresh notice was issued that Mr. Clark had joined Mr. Guthrie, and it became Guthrie & Clark. It was Mr. Clark who built the present house at the Esplanade at the corner next to High Street, now part of the Hotel de l'Europe, where he lived for some time. In January 1833, Mr. Clark left the firm, and Mr. Guthrie alone continued business as Guthrie & Co., which it is to this day. Mr. James Scott Clark continuing business in his own name by himself.

Mr. Guthrie left Singapore on the 8th February, 1847, after having resided here for twenty-seven years. He was spoken of by the *Free Press* when he left, as one of the earliest of the European merchants who settled in Singapore, and as distinguished for sound judgment and sterling integrity, and as having always occupied a high standing in the estimation of the community, whether as a member of society, a merchant, or a magistrate. He died in London in the year 1865.

Mr. James Guthrie, a nephew of Alexander Guthrie, arrived in Singapore in 1829, became a partner in Guthrie & Co., in January, 1837, and afterwards was head of the firm, from which he retired in 1876. He died at Tunbridge Wells on 4th September, 1900, in his eighty-seventh year. He came to Singapore when he was fifteen years old, having been born on 14th February, 1814. He was twice married, and was survived by Mrs. Guthrie and two daughters. His only son, who was for a short time in the business in Singapore, died while a young man, over twenty years ago. Mr. James Guthrie was buried at Kensal Green Cemetery, London, where a number of old Singaporeans attended the funeral.

As a contrast to the quiet state of affairs in Singapore, and the contentment of the natives who were increasing so quickly in number, may be mentioned a report made by Captain Campbell of H.M.S. *Dauntless*, which had come from Ceylon to Penang in December, 1819, and had afterwards passed through Singapore on her way to Manila. The Captain reported on 3rd December, 1820, that a massacre had occurred in Manila, in which the natives had slaughtered all the English, French, Danes, and Americans whom they could find, and he lamented to say that twenty-six Europeans, a large proportion of whom were British, had fallen victims.

The following are interesting passages taken from the private letters of Sir Stamford written to friends in England in 1820:—"It will be satisfactory to Your Grace to know that the Dutch authorities in this country have at length been brought to their senses; and if what has been done here is supported and followed up with common prudence and decision we may at least save our commercial interests from the ruin which so lately impended. Singapore continues to rise as rapidly as the out-stations of the Dutch decline.

"After all, it is not impossible the ministry may be weak enough to abandon Singapore, and to sacrifice me, honour, and the Eastern Archipelago to the outrageous pretentions of the Dutch. My settlement

continues to thrive most wonderfully; it is all and everything I could wish. If no untimely fate awaits it, it promises to become the emporium and pride of the East.

"Were the value of Singapore properly appreciated, I am confident that all England would be in its favour. It positively takes nothing from the Dutch, and is to us everything. It gives us the command of China and Japan, with Siam and Cambodia, to say nothing of the Islands themselves.

"We are very anxiously awaiting the decision of the higher powers on the numerous questions referred to them. It appears to me impossible that Singapore should be given up, and yet the indecisive manner in which the ministers express themselves, and the unjust and harsh terms they use towards me, render it doubtful what course they will adopt.

"Notwithstanding the uncertainty which must prevail pending the decision of the higher powers in Europe, and the circumstances of its being still held solely on my personal responsibility, against all the efforts of our own government as well as that of the Dutch, the settlement has advanced in the most rapid manner. From an insignificant fishing village, the port is now surrounded by an extensive town, and the population does not fall short of ten or twelve thousand souls, principally Chinese. The number is daily increasing, and the trade of the place has already induced the establishment of several mercantile houses of respectability. Should the decision from home prove favourable, I hope to go there next year to establish such municipal and port regulations as may provide for the increasing population and trade.

"My health I am sorry to say is not so good as it was. I feel the effects of climate very seriously and if I had no other inducement I should hasten home. In a public point of view, all I wish is to remain long enough to see my settlement at Singapore firmly established, and lay something like a substantial foundation for the future civilization of Sumatra. Two or three years will be sufficient for this, and then I shall have an object at home in endeavouring to uphold and further what will have been so far proceeded on. My great object, the independence of the Eastern Isles, has been attained."

1821.

The public works which had been erected at a cost of about $36,000, were valued at $30,000. This amount must have included one or two houses, and the erection of the batteries and huts for the troops. The lines for the troops were at the foot of the hill, between it and the Esplanade, where the Cathedral, Coleman Street, and other buildings are now.

In February the first junk arrived from Amoy, and the Merchants and the Resident fell out. The Sultan's Malays had put the nakodah of the junk in the stocks because he had refused to wait upon the Sultan with presents, which was practically a breach of the free trade of the port, and the merchants remonstrated. The Resident wrote to Sir Stamford Raffles at Bencoolen that it was an improper,

premature, and very unnecessary interference on the part of the merchants, to which remark they objected. The Sultan's explanation was that the nakodah had been impudent.

On the 20th March, a general meeting was held with Mr. Johnston in the chair, about the police force, and it was decided that subscriptions should be made to provide funds for increasing the strength of the Police establishment, and that a committee of three Europeans and three native merchants should be formed to take into consideration all points connected with the Police, and that a general meeting of the subscribers should take place quarterly. At the request of the Resident on the 13th September, Mr. Johnston, Mr. Alexander Guthrie, Mr. Charles Scott and Mr. Claude Queiros, met on the same subject, and the proceedings of the previous meeting were confirmed, and it was decided to request the Resident to suggest to the inhabitants of Kampong Glam and China Town the propriety of entering into the subscription to extend the police system to those Kampongs. At that time Mr. F. J. Bernard was in charge of the Police, with a Malay writer, a jailor, a jemadar or sergeant, and eight peadas or constables. These were all paid by Government; and one jemadar and nine peadas were paid by a mercantile subscription, called the Night Watch Fund, which amounted in the average to $54 a month. Up to this time robberies had not been numerous, only two having occurred of any consequence.

On the 17th April the Resident made a report upon the town and public works. He said that at first the place was covered with jungle, with the exception of a small spot on the eastern bank of the river [Esplanade side] barely large enough to pitch the tents on. Sepoys were employed to clear a space for cantonments, and a battery was raised by them. Ground had been cleared for the Chinese and Bugis Kampongs, and materials had been prepared for a bridge, but its erection as well as the powder magazine and other permanent buildings had been postponed. Reservoirs had been made for the supply of water to the ships and town, and Colonel Farquhar said that greater facilities existed in this respect than in any town in India. He proposed to levy a tax for the supply of water. He said that the river bank on the north side [Esplanade] was the only place eligible for English merchants, the other side being marshy and unfit for building. He proposed to set aside a place for the merchants between the Tumongong's kampong and the sea [where the Public Offices are now] and, as the space was limited, to remove the Tumongong higher up the river [to Kampong Malacca now]. Except these lots and one on the sea side of the road, used for the Police Office [near the end of the river on Esplanade side] no grants were made on the Singapore [Esplanade] side, and the squatters were informed they remained at their own risk. The Bugis had requested that the Rochor River should be cleared out; which was done to the great advantage of the kampong on its banks. In May; 1821, about fifteen miles of road had been made, of which about half were carriage roads, forty to fifty feet in width. They extended from the river to Rochor; round the hill, afterwards levelled, where Circular Road is now; and out to Selegie, which is no doubt what is now called Selegie Road. The cost of the

roads was $6,447; of aqueducts $2,500; and $4,980 had been spent on military buildings, $270 on a jail, $3,000 on fortifications, $600 on bridges and $80 on the spice garden bungalow. The following is a list of the roads that were made from the first establishment to May, 1821. The details as to the length are not without interest as they show how far they went from the Esplanade. A good deal had been done in the two years.

Yards.		Yards in width.	Remarks.
2,500	in Cantonment	16	Carriage road.
1,800	to Rochor and Campong Glam	16	Do.
2,650	Do. do.	15	Do.
600	Do. do.	10	Lined out.
1,800	round Singapore Hill ...	8	Nearly cut round.
1,200	over top of Singapore Hill	7	Small drains cut.
1,176	round Old Lines	2¼	Horse road.
800	to Selligie	12	Carriage road.
1,380	round Selligie	3½	Horse road.
1,675	from Selligie to farthest gambier (sic.)	3	Horse road.
3,100	Circular Road round west hills	4	Do.
1,440	along Rochor River ...	3	Do.
3,374	Roads and Streets in China Town	15	Carriage road.
2,396	over Teluk Ayer hills ...	2¼	Foot path.
156	Katong point at Paggar do.	2	Do.
100	Teluk Ayer to Sungei Kayah	2	Do.
140	Singapore and Selegie Hill	4	Horse path.

26,475 yards of road at a cost of $6,447.

In May, between the 7th and 9th, the Government Treasury was robbed of $1,650, which was attributed to the guard being implicated in it. The Madras Government wrote to enquire whether some convicts could not be advantageously introduced at Singapore, as they escaped so frequently from Penang; and Colonel Farquhar replied that a few could be received. A Singapore price current of 1st October, 1821, contains the following quotations: Banca tin $19. Beer $8 a dozen. Canvas $10 a bolt. Cocoanut oil $8 a picul. Benares Opium $1,625 a chest. Pepper $9.50. Rattans $1.50 Hats $8 each. Sago $28 a koyan. Tobacco, Bengal Cigars $2.50 a thousand. Exchange on Calcutta Rs. 206; on Madras and Bombay 220, on China and Batavia at par, all at 30 days. No quotations on Europe, for no bills of exchange existed. Goods from Europe and India were sold and the nett proceeds remitted by shipments of produce, or specie.

The effect of the trade of Singapore upon that of Malacca and Rhio was already very marked. The export and import duties and harbour fees in Malacca, in 1819, were $50,000; in 1821 they were only $23,000, and two years later only $7,000, while Singapore was

growing rapidly. Although it was established in 1819, and its trade during the first four years was considerable, it was found impossible in 1834 to make up any returns of imports and exports from an earlier period than May, 1823, owing to the records not having been kept.

A Court of Enquiry was held in May at the instance of the merchants on Captain C. Methven, 20th Bengal Native Infantry, for improper dealings with Tringanu traders, and after repeated attempts to get justice at the Civil Court had failed. He had been in the Bencoolen Detachment in 1819. In July the List of occupiers of lands was as follows:—

Claude Queiros, J. Morgan, A. Guthrie, G. Mackenzie, Williamson, Lackersteen, Hay Mackenzie, F. Ferrao, J. Almeida, Baron Jamearil, F. J. Bernard, Dunn, Captain Flint, Lieutenant Crossley, Captain Methven, Lieutenant Davis, Colonel Farquhar.

There were frequent reports of robberies, and the Chinese at Kampong Glam agitated the question as to the propriety of getting up a night watch similar to that supported by the Europeans. In the government report of 10th July, credit is taken for the fact that from July 1820 to July, 1821 only 47 cases of robbery and larceny were brought to the police, with two cases for attempting to steal slaves.

Circular orders were received to assist the Crown Commission in England to enquire into the subject of weights and measures, by sending home models of all in use, with explanations and information. Besides Singapore, the Resident was to take the Indian Archipelago and the East Coast of Sumatra. The result of these enquiries was published in "Kelly's Universal Cambist."

Measures were taken to prevent competition of foreign or other opium with that of Bengal. The Bencoolen opium regulations of 9th September, 1817, were extended to Singapore. Sir Stamford Raffles was anxious to prevent the regulation from interfering with the trade in opium.

CHAPTER VII.

1822.

THIS is the first year for which it seems possible to obtain the number of vessels coming into Singapore harbour, which was 139 square rigged vessels and 1,434 native crafts. This unparalleled rise of commerce was due to the principle of free trade, which was first tried at Singapore. The port was open to the vessels of all nations alike, as it has been ever since; in spite, as we shall see in later years, of not infrequent attempts to levy duties, which the mercantile community have from time to time opposed tooth and nail, by the most earnest and consistent means. The proposed evil was first mentioned soon after the Settlement commenced to attract attention, and we shall see from time to time how petitions were sent by the merchants in any direction likely to use influence to prevent it; urging in the strongest terms the ruin that it would bring upon a port, which was then, and always will be, practically, a mere warehouse for supplying the surrounding countries, which would not seek to purchase here if the goods could reach them direct or from other sources without the enhanced price caused by the duty which would benefit Singapore alone. The following report of a speech in the House of Lords on the 14th March, 1826, shows how soon attention was prominently attracted to the new Settlement, even in England:—

"The Marquis of Lansdowne said, that he had yesterday given notice of his intention to move for an account of the imports and exports of Singapore in the East Indies. He had been induced to make this motion in consequence of understanding that the East India Company had entertained a design of imposing duties upon that port, the effect of which would be to stifle the trade of that country, which, if these papers were produced, would appear from them to be flourishing with a degree of increasing prosperity since its cession to this country, that was likely in a short time to render it an acquisition of the greatest importance. All the advantages anticipated from our possession of that country had been fully realized by every circumstance which had since taken place; and he was certain that they would continue to increase rapidly if Singapore were retained as a free port. Should their lordships agree to the production of these papers, they would see from them, that in that part of the world, composed as it was of various aud numerous tribes and nations, some of them barbarous, some civilized, such was the quick apprehension which prevailed of the advantages of a free trade there, and the permission granted them of frequenting that place, that its trade, which in 1822 had amounted to 8,468,000 dollars, in 1824 had increased to the enormous sum of 15,773,000 dollars; thus in three years doubling its amount, which had considerably increased before, since the occasion to

which he had referred. It was impossible to consider this extensive trade, drawn from so many different quarters, without feeling that it must have operated a most material effect upon our great empire in the east, as well as upon that of China by producing a commercial spirit in that quarter of the world of which this country ought to avail itself, and turn to its advantage. But if the East India Company were to seek to derive a pitiful revenue from that island, it would have the effect, by cramping and reducing its trade, of at once closing those prospects upon us, which, connected as we were with that part of the world, its present state held forth to our view. In the course of two years and a half 2,889 vessels had entered that port, only 333 of which were manned by Englishmen, the remaining 2,506 being manned by natives of other nations. Such was the flourishing state of its commerce, carried on by various nations of different habits and manners, who, attracted by the establishment of a mild code of laws, contrived to live there most happily together, and avail themselves under the protection of this country, of the advantages of a free course of trade. He trusted they would be suffered to continue to do so, in despite of the short-sighted policy which would sacrifice such important advantages to the paltry lucre to be derived from the imposition of duties, which would only have the effect of annihilating its trade in a short time; under these circumstances he begged leave to move for the production of an account of the imports and exports of Singapore in the years 1822, 1823 and 1824, together with the amount of the tonnage and its value in each of these years, distinguishing the different countries to which it belonged.—Ordered."

The last time the often vexed question arose between the Government and the mercantile community was in the days of Governor Ord, the first Governor after the Transfer to the Colonial Office in 1867, who was probably ignorant of the firebrand he took in his hand when he spoke of imposing customs duties here. He very soon abandoned the mere mention of it.

In November, 1822, in consequence of complaints having been made to Sir Stamford Raffles at Bencoolen that a Malay in Singapore named Wan Allee had assumed to establish a monopoly of selling attaps for roofing houses, Sir Stamford issued a proclamation giving notice that, with the exception of the regulations for restricting the consumption of opium and spirits, and the vice of gambling; and respecting the markets, and the sale of pork among the Chinese; which were all adopted as matters of policy for the general benefit of the whole community; the trade in all articles whatever was in every respect *open and free to all persons without imposition of any kind.* And in order that no one should plead ignorance of the entire free trade of the port, he had the proclamation translated into the native languages and explained and published by beat of gong, and placards affixed throughout the town.

In this year Colonel Farquhar proposed to establish a Court of Requests, which he thought the advancing state of the trade rendered necessary. He also referred the question whether the European merchants could be allowed, with propriety, to correspond with the Native States. Sir Stamford, in reply, said he was surprised at what he

termed an extraordinary enquiry, and that he saw no reason why the Singapore merchants should not do what every European vessel navigating the seas had the privilege to do. The next time such a question was raised was in the time of Sir Harry Ord, the first Governor appointed by the Colonial Office in 1867, when he said that if the merchants of Singapore chose to do business in the Native States they did it at their own risk and could expect no support from the government. Fortunately more able and thoughtful men succeeded him, and the result was the commencement of the opening up of the Native States in 1875, one result alone of which has been that the value of exported tin from Singapore in 1898 was over two millions sterling.

Sir Stamford arrived at Singapore from Bencoolen on 10th October. On the 17th October a committee was formed, of three disinterested persons; Dr. Wallich, of the Gardens, Dr. Lumsdaine and Captain Salmond, the harbour-master of Bencoolen; to fix on the new site for the town, rendered necessary by the original plan [to keep the Esplanade side for government purposes] having been broken through.

In October fifty slaves were imported and sold by the Bugis in the river close to the Resident's house and some were sent as presents to Raffles and the Resident. Raffles called the notice of the Resident to the Act of Parliament which made it felony for any British subject to be concerned in slave dealing. The Resident replied that he allowed the practice, under the oft repeated plea of "the circumstances of the Port, &c." This was one of the reasons which Raffles afterwards gave of his want of confidence in Colonel Farquhar.

On 29th October an Advertisement was published, ordering all builders to discontinue work pending the orders of the town committee. In November a petition was presented by the Chulias praying that a headman or Captain should be appointed for the mercantile and labouring classes. The lower classes of Chulias were prohibited from living in verandahs of houses or anywhere on the northern side of the town and a Chulia campong was marked out for them. [This was probably where Cross Street is now.]

The Chuliahs were afterwards called Klings in Singapore. In Crawfurd's Dictionary, page 198, he says it was the name given by the Malays and Javanese to the Telinga nation of Southern India, and appeared to be a corruption or abbreviation of the genuine name of the country of that people, Kalinga. Being the only Indian nation known to the Malays, the word was used by them both for the people of India in general and for the country itself. The trade of the Telingas with the Archipelago was, he says, of great antiquity.

The day after Raffles returned, he wrote a letter in which the following passage occurs about the action of the Dutch: "You must be aware that the grounds on which I maintain our right to Singapore rested on the following facts, which it has never been in the Dutch power to disprove.

1. That subsequent to the death of Sultan Mahomed, about twelve years ago, there has been no regular installation of a successor, nor has any chief been acknowledged as such, with the essential forms required by the Malay custom.

2. That the regalia (the possession of which is considered essential to sovereignty) still remained in the custody of Tunku Putri, widow of the deceased Sultan.

3. That the Rajah of Lingin had never exercised the authority of Sultan of Johore, and explicitly disclaimed the title, and

4. That the prince whom we supported was the eldest son of the late Sultan and was intended for the succession. That he was acknowledged by one at least, if not both, the constituting authorities of the empire, and that he himself stood in no way committed to the Dutch, when I formed the treaty with him.

"The Dutch have allowed nearly four years to pass since our occupation of Singapore, in trying to prove that the Sultan of Lingin was actually invested with the authority of Johore: but finding our Ministry more firm than they expected, and their assertions not admitted as proofs, have at last given up the point and actually proceeded to the seizure of the regalia from the hands of Tunku Putri."

In November a Committee was formed of Captain Flint, the Harbour Master, Captain Salmond, and Mr. Maxwell, a merchant, with the Assistant Engineer, to enquire into the state of the bar at the mouth of the river, and to report on the means to be used to prevent an increase of the bar. To obviate which, steps were not taken until 1884; and the river wall extended seawards. On a site being fixed for the market by Colonel Farquhar, who after going round with some of the inhabitants had found a better place than that first proposed by the Committee, Che Sang, the principal Chinese merchant in the place at that time, agreed to build it at his own expense, if he was allowed to hold it free of tax for a certain number of years. This is the same Chinaman whose will occupied much of the time of the Court here for very many years, and only reached a final result after 1880, the Singapore "Jarndyce *v.* Jarndyce." Botanical gardens were now established, and a Dr. Wallich of the Botanical Gardens at Calcutta was appointed Superintendent. Raffles gave him forty-eight acres more land for the gardens, and a bungalow was built on the hill for his accommodation, as he said the matchless climate had restored him to health, and he would occupy it on his occasional visits to superintend the work. Raffles gave up the Government House Garden, and told Dr. Wallich to take as much more as he required to the north-east, which was the forty-eight acres for which a grant was given on 20th November, 1822, to the superintendent and his successors in office. The Gardens were, however, discontinued in 1829.

Sir Stamford found, on his return to Singapore, that several European merchants had built houses near the river on the Esplanade side in the space he had reserved for public purposes, so he gave notice that the Government did not insist upon the immediate removal of the buildings unless the ground became indispensable for public purposes, but the owners were warned not to spend any more money upon them. In order to prevent confusion and disputes in laying out the town and appropriating places for the different classes of natives, Sir Stamford in October appointed a Committee consisting of Captain Charles Edward Davis of the Bengal Native Infantry, Samuel George Bonham (afterwards Governor) who was a Civil Servant, and

Mr. A. L. Johnston, to act with a representative from each of the principal classes of Arabs, Malays, Bugis, Javanese, and Chinese; and he gave notice that while this Committee was sitting all persons were required to stop building and to attend the Summons of the Committee and to give all the information and assistance they could. He wrote a long minute on the subject of the laying out of the town, which is published at the end of this Chapter.

Raffles' original plan in laying out the town had been to keep the ground near the river where the public offices are now, as a reserve for Government purposes, and to give the European merchants the land next to it as far as the Rochor river, which would have included the present Esplanade. After he left Singapore in 1819, and before his return in October, 1822, the merchants told the Resident, Colonel Farquhar, that it would be very inconvenient for the shipping to build along the north beach [where the Esplanade is] as it was flat and there was generally a surf. So Colonel Farquhar let them build on the left bank of the river, where the public offices are, but said they must be prepared to move if required. When Raffles returned he found houses built, as we have said, on the reserved ground, and after much consideration he resolved to alter his original plan, and employed all the coolies he could get to level the small hill on the south side, which made the site of Commercial Square. The earth was used to fill up where Boat Quay is, which thus became suitable for building. In October, the place where Circular Road and Boat Quay are now was occupied solely by a few native traders whose *roomah rackits*, as somebody called them, or rickety tenements, or raft houses, were built over the swamp where the tide rose ten feet and extended to some distance.

Those who had built houses by the Resident's permission on the north bank were bought out, and had lots given them on the other side of the river. Some of the houses on the north side were allowed to remain and one was used for many years for the Land Office, Import and Export Office, &c., and another as Post Office. The Brass Bassa Canal, which is spoken of by Raffles as the fresh water cut (by which he thought boat communication might be made with the interior) was already made, and Colonel Farquhar finding that Sir Stamford was giving away land very fast, protested, and desired Raffles to make a reference to Bengal on his proposition to retain eight hundred yards on the north beach. Sir Stamford did not forward the reference, but reserved the ground from Singapore River to the Brass Bassa Canal, and it should be added, (Mr. Braddell remarks) that we are indebted, therefore, to Colonel Farquhar for the present Esplanade.

In later years the Government wanted to place the Church on the Esplanade, and appropriate the site where the first Church was built and the Cathedral is now. On that occasion some of the residents explained to the Bishop how very undesirable and one-sided a project it was, and as he refused to consecrate the proposed ground, we have the Esplanade to this day. In former years, on the Queen's birthday, a review of all the Troops and Volunteers was always held on it. And in the China war it was covered with tents for the troops. It is the

best place possible for our local Athletic Clubs, and for the New Year Sports, but we should not have it now, if it had not been for Colonel Farquhar and Bishop Wilson, and the mercantile community protesting against the proposed sale for building purposes, and a deputation telling the Governor, Mr. Fullerton, that if put up for sale it would be purchased by them and held for the public.

Mr. William Gordon Mackenzie, one of the merchants, received $2,175 as compensation for his house on the reserved land, and Mr. Queiros, the agent of Palmer & Co., of Calcutta, the largest mercantile house there in those days, received $3,000. The houses were pulled down and the materials sold. There was a long correspondence regarding one house belonging to Captain Methven who was absent, for whom Mr. Queiros was agent, and it led to a proclamation being issued directing that the house should be taken possession of by force if necessary, on which Mr. Queiros protested, and made a public address to the inhabitants.

Abdulla says: "Every day the quantity of goods for sale increased. It is impossible to describe the wonderful variety of the goods brought for sale by the Europeans, such as our fathers had never seen before. Auctions were held constantly where the goods were sold wonderfully cheap. At that time the auctioneer's gongs were not beaten, nor was notice sent round, the custom was simply to paste up notices at the several street corners that to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock an auction would be held at Mr. So and So's house, with a list of the articles for sale. The houses were all attap, except one built of brick by Mr. McSweeny who soon afterwards returned to England and it was then used for the police office. There was not a single house on the other side of the river. It was a mangrove swamp and all lived on the Plain side of the river. The Sultan wished to commence building his palace in Campong Glam, but the place was covered with jungle and there was no road through it, only round by the beach, as people were afraid to go through the jungle. The Sultan's family and all his followers now came over from Rhio. A Malacca man put up the first fishing stake off Teluk Ayer. There were continual disturbances between the Malacca Malays and the Chinese and Klings, and if they had not been afraid of Mr. Farquhar there would have been murders among them every day."

The population in this year had increased to 10,000 in November. It was in this year that Mr. Christopher Rideout Read, the partner of Mr. A. L. Johnston, came to Singapore. He had been to Bencoolen, and came here on the advice of Sir Stamford Raffles. Mr. John Purvis also came and established his firm here in this year. He had gone to China with Mr. Matheson, afterwards Sir James Matheson; and Mr. Purvis thought Singapore was a better opening than China and returned here, leaving Mr. Matheson who commenced business in Canton and joined Mr. Jardine.

Doctor Montgomerie, who is said to have first introduced Gutta Percha to the notice of Europeans, stated that he obtained the name of it, at Singapore, in 1822, while making enquiries relative to caoutchouc, but he lost sight of the subject, having returned to the Bengal Residency for a time. Some gutta was taken to England by Dr.

d'Almeida in 1842, but did not attract much attention, and it was brought into notice practically, at last, by Dr. Oxley and Dr. Little's discoveries about the year 1845.

The story of what was being done in Singapore town in 1822 was, no doubt, to be best found in the papers of Sir Stamford, which were burnt in the *Fame*, the only ones remaining being the letters written at this time from Singapore to his friends in England. He wrote in December that there were then 10,000 people, and that the enterprise and activity which prevailed were wonderful, and the effects of free trade and liberal principles had operated like magic. He speaks in the same letter of sending home the skeleton of an enormous ape, five feet six inches high, lately obtained from Borneo, the first specimen, probably, of an Orang Outan or Mias. In the last letter we have found that he wrote in this year, December, 1822, he said that a few spots of land before considered of no value, and passed over by Colonel Farquhar, had sold in the course of an hour for $50,000; and said that he had been cautious in wording the grants of land so as not to alarm the anti-colonists in England. The few spots of land he mentioned would of course be considered now very considerable quantities. He said that at Bencoolen the public expenses were more in one month than at Singapore in twelve; and while the capital turned at Bencoolen did not exceed $400,000 in a year, and nearly the whole of that was in the Company's bills on Bengal (the only returns that could be made), at Singapore the capital turned in a year exceeded eight millions, without any Government bills or Civil establishment whatever.

There were two missionaries in Singapore at this time, one was the Rev. Mr. Milton who knew Chinese and Siamese, and had brought a printer with him; so Mr. Milton took charge of the printing presses for Chinese type; the other missionary was the Rev. G. H. Thompson, who knew Malay and English printing. He was in connection with the London Missionary Society, and had a house near the corner of Brass Bassa Road and North Bridge Road, where the Society's chapel afterwards stood. He had a class of six boys, one of whom was named Monteiro, who came from Malacca and afterwards was clerk to the present Mr. Whampoa's grand-uncle at Teluk Ayer; Monteiro who remembered the commencement of the building of the Institution in 1823 died in Singapore in 1891. Mrs. Thompson had a class of about half a dozen girls in a room on the upper floor of the same house. This was the beginning of schools in Singapore.

At the end of this year Sir Stamford built a small bungalow where Fort Canning at present is, which afterwards became Government House, and he looked after a botanic and experimental garden on the hill. Mr. Earl wrote of this "The Government House is erected on the top of a hill at the back of the town, from which there is a fine prospect of the Straits. As it was completed within a fortnight after the first arrival of the British, it is not to be expected that it can be very substantial. The sides are rough planks and venetian windows, the roof is attaps. It is withal so unsubstantial that after a Sumatra squall inquiring glances are cast up to discover whether the house is still there or in the valley behind it. At the foot is a botanical garden, with several nutmeg trees planted by the founder of the Settlement."

On 28th November Raffles issued an advertisement establishing a Pork farm, and called on the Resident to frame rules. The following are extracts from Sir Stamford's letters written at the end of this year, and in January, 1823:—"I am at present engaged in establishing a constitution for Singapore, the principles of which will I hope ensure its prosperity. The utmost possible freedom of trade and equal rights to all, with protection of property and person, are the objects to be attained. In Java I had to remodel, here the tax is new.

"Here all is life and activity; and it would be difficult to name a place on the face of the globe with brighter prospects or more present satisfaction. In little more than three years it has risen from an insignificant fishing village to a large and prosperous town, containing at least 10,000 inhabitants, of all nations, actively engaged in commercial pursuits, which afford to each and all a handsome livelihood and abundant profit. There are no complaints here of want of employment, no deficiency of rents, or dissatisfaction at taxes. This may be considered as the simple, but almost magical result of that perfect freedom of trade, which it has been my very good fortune to establish.

"I have nearly got over the job of undoing and am steadily going on with the establishment of something like a constitution for the place, on the principle of a free port in every sense of the word. The active spirit of enterprise among all classes is truly astonishing and, for its extent, I believe I may safely say that no part of the world exhibits a busier scene than the town and environs of Singapore. The Dutch have been obliged to take off their duties at Java and elsewhere on native prows.

"I am now busy in allotting the land and laying out the different towns, defining rights, and establishing powers and rules for their protection and preservation. The task, though an arduous and serious one, is not one that I find unpleasant. What I feel most is the want of good counsel and advice, and of sufficient confidence in my own experience and judgment to lay down so broad and permanent a foundation as I could wish. I have already upwards of 10,000 to legislate for, and this number will, I doubt not, be increased during the next year. The enterprise and activity which prevail are wonderful, and the effects of a free trade and liberal principles have operated like magic. But that the past prosperity of the place may not prove ephemeral, it requires that I be more careful in what I do for the future: for if the past, under all our uncertainty of possession, has so far exceeded my expectations; what may not be calculated on hereafter when our principles are better understood, when our possession is considered secure, and when British capital and enterprise come into full and fair play.

"My time is at present engaged in remodelling and laying out my new city, and establishing institutions and laws for its future constitution. A pleasant duty enough in England where you have books, hard heads, and lawyers to refer to, but here by no means easy, where all must depend upon my own judgment and foresight. Nevertheless I hope that though Singapore may be the first capital established in the nineteenth century, it will not disgrace the brightest period of it."

The total tonnage, importing and exporting in 1822, was 130,689 tons. The total value of imports and exports was $8,568,172. Nearly the whole of the trade was carried on by borrowed capital, on which interest was paid from nine to twelve per cent. Not one ship arrived direct from England, notwithstanding European goods were in constant demand. All the goods had come by circuitous routes. Four free ships, that is not the East India Company's traders, loaded home during the year, and Raffles wrote that six more could have been laden if they had been there.

A detailed account of shipping had been kept during the year, which Raffles says was accurate. He added that during the two and a half years since the establishment of Singapore, by which he probably meant up to the end of 1821, 2889 vessels had entered and cleared, of which 383 were owned and commanded by Europeans, and 2,506 by natives, and that their united tonnage was 161,000 tons. This averages 56 tons each, so many were small native crafts. During the same period the value of merchandise, arrived and cleared, in native vessels was $5,000,000 and in ships not less than $3,000,000, giving a total amount of about eight millions as the capital turned, as Sir Stamford expresses it.

The following papers written by Sir Stamford Raffles himself regarding the laying out of the Town were collected by Mr. Braddell and were given in full in his notes, an ample reason for reprinting them here at length. They contain matter which has been usefully referred to, many times since, especially regarding the Verandah question, and they fill up the remainder of this chapter. The last letter is dated in February, 1823, but they all refer to this matter:—

LAND ALLOTMENT COMMITTEE.

To James Lumsdaine, Esq.
Nathaniel Wallich, Esq. and
Captain Francis Salmond.

Gentlemen,—It having been determined on the first establishment of this Settlement that the whole space included within the old lines and the Singapore river should be reserved exclusively for public purposes, and His Excellency the Governor General in Council having directed that the land subsequently occupied by individual settlers on the north bank of the Singapore river should be resumed, it has become necessary to fix upon another site on which the European merchants may construct adequate warehouses for the accommodation of the different descriptions of goods collected by them, and no spot has appeared better calculated for this purpose than the opposite bank of the Singapore river now in part occupied by Chinese.

Having consulted with Mr Coleman, by profession an architect, and with others and having myself partially examined the ground, I am not aware of any objection to the plan of building the warehouses on this line, except such as may arise from the additional expense which will be necessary in raising the ground and from some moderate compensation which it may be just to make to the Chinese on account of this removal. Hitherto the European merchants would seem to have laboured under an erroneous impression that they would eventually be allowed to have their warehouses on the side reserved by Government, which on many accounts was naturally preferred by them, but this delusion being now at an end, it is to be expected that they will gladly enter into the plan now under consideration and that the activity and energy which is now so conspicuous will easily overcome all minor and comparative disadvantages.

No title whatever can be granted to those individuals who have built store houses on the ground reserved for the Company and they will not have the power

to transfer them as property, neither will any new buildings whatever be allowed to be erected thereon by individuals, and with the view of placing the mercantile community with regard to advantage for building, on the most equal footing possible, it is proposed to levy by way of ground rent or otherwise such a tax on the ground temporarily occupied by the existing buildings as shall be equivalent to the greater expense which may be incurred in laying the foundations on the opposite side of the river.

It is proposed that an embankment, which may at the same time serve to confine the river and drain the adjacent ground and afford the convenience of a long line of wharf in front of the warehouses, should in the first instance be constructed along the south side of the river, from the road opposite Ferry point to that which has been marked out for the intended bridge, so as to form an extensive crescent of about six or seven hundred yards, in the rear of which the range of the warehouses may be built on one uniform and approved plan.

In prosecution of the plan above stated, it is further proposed that with the view of preserving uniformity and ensuring the goodness of the materials and workmanship, this embankment or line of wharf should be constructed under the immediate superintendence of Government, the expense to be repaid by the individual, as the lots may be appropriated. Allowing sixty feet for the front of a warehouse and a space of 12 feet between each, it is estimated that the projected site is calculated to afford room for between 20 and 30 separate and commodious buildings. The depth proposed to be allotted to the range of buildings is 100 feet from the wharf for the warehouses and 50 feet in the rear for a yard, at the back of which will run a High Street, so as to admit of a back front to the buildings on the land side.

Previously, however, to the adoption of a plan involving such important interests, I am desirous of obtaining the best and most competent advice which circumstances admit, and with this view, I have appointed you to be a committee for the purpose of taking into your most deliberate consideration the plan now proposed, in all its bearings, and reporting in how far you deem the same advisable and advantageous and as preferable to any others which offer.

In selecting you for this important duty, I have been influenced no less by a full confidence in your peculiar qualifications and ability to form a correct judgment on the subject, than by the circumstance of your being wholly unconnected with any of the local parties, or conflicting interests which have heretofore so unfortunately prevailed at this Settlement.

I am, &c.,

(Signed) T. S. RAFFLES.

Singapore, 17th October, 1822.

TOWN COMMITTEE.

Proclamation by the Hon'ble Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, Lieutenant Governor of Fort Marlborough and its Dependencies.

Whereas several European Merchants and others having occupied and constructed buildings of Masonry on portions of ground on the North Bank of the Singapore River and elsewhere, within the space intended to have been reserved exclusively for public purposes, viz., between the old lines and Singapore River from the sea inland to the back of the hill:

Under the present circumstances of the Settlement it is not the desire of Government to insist on the immediate removal of such buildings as may have been constructed of Masonry by Europeans and completed before the 10th April last, unless the same may become indispensible for the public service, but the parties interested are warned of what is intended, and the construction by individuals of all further buildings whatever, as well as the outlay of all further sums of money on those already constructed within the limits aforesaid, after this date, is most strictly prohibited.

The terms on which the above indulgence will be granted to present occupants will be hereafter made known.

These orders have application principally to the ground near the River occupied or intended to be occupied for commercial purposes and have no immediate

reference to officers' Bungalows, for which, being a public purpose, an express provision was made, but it is clearly to be understood that all dwelling houses or buildings whatever situated within the limits aforesaid, whether the same may be in the actual occupation of Military Officers or of private individuals, are considered to be on the same footing and alike subject to the cantonment regulations.

That no person may plead ignorance hereof, the Resident will cause this Proclamation to be duly promulgated and copies affixed at the usual places for general information.

Given under my hand, at Singapore, this 29th day of October, 1822.

(Signed) T. S. RAFFLES.

Notice is hereby given, that in order to afford comfort and security to the different descriptions of inhabitants who have resorted to this Settlement, and to prevent confusion and disputes hereafter, it is the intention of Government forthwith to appoint a competent Committee, with such advice and assistance as may be necessary, for appropriating and marking out the quarters or departments of the several classes of the native population.

This committee will consist of three European Gentlemen and of a Representative from each of the principal classes of Arabs, Malays, Bugis, Javanese, and Chinese, and it will hold its first sitting on Monday next.

Pending the sitting of this Committee and until further orders all persons are required to suspend the construction of whatever buildings they may have in hand, whether of stone, brick or wood.

It is required of all persons to attend the summons of the said committee and to afford all possible information and assistance in their power that may be demanded of them.

That no one may plead ignorance of this advertisement, the same is to be translated into the native languages, published by beat of gong, and affixed at the usual places in Campong China, Campong Glam, and elsewhere.

By order, &c.,

(Signed) L. N. HULL,
Acting Secretary.

To Captain C. E. Davis, President.

George Bonham,
Alex. L. Johnston, } Esquires, Members.

Gentlemen,—The extent of the native population which has already accumulated at Singapore and the rapidity with which it daily increases, render it expedient that in providing for its accommodation a timely attention should be paid to its future regulation, with reference to the circumstances of the place and the peculiar character and institutions of the several classes of inhabitants of which the society will be composed.

1. It has been observed by the Supreme Government "that in the event of Singapore being permanently retained, there seems every reason to believe that it will become a place of considerable magnitude and importance, and it is essential that this circumstance should be constantly kept in mind, in regulating the appropriation of land. Every day's experience shews the inconvenience and expense that may arise out of the want of such a forecast" and in this respect an economical and proper allotment of the ground intended to form the site of the principal town is an object of the first importance, and one which under the present circumstances of the Settlement will not admit of delay.

2. In order to provide for this object in the best and most satisfactory manner which our present means admit, I have appointed you to be a committee for the purpose of suggesting and carrying into effect such arrangements on this head, as may on the whole appear to be most conducive to the comfort and security of the different classes of inhabitants and the general interests and welfare of the place, and in the performance of the duty you will be assisted by the Assistant Engineer and Assistant in the Police Department, and guided by the following instructions.

EXTENT OF THE TOWN GENERALLY.

3. In considering the extent of ground necessary to be appropriated for the town generally, reference must be had not only to the numbers of the present inhabitants and the probability of their future increase, but to the nature and occupation of the several classes of which it is composed and the demands they may respectively have to preference in regard to advantageous sites for trade, &c., and it will be a primary object to secure to the mercantile community all the facilities which the natural advantages of the port afford. At present a considerable portion of the sea and river face, which may hereafter become important for mercantile purposes, is occupied by the lower classes of Chinese, and as might be expected many of the early settlers have occupied positions and extent of ground which are now urgently demanded by a higher and more respectable class. A line must be drawn between the classes engaged in mercantile speculation and those gaining their livelihood by handicrafts and personal labour; the former, and particularly the principal merchants, will require the first attention, and there does not appear any reason why the latter should in any instance be allowed to occupy those situations which are likely at any time to be required by the commercial community. The cultivators form a third and interesting class, particularly of the Chinese population, but as no part of the ground intended to be occupied as the town can be spared for agricultural purposes they will not fall under your consideration, except in as far as it may become necessary to exclude them.

4. The town may already be considered to occupy an extent of the sea face, from Tulloh Ayer to the large inlet formed by Sandy Point, of nearly three miles, and it may be presumed that if a space is reserved from thence inland in every direction of from half a mile to a mile, as the ground may admit, it will be sufficient for all the purposes required in a principal town. A second town is gradually rising near the Salat or Malay Straits, and as soon as the road of communication is opened it may be expected that a very considerable population will collect in that quarter, but this does not fall under your immediate consideration.

5. Along this line of sea face it will be expedient to preserve for the public all the space between the road which runs parallel to the beach and the sea, and generally deemed advisable in the neighbourhood of the Settlement to reserve an open space along the beach, excepting where it may be required by individuals for special purposes. With this view the Chinese artificers and others who have settled on the beach near Tulloh Ayer and Campong Glam will be required to remove from thence without delay.

GROUND RESERVED BY GOVERNMENT.

6. In the distribution of the ground intended to form the site of the town, you will most particularly observe that the whole of the space included between the Singapore river and the old Lines, inland from the sea face to the back of the hill, including a space of 200 yards East of the old lines, is reserved for the immediate purposes of Government.

7. You will further keep in mind that Government also necessarily reserves all such commanding points in the town and its vicinity which may be useful for the defence of the place, such as the point at the entrance of the river, and the high grounds to the westward as well as the space between Sandy and Deep Water Points to the eastward, which it is intended to appropriate as a Marine Yard. With these exceptions the whole of the space above pointed out may be allotted to individuals.

EUROPEAN TOWN AND PRINCIPAL MERCANTILE ESTABLISHMENTS.

8. In fixing the site of the European town to the eastward of the cantonments, it was in the first place considered that the north east bank of the Singapore river as far as the hill would, with the whole of the space included within the old lines of Singapore, be indispensible for the public service, whenever the permanence of the settlement might be established; and in the second it was obvious that if relinquished by Government its extent was too limited to admit of its affording accommodation to all the European and other merchants who might be expected eventually to settle, and experience has already abundantly verified these presumptions. It is admitted that the N. E. bank of the

river and space occupied as cantonment possess peculiar advantages for the public in general and for the particular use of Government, and it is deeply to be regretted that any deviation should have been allowed from the original plan; under existing circumstances, however, some modification is thought advisable, and with the view of affording every possible accommodation to the trade of the port, it is proposed that in addition to the sea face to the eastward of the cantonments, the whole of the S. W. bank of the Singapore river with a circular road round the hill between the point and Tulloh Ayer, shall be appropriated for the use of European and other merchants.

9. Under this arrangement and the immediate accommodation which has been afforded to the principal part of the European merchants already settled, it is concluded that individuals will no longer feel an inclination to intrude on what may be considered the peculiar property of Government, but that those who may have planted themselves within its precincts will be sensible of the impropriety, and zealous in repairing the inconvenience they have occasioned, by an early removal of the materials of which their buildings are composed.

10. The necessity of draining the ground on the south west side of the river, is no less indispensible for the health of the Settlement than for securing the foundations of whatever permanent buildings may be erected thereon, and it is intended to proceed on the operation with the least delay practicable. In the meantime however, and during its progress, it is necessary that the present temporary buildings along the banks of the river should be removed, a measure which it will be your duty to carry into effect under the advertisement of this date, in such manner as shall be least inconvenient to the parties concerned.

11. To the Eastward of the Cantonments as far generally as the Sultan's, and inland to the bank of the Rochor river and the foot of the hills, including the whole of the great Rochor plain, is to be considered as set apart exclusively for the accommodation of European and other principal settlers.

Native Divisions or Campongs.

12. Your attention however is to be more exclusively directed to the proper allotment of the Native divisions of the town, and the first in importance of these is beyond doubt the Chinese.

Chinese Campong.

From the number of Chinese already settled, and the peculiar attractions of the place for that industrious race, it may be presumed that they will always form by far the largest portion of the community. The whole therefore of that part of the town to the south west of the Singapore river (not excepted as above) is intended to be appropriated for their accommodation. They will be permitted to occupy the south west bank of the river above the intended bridge on certain conditions, and the highroad leading from the bridge to the present Chinese campong, as well as the banks of the small inlet to the southward of it, will offer many advantageous situations as yet unoccupied. These will be particularly pointed out to you by the executive officer and you will proceed to mark out this division of the town generally inland as far as practicable up the slopes of hills, as may appear to be likely to be required, reserving an appropriate place above the bridge for the accommodation of the lower classes of Chuliahs and others employed in boats, cooly work, &c.

13. In establishing the Chinese campong on a proper footing, it will be necessary to advert to the provincial and other distinctions among this peculiar people. It is well known that the people of one province are more quarrelsome than another, and that continued disputes and disturbances take place between people of different provinces; it will also be necessary to distinguish between the fixed residents and itinerants,—between the resident merchants and the traders who only resort to the port for a time. Of the latter those from Amoi claim particular attention, and it may perhaps deserve consideration whether on account of their importance it may not be advisable to allot a separate division for their accommodation even to the westward of the Cantonments, beyond the European town and the Sultan. The object of Government being to afford the utmost accommodation to every description of traders, but more particularly to the respectable classes, you will always keep this in view, and while you generally direct

your attention to the importance of concentrating the different classes of the population in their separate quarters, you are not to lose sight of the advantage which may arise from deviating from this rule in special cases where the commercial interests of the Settlement are concerned. Few places offer greater natural facilities for commerce than Singapore and it is only desired that the advantage of these facilities be afforded to all who are competent to avail themselves of them in the proportion to their relative importance and claims to consideration.

14. It being intended to place the Chinese population in a great measure under the immediate control of their own chiefs, you will fix up such centrical and commanding sites for the residence of these authorities and appropriate to them such larger extent of ground, as may tend to render them efficient instruments of police, and at the same time raise them in the consideration of the lower classes.

15. You will also line out the different streets and highways, which should as far as practicable run at right angles and in no instance be less than — feet in breadth. To preserve uniformity and regularity hereafter, you will be pleased to class the streets according to their relative advantages of situation under the heads of 1st, 2nd and 3rd class, determining the least space along the street which shall be occupied by each house and consequently fixing the exact number of houses which each street will contain. It is proposed to fix a small ground rent on the spot occupied by each house, of one, two and three dollars for every fathom of front, according to the above classes, to be collected annually on the 1st of January and you will inform the parties that prior to the 1st of January next arrangements will be made for numbering the houses and granting them certificates of possession. Each street should receive some appropriate name and it will become the duty of the police to see them regularly numbered. Each street or division should also have a portion set apart for a police station.

16. The danger and apprehension of fire is at present so great that the most respectable of the inhabitants, including all the native merchants, seem desirous of constructing buildings of masonry with tiled roofs, and it will be at any rate necessary to stipulate for this in the immediate vicinity of the allotments set apart for the larger commercial store houses

17. The concentration of the different descriptions of artificers, such as blacksmiths, carpenters, &c., in particular quarters should also be attended to.

Description of Houses to be Constructed, each House to have a Verandah open at all times as a continued and covered passage on each side of the Street.

18. It will further be advisable that for the sake of uniformity and gaining as much room as possible a particular description of front for all brick or tiled houses should be attended to, and it is conceived that while the breadth of the streets is strictly preserved as above directed, a still further accommodation will be afforded to the public by requiring that each house should have a verandah of a certain depth, open at all times as a continued and covered passage on each side of the street.

19. In fixing a proper site for the principal church, theatre, &c, care should also be taken that it be in a central and open situation and that a considerable space be kept clear in the vicinity.

20. Although the object of your appointment does not include the details of police it will nevertheless be incumbent on you to suggest any general regulations which may appear to you as advisable in this respect, as far as the same may be connected with the plan of the town and the nature of the buildings of which it will be composed; under this head may be included draining, lighting, watching, cleansing and the like.

Bugis Campong.

21. Next to the Chinese your attention will be directed to the Bugis settlers. They at present occupy the whole extent from Campong Glam to the mouth of the Rochor River, but it is conceived that they may be more advantageously concentrated on the spot beyond the residence of the Sultan. In this case a part of Campong Glam, immediately adjoining the Sultan's residence, may be occupied by the Arabs according to a plan that will be submitted by Lieutenant Jackson. who has instructions to mark out the European town in that direction.

22. In the allotment of the Bugis town it will be equally necessary to attend to economy in the distribution of ground by laying out regular streets inland towards the river and obliging the inhabitants to conform thereto. At present the houses are scattered without any attention to order or convenience. This will become the more necessary in the event of its being determined to allow a Campong in this direction to the Amoi Chinese, as alluded to in a former paragraph.

ARAB CAMPONG.

23. The Arab population will require every consideration, and their expected numbers should not be estimated at less than from 1 to 2000. No situation will be more appropriate for them than the vicinity of the Sultan's residence, and it will only be necessary in providing the accommodation they require to keep in view the convenience of separating them as far as practicable from the European dwellings, with which they will in such case come nearly in contact.

MARINE YARD.

24. It being intended to appropriate the space between Sandy and Deep Water Points as a Marine Yard, permission will be given to Chinese artificers to settle in the vicinity of the public works on certain conditions, and by this arrangement it is calculated that accommodation will be afforded for a large portion of that description of people who will now be required to remove from the opposite beach. A moderate compensation to such Chinese settlers as may be required to remove their dwellings, under the arrangement now generally directed for the native town, will not be objected to, but the same must be defined and in no case exceed the actual expense to which they may be put to in removing.

25. The beach from the extremity of the European town will still continue open for the repair and building of native vessels as at present, and it is proposed that hereafter a public pier should be thrown out in this quarter in the most convenient spot for trade.

CHULIAH CAMPONG.

26. Reference has already been had to the advantage of allotting a separate division for the town class of Chuliahs up the Singapore river, and this will of course be done with a due consideration of their expected numbers, and the necessity of their residence being in the vicinity of the place where their services are most likely to be called for.

MALAYS.

27. The Malay population being principally attached to the Tumongong, or engaged in fishing, may not require any very extensive allotment. It is probable the larger portion of the former will settle near Panglima Prang's and the upper banks of the river; and the latter will find accommodation for themselves in the smaller bays and inlets beyond the immediate line of beach reserved for the town, but you will of course advert to the same as far as may be necessary.

MARKETS.

28. As a measure of police it is proposed to remove the fish market to Tulloh Ayer without delay and it will be the duty of the committee to consider in how far the general concentration of the fish, pork, poultry and vegetable markets, in the vicinity of each other, may not be advantageous for the general convenience and cleanliness of the place.

29. The importance of early provision for Mohametan and Chinese burial grounds, particularly the latter, at a suitable distance from town, will necessarily fall under your consideration.

30. You will assemble as early as practicable and as soon as you shall have decided on some general mode of proceeding for the despatch of business, you will be pleased to call upon the heads of the principal classes of natives to be present at your deliberations, explaining to them the object of your appointment and the desire of government, in associating them with you, that the interest of all should be duly considered in the arrangements adopted.

31. With reference to the extent and nature of the duties required it will be advisable that you should report your proceedings from time to time for con-

sideration and confirmation, and that whenever you have generally defined the arrangement to be adopted in any particular division, you leave the detail to be carried into effect by the Executive Officer or Police Department, or some subordinate committee, who will as occasion requires receive especial instructions for the purpose from Government, according to your recommendation.

32. In conclusion, it may be only necessary to observe that in imposing such extensive and varied duties on your committee, I feel fully confident that they will be performed in the manner most advantageous to the general interests of the Settlement and most creditable to yourselves and that you will duly appreciate their importance and necessity.

I am, &c.,

(Signed) T. S. RAFFLES.

Singapore, 4th November, 1822.

To

G. Bonham, Esq., Lieutenant Jackson, and F. Bernard, Esq.

Gentlemen,

1. It being essential that the several arrangements for the improvement of the town of Singapore should be carried into effect with the least delay practicable, I am directed to inform you that the Lieutenant-Governor has been pleased to appoint you to be a committee for the purpose of superintending these arrangements and carrying them into effect forthwith, conformably to the plan laid down, with such modifications as may from time to time be communicated to you by the Lieutenant-Governor.

2. The general plan of the town, shewing the allotment of the different Campongs, principal roads and streets, and ground reserved for public purposes, is in possession of the assistant Engineer who will from time to time communicate with the Lieutenant-Governor personally on any modifications that may become necessary.

3. The first and most important point to be attended to is the removal of the native population and buildings from the space on the north bank of the river between the Tumongong's and the sea, to the opposite side of the river, and a date should be fixed at which the present buildings, if not removed by the present occupants, will be pulled down by Government.

4. I enclose for your information the report of the Resident on the value of these buildings and the progress made by the parties in removing, and it will be your duty to see that a proper allotment of ground on the opposite side be made for all persons obliged to remove and who may not already have provided themselves with lots.

5. In the event of any question arising relative to the amount of valuation of any particular property, you will give due consideration to the same and submit your opinion thereon for the further orders of the Lieutenant-Governor.

6. The principle on which it has been resolved to proceed in granting remuneration to the parties, is to advance them one half of the estimated value of their present buildings immediately, and to pay the remainder at the expiration of six months if a brick building, or of three months if of plank, to be calculated from the 1st of February, provided the buildings are then removed or transferred to Government.

7. It is probable that to some of the parties advances have been made on this account, as the Resident was long since authorized to grant to them whatever remuneration he deemed the parties entitled to, the particulars of these you will of course ascertain and attend to.

8. The Resident will now be authorized to make such further advances on this account as may be required, on bills from the parties countersigned by the members of the committee.

9. The removal of the Chinese houses on the sea face at Campong Glam, the formation of the Chuliah campong there, and the laying out and appropriating of Bugis town will also deserve your early attention.

10. The removal of the Chuliah and Dhoby encampment near the Sepoy Lines should be immediately effected, in order that the ground may be appropriated for the purposes for which it is intended.

11. During the progress making by your committee the assistant Engineer will use every exertion in his department, and on reference to the Sitting Magistrate, you will at all times obtain the most ready and efficient assistance from the police, and as all parties have long had notice of the intentions and views of Government, there seems no occasion longer to delay the adoption of any measure of general improvement on account of the particular accommodation of individuals.

12. The formation of the new streets with the construction of the markets are objects deserving your early attention. and as the object of your appointment is to enable you not only to prosecute but complete all the arrangements for laying out the town, you are authorized to make such appropriation of ground to natives as may be entitled to consideration, and finally to do all such things in view, (*sic*) reporting your proceedings from time to time for the information of the Lieutenant-Governor.

13. The Lieutenant-Governor feels satisfied that the members of this committee will both individually and collectively feel the high importance of the trust reposed in them, and execute the same with zeal and ability.

I am, &c.,

(Signed) L. N. HULL,
Acting Secretar

Singapore, 28th February, 1823.

CHAPTER VIII.

Commercial Square and the Old Rock.

IN the Hikayat Abdulla it says:—"Mr. Raffles and Mr. Farquhar consulted together about the town, and Mr. Farquhar thought the mercantile buildings and markets ought to be on the Campong Glam side, while Mr. Raffles thought they ought to be on the other side of the river. Mr. Farquhar said that on that side the traders would meet many difficulties, as the place was a low swamp, with bad water, and the expense of raising the levels of the ground would be very great, besides the difficulty of getting earth for filling up. Mr. Raffles said that if the Campong Glam side was chosen, the other side of the river would be deserted, and would not be settled for a hundred years. They were both full of projects and ideas on the subject, until three days after, when it struck Mr. Raffles that he could break up the hill at the end of Singapore point and fill up that side of the river [Boat Quay and up to the Police Court] with the material. The next day they met and made arrangements, and sent for coolies, greatly to the surprise of everyone. Two or three hundred coolies, Chinese, Malays and Klings, were employed at the rate of one rupee a day each man, chunkolling and carrying earth. Some were breaking up the rocks, of which there were very many in the hill. There were many tindals overlooking them, labour became dearer, although every evening bags of money were brought and each man got his payment for the day. Mr. Raffles came twice a day to give directions about the work. After about three or four months the hill was completely cut down, and all the hollows and streams and drains and valleys filled up. There only remained one rock about the height of an elephant but a great deal larger. The Chinese removed this for nothing, on getting the stone for their trouble."

The rise in Battery Road and the other streets leading up to the Square show where the hill was, and until late years there was a large round boulder, probably part of the large rock Abdulla speaks of, which kept cropping up through the road metal in Battery Road, very awkward for horses, which only disappeared when the road was widened and raised. A part of the rock was built into the front wall of Maclaine Fraser & Co.'s godown in Battery Road.

Abdulla then tells us:— "After the low marshy land [Boat Quay, Circular Road, &c.] was filled up, raised and embanked, it was measured out into lots and sold by auction. If any one wishes to know the locality of the hill, which was thus removed by Mr. Raffles, to fill up the ground on this side of the river, it was at the end of Singapore point, at the place now called Boat Street. [Boat Quay?] It was at first made into a garden, and all manner of flowers and trees planted.

I recollect hearing formerly that this spot was chosen as a site to erect a building in which to place a portrait of Mr. Raffles, as a memento that it was he who had formed the Settlement, but for some reason unknown to me it was not carried out, and the place now remains a garden opposite the house of Messrs. Spottiswoode and Connolly."

This is the present Commercial Square, an open space of about 200 yards long by 50 wide, with gardens in the centre. At the south corner of Change Alley (which might more appropriately have been called Spottiswoode Alley) where the building generally known as the old Oriental Bank now stands, was Mr. Spottiswoode's garden, with the house and godown standing further back inside the compound.

Abdulla then gives an amusing account of his own want of enterprise. He tells us that he had bought a piece of ground, on Colonel Farquhar's advice, at Campong Glam and built a plank house with attap roof, but lived there in terror as the place was surrounded with jungle. Afterwards he says: "When they were selling the filled up ground [near the Square] Mr. Raffles advised me to buy four or five lots, as afterwards this part of the town would become valuable. I answered where could I get money enough to pay for the land. I saw the lots selling at auction for $1,200 and $1,150, and there was besides the expense of building. Mr. Raffles smiled and said, never mind about the money, take the land first and we can talk about payment hereafter. In my stupidity and want of judgment, I thought of the difficulty I might experience if I got into debt, in case I wished to return to Malacca; and besides money at that time was not easily earned in Singapore; in fact so much so, I made it a rule to go home to Malacca every six months. If I should buy land and build houses I would not be able to go home. In fact I really did not think at that time that Singapore would succeed. Before that I was not aware that the land sales were mere formalities, and that the price of lands was not paid, and I saw at once the deep cleverness of the idea. If Mr. Raffles was to give the land for nothing all manner of paupers would come, and when could he expect to see *pucka* houses rising. So he put the lands at such high rates that only wealthy people bought who could afford to build proper houses. It was solely on account of my own stupidity and want of judgment that I lost this opportunity of purchasing land, by following Tuan Raffles' advice, and I now repent, but what's the use of that. As the Malays say 'Repent before you do a thing, for it is no use afterwards.'"

Then Abdulla tells us of the rock at the mouth of the river, about which much has been said by all the writers about Singapore. The following is Abdulla's account of the discovery of it.

"At the end of the point there was another rock found among the brushwood; it was smooth, of square form, covered with a chiselled inscription which no one could read, as it had been worn away by water for how many thousands of years who can tell. As soon as it was discovered people of all races crowded round it. The Hindoos said it was Hindoo writing, the Chinese that it was Chinese. I went among others with Mr. Raffles and the Rev. Mr. Thompson. I thought from the appearance of the raised parts of the letters that it was

Arabic, but I could not read it, as the stone had been subject to the rising and falling tides for such a long time. Many clever people came, bringing flour and lard, which they put in the hollows and then lifted out in the hope of getting the shape of the letters. Some again brought a black fluid which they poured over the stone but without success. Ingenuity was exhausted in trying to decipher the inscription. The stone remained there till lately. Mr. Raffles said the inscription was Hindoo, because the Hindoo race was the earliest that came to the Archipelago, first to Java and then to Bali and Siam, the inhabitants of which places are all descended from the Hindoos. But not a soul in Singapore could say what the inscription was. During the time Mr. Bonham was Governor of the three settlements this stone was broken up by the Engineer. This is very much to be regretted, and was in my opinion highly improper; perhaps the gentleman did it from ignorance or stupidity, and now, from his conduct, we can never know the nature of this ancient writing. Did he not think that persons sufficiently clever might come and disclose the secret so long concealed? I have heard that in England there are persons very clever in deciphering such inscriptions with the aid of all manner of curious devices. Well may the Malays says 'What you can't make, don't break.'"

From what has been written since on the subject it is clear that Abdulla was pretty correct in his facts and his deductions; and it is an example of the general correctness of his recollections of what he himself saw. The next extract is from Lieut. Begbie's book:—"The principal curiosity of Singapore is a large stone at the point of the river, the one face of which has been sloped and smoothed, and upon which several lines of engraven characters are still visible. The rock being, however, of a schistose and porous nature, the inscription is illegible. It is said that Sir Stamford Raffles endeavoured, by the application of powerful acids, to bring out the characters with the view of deciphering them, but the result was unsuccessful. Where such an eminent person has failed, it may be thought presumptuous in me to hazard a conjecture on the subject of the language in which the inscription was penned, but I may perhaps be permitted to make an attempt to throw some light upon a subject so confessedly obscure. Resorting to the Malayan Annals, which, clouded as they undoubtedly are by fable and allegory, yet contain many a valuable piece of information, we find therein mention made of three remarkable stones at Singhapura. The first that I shall mention is that recorded at page 82 of Leyden's Malay Annals, in which the translator, following his author, tells us "that there was a man of Pasei, named Tun Jana Khateb, who went to Singhapura with two companions, named Tuan de Bongoran, and Tuan de Salangor. One day Tun Jana Khateb was walking in the market place of Singhapura, and drew near to the palace of the Rajah, where one of the Rajah's women observed him. He was looking at a betel tree, when it suddenly broke. This was observed by the Rajah, who was enraged at it, conceiving it to have been done solely for the purpose of attracting the lady's attention, and displaying his skill. He accordingly ordered him to be put to death. The executioners seized him, and carried him to the place of execution and stabbed him near the house of a seller of sweetmeats. His blood flowed on

the ground, but his body vanished from their ken, and his blood was covered up by the sweetmeat seller, and was changed into stone and still remains at Singhapura.

"The second instance that I shall adduce is also recorded by the same author, who informs us that, during the reign of Rajah Secander Shah, the Javanese conquered Singhapura, principally by means of the treachery of Sang Ranjuna Tapa, who invited the enemy to the conquest in revenge for the Rajah having directed Tapa's daughter, who was one of the royal wives, to be impaled on suspicion of infidelity. As a judgment on his perfidy the historian says that 'By the power of God Almighty, the house of Sang Ranjuna Tapa faded, and its pillars were overturned, and rice ceased to be planted in the land, and Sang Ranjuna Tapa, both husband and wife, were changed into stone, and those are the two stones which appear beside the moat of Singhapura.

"The third, though first in order of record, I have reserved for the last because I am inclined to think that the evidence is fully presumptive in favour of its being the stone now visible at Singapore; it is to be met with at pages 62 and 63 of the Annals. The preceding pages inform us that in the reign of Sir Rajah Vicrama, there was a redoubtable champion of the name of Badang. Several remarkable feats of strength are recorded of him, but I will merely select the one in point. The fame of Badang having reached the land of Kling (Coromandel) the Rajah of that country despatched a champion, named Nadi Vijaya Vicrama, to try his strength with him, staking seven ships on the issue of the contest. After a few trials of their relative powers, Badang pointed to a huge stone lying before the Rajah's hall, and asked his opponent to lift it, and to allow their claims to be decided by the greatest strength displayed in this feat. The Kling champion assented, and, after several failures, succeeded in raising it as high as his knee, after which he immediately let it fall. The story then says that Badang, having taken up the stone, poised it easily several times, and then threw it out into the mouth of the river, and this is the rock which is at this day visible at the point of Singhapura, or Tanjong Singhapura After some other recitals, the Annals state that 'after a long time, Badang also died, and was buried at the point of the straits of Singhapura; and, when the tidings of his death reached the land of Kling, the Rajah sent two stone pillars, to be raised over his grave as a monument, and these are the pillars which are still at the point of the Bay.'

"Now, the first two instances are totally destitute of presumptive evidence; this last is, on the contrary, full of it. At the mouth of the river there is a large rock, which is concealed at high water, and on which a post was erected four or five years ago by, I believe, Captain Jackson of the Bengal Artillery, to warn boats of the danger; this is the rock fabled to have been hurled by Badang: He is said to have been buried at the point of the straits of Singhapura, the scene of this wonderful exploit; and there, the very spot where this record is to be still seen, the Rajah of Kling, who had been so serious a loser by it, ordered his monument to be erected. Fabulous and childish as the legend is, it brings us directly to the point. Sri Rajah Vicrama, called by Crawfurd (Indian Archipelago, Vol. 2, p. 482) Sri Rama

Wikaram, reigned in the year of the Hegira 620, or A.D. 1223, and was succeeded in Heg. 634, or A.D. 1236 by Sri Maharaja. The Annals state, after recording the death of Badang, that this king reigned a long time; consequently the occurrence must be placed early in his reign. The Annals were written in the year of the Hegira 1021, or A.D. 1612, nearly four centuries afterwards, and the original circumstance thus became obscured by legendary traditions; but I think that we are fairly warranted in concluding that there was a remarkable wrestler of the name of Bandang existing at that period, and that this inscription contained a recital of his feats, &c.

"This supposition naturally leads me to enquire what is the language in which these actions, recorded about A.D. 1228, could have been written. At the period of the transaction, the Malays were destitute of a written language, as it was not until between forty and fifty years afterwards, when the Mahommedan religion became the popular one, that the Arabic character was introduced. It appears to be probable that the Kling Rajah, aware of this destitution of a written character, employed a sculptor of his own nation to cut the inscription on the rock, and that, from the epitaph being in an unknown language, the original story as therein related, being necessarily handed down by oral tradition, became corrupted in every thing but its leading features. This supposition is borne out by the form of the characters, which more resembles that of the Malabar language than any other oriental tongue that I am acquainted with. I do not mean to say that the words are essentially Tamil, but merely to express an opinion that the inscription is couched in an obsolete dialect of that language. Language, as a nation progresses to civilization, sustains serious alterations, which, barely noticed at the time, or viewed as merely slight and necessary changes in order to meet the influx of new ideas and new wants, nevertheless, in the lapse of years, almost substitute a different dialect to that originally used by the community. The Tamil of A.D. 1228 may be easily conceded to be an obsolete tongue in A.D. 1830, although we are unable to trace the successive changes which it may have sustained in the revolution of six centuries. As a proof of this assertion I have merely to mention that the earliest Dutch Records at Malacca, which could not have been written before A.D. 1596, when the Dutch arrived in Java under Hautman, are now unintelligible, even to the best informed of the residents of that nation. Thus, in the course of less than two centuries and a half, a European language has been lost, much more guarded by adventitious circumstances against corruption than any native tongue could possibly be, in countries where the constant intercourse and the similarity of dialect would naturally lead to a fusion of Asiatic languages."

When the above passages appeared in the original of these papers, Mr. W. E. Maxwell wrote as follows regarding them in the *Free Press* of 15th November, 1884:—

"If you have access to a complete set of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, which I have not, you will find some information about the inscription which was formerly to be read on the rock at the mouth of the Singapore river, and about a similar inscription in Province Wellesley. Some of the fragments of the Singapore

rock were, I think, sent to the Asiatic Society's Museum at Calcutta. See Journal, Asiatic Society Bengal, VI., 680; XVII., Part I., 154 and 232; Id., Part II., 62, 66. Lastly, as to the legends which connect the strong man Badang with Singapore and Johore. These are, I fancy, only a localised version of a popular legend which may be found in many Malay countries. I have heard the story of how Badang obtained his strength, told, *mutatis mutandis*, of a Perak hero, Toh Kwala Bidor. There are points of resemblance between the Malay Hercules and the Scandinavian Odin."

Sir William Maxwell afterwards collected all the papers he refers to from the Journal of the Society, and published them in 1886 in the first volume of Miscellaneous papers in Tribner's Oriental Series, which were issued in two volumes by the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. From these papers which are of considerable length and contain two curious pictures of the inscription on the rock, the following remarks are taken:—

Dr. Montgomerie said that the rock was brought to light by some Bengal sailors employed by Captain Flint, R.N., the first Master Attendant. The men were much frightened on seeing the inscription and could not be induced to go on with the clearing, which had to be completed by Chinese. Dr. Montgomerie added that it was a pity that those who afterwards authorised the destruction of the ancient relic were not themselves prevented by some such wholesome superstition.

There is also a paper written by Mr. James Prinsep, a famous antiquarian of Calcutta; who said that several enquiries had been made about the inscription, and that he had made numerous attempts to procure a copy from some of the visitors to Singapore either for amusement or for their health. This paper was published in 1837, and says that Dr. William Bland of H.M.S. *Wolf* had at last made a facsimile of all that remained in any way perceptible on the rocky fragment. It was a rock, Dr. Bland wrote, of coarse red sandstone about ten feet high, two to five feet thick and nine or ten feet in length. The surface was an irregular square, with a space of about thirty-two square feet with a raised edge all round. There had been about fifty lines of inscription, the greater part illegible. He says he made frequent pilgrimages to the rock, and describes how he made as accurate a copy as possible of the marks on the stone. Eleven years afterwards there is another paper, which says that Dr. Montgomerie having mentioned that the rock had been blasted, application was made from Bengal to the Governor to send any legible fragments that might still exist, and he replied: "The only remaining portion of the stone you mention, except what Colonel Low may have, I have found lying in the verandah of the Treasury at Singapore, where it was used as a seat by the Sepoy guard and persons waiting to transact business. I lost no time in sending it to my house, but alas, not before the inscription was nearly erased. Such as the fragment was then however it is now, for I have preserved the stone with much care, and shall have pleasure in sending it for your museum, having failed to establish one, as I hoped to have done, in Singapore."

Governor Butterworth having sent the seat of the Sepoy guard to Calcutta, a Mr. J. W. Laidlaw writes a paper about it, and also about

three other pieces sent by Colonel Low, and he explains what he did to try to make the characters legible enough to be copied. It shows from the various accounts that Abdulla's quaint description of the various "curious devices" was correct. Some tried with "well made and soft dough"; and by observing the shadows thrown into the letters when "the sun was descending into the west"; others by painting the stone exactly over with white lead; others by strewing over the stone finely powdered charcoal (animal being better than vegetable as being specifically heavier!) and then sweeping it gently to and fro with a feather. Raffles had tried acid, but this, one remarked, was quite useless, as it could have no effect on such stone. As one reads all this, one cannot help remembering the famous antiquity which Mr. Pickwick discovered at Cobham.

Colonel Low wrote that he was an unwilling and pained witness of the demolition of that memorial of long past ages, his petition to have it spared being met by the reply that it was in the way of some projected Bungalow. On the explosion taking place he had crossed the river from his office, and selected such fragments as had letters on them. The Governor, Mr. Bonham, sent to ask him to preserve a piece for him, and this was the portion sent by Colonel Butterworth to Calcutta. As the fragments were very bulky, Low had them, at considerable cost, gradually chiselled by Chinese into the shape of slabs, which were still ponderous. He presented them to the Society in Bengal. It seemed to him that the inscription might probably date from an early century of the Christian era. He had consulted Buddhist priests without success, as he found he knew as much as they did, being, as he says, a sadly ignorant set. There are drawings of the inscriptions on the three pieces of stone sent to Calcutta by him, and the conclusion in Bengal was a conjecture that the inscription was a record of some Javanese triumph at a period anterior to the conversion of the Malays to Mohammedanism.

Mr. W. H. Read writes: "I remember a large block of the rock at the corner of Government House, where Fort Canning is now; but during the absence of the Governor at Penang on one occasion the convicts requiring stone to replace the road, chipped up the valuable relic of antiquity, and thus all trace of our past history was lost. It was destroyed when the sea-wall was built round Fort Fullerton, where the Club, Post Office, and Master Attendant's Office now are. It used to be decorated with flags and offerings when at the entrance of the Singapore river. The immediate consequence of the removal of the stone, an act of vandalism, was the silting up of the river. I have been told that an inscription in similar characters, which I always understood were "cuneiform," still exists (1884) in the Carimon Islands."

If the story of Mr. Badang is true, we see there were sports on the Esplanade about six hundred and fifty years ago, which is the time when Badang is said to have lived.

CHAPTER IX.

1823.

ON 23rd January, Sir Stamford wrote to the Duchess of Somerset and Mr. Marsden about his house. He said he had had another very severe attack in his head in December, which nearly proved fatal, and the doctors were for hurrying him on board ship for Europe without much ceremony. However, as he could not reconcile himself to become food for fishes, he preferred ascending the hill of Singapore where his bones, if they remained in the East, would have the honour of mixing with the ashes of the Malayan Kings; and the result was that he had almost entirely recovered. He went on to say that he had built a very comfortable house, a small bungalow, on the hill, sufficient to accommodate his sister's family as well as his own, where, though the height was inconsiderable, he found a great difference of climate. Nothing could be more interesting and beautiful than the view, and the tombs of the Malay Kings were close at hand. He said the house which was one hundred feet in front and fifty feet deep was finished in a fortnight from its commencement.

This was the first Government House, and it occupied the site until 1859, when Fort Canning was made, and Government House was moved to the large house called Leonie Hill in Grange Road, rented from Mr. Campbell of Martin Dyce & Co., which was used until the present Government House was ready for occupation in 1869. In 1826 the cost of the house stood in the books as $916, but there is a note that Mr. Crawfurd had improved and enlarged it at his own expense; he having received $150 a month for house allowance in 1823, pending reference to Calcutta as to building a suitable house for the chief authority. In Captain Begbie's book there is a description of the first house in 1833. He says that it was a neat wooden bungalow with venetians and attap roof; and consisted of two parallel halls with front and back verandahs, terminated by two square wings which comprised the sleeping apartments. It seems probable that the centre part he speaks of was the original house of Raffles, more substantially constructed, which became the drawing and dining rooms, with the long verandahs at back and front, and that the wings were built on to it to provide sleeping apartments. It has always been a matter of tradition that Lord Elgin walked up and down all night on the long front verandah of the centre building, and decided in the morning to divert the troops going to China, and to send them to Calcutta on the rumour of the Mutiny having broken out in India, as will be related hereafter.

Begbie says that the drive up the hill in those days was exceedingly romantic, a spiral carriage road winding up the hill, and fresh beauties attracting the eye at each progressive step. Eminences, undulating above each other, displaying broad patches, either cleared for cultivation or shining in the bright green livery of clove plantations,

or yielding a prospect of inviting coolness by the forest clumps with which they were chequered. Standing on the hill at the present time, in front of the fort and looking towards the sea, the town extends for some miles on either side at its base and round the back of the hill, while the hills that Captain Begbie spoke of are cleared and dotted with houses for several miles in each direction.

In January Raffles wrote to Calcutta requesting to be relieved, as he intended to go to England, and he suggested that a Resident should be appointed and Singapore placed under Bengal.

The European burial ground had been placed just in front of the Government bungalow, so a better place was looked for, and the present site of the old burial ground (which was used until 1865 when that in Bukit Timah Road was opened) was selected. Very few persons ever visit the old Cemetery now, and yet there is a history to be read in the tomb-stones, which however are fast decaying and tumbling down. The inscriptions in granite are almost effaced by time, and those on plaster have all tumbled away. The names on marble plates have lasted by far the best. One of the tomb-stones of 1821 must have been moved into this Cemetery from the former one where the flagstaff is now.

The license fund had been established to pay the police and other similar local charges. The Sultan and Tumongong were to be paid partly by allowances and partly by the half of the port dues. When those duties were foregone they had a claim on other revenues and were paid one-third of the license fund, but in December, 1822, these were commuted with them for $500 a month. The sums intended for public buildings were paid as compensation for the houses improperly allowed by Colonel Farquhar to be built on the north bank of the river, which had been reserved by Raffles for the Residency house, Church, Police Office and other public buildings; and after the erection of these buildings the local revenue would have been sufficient to meet the expenses if the compensation had not been paid, but now this could not be done during this year. In Mr. Braddell's Notes is this memorandum of the expenses:—

6th Feb., 1819 to 30 April, 1820	Rs.	188,244
May, 1820 to 30 April, 1821		105,954
1821 to 1822		103,343

The following letter was written to the Resident on 4th February by the Governor's Secretary:—

"I have the directions of the Lieutenant-Governor to request you will take immediate measures for preventing the Chinese from continuing the practice of letting off fire works at the Kramat you have allowed to be erected on the Government hill. He regrets exceedingly that any such establishment should have been permitted by you, on a spot so close to the site which has been set apart for the residence of the chief authority, and he trusts you will see the propriety of causing the discontinuance of the nuisance. The Lieutenant-Governor desires me to state that he was disturbed during the whole of last night by the nuisance complained of. I am at the same time directed to request you will cause the removal of

the Chinese moveable temple and lights from the great tree near the lines and which is included within the space proposed to be reserved for the Church."

On the 18th February, the Goa Island signal post was directed to be removed to St. John's Island, which was cleared for the flagstaff station, and might afterwards be required for a lighthouse. Goa Island is to the eastward of St. John's.

The first sale of lands on the Salat road, south of Scott's Hill, in lots of 50 to 200 acres for cultivation, was made on the 23rd February.

In February, the committee (Messrs. Davis, Bonham and Johnston) on the subject of the town, spoken of in the last chapter, was dissolved with the warm thanks of Raffles, and their duties were made over to the first Magistrates, who were then appointed. Sir Stamford nominated them under Regulation No. 3 of 1823, by which they had the same powers as Justices of the Peace in England. The commission ran thus, after setting out the title of Sir Stamford and the authority under which it was issued: "And I do hereby order, require, and command all persons now resident or who may hereafter come within the jurisdiction of Singapore to show due respect and obedience to A. L. Johnston, John Argyle Maxwell [merchants], David S. Napier [Napier and Scott], A. F. Morgan, John Purvis, Alexander Guthrie, Graham Mackenzie [merchants], William Montgomerie [the Residency Assistant Surgeon], Charles Scott [Napier and Scott], John Morgan [merchant], Christopher Rideout Read [A. L. Johnston & Co.], Andrew Hay [A. L. Johnston & Co.], in the execution of the duties of their office accordingly." The explanations in the brackets are, of course, inserted now. These gentlemen were appointed for the year 1823, and the Resident had authority to appoint others annually on the 1st of January in each year; the commission was to remain in force until the establishment of a regular Court of Judicature.

Two of these Magistrates were to sit with the Resident in Court, to decide in civil and criminal cases, and two were to act in rotation each week for the minor duties of this office. Juries were to consist either of five Europeans, or four Europeans and three respectable natives. The Resident's court was to assemble once a week; the Magistrate's twice, but their office was to be open daily. Gambling and cock-fighting were strictly prohibited.

On the 11th March, Colonel Farquhar was severely stabbed by an Arab named Syed Yassin, who ran amok. On that morning, Syed Omar, who has been spoken of before, had sued Syed Yassin for the value of some goods he had sold to him; for Syed Yassin was a native of Pahang and traded between there and Singapore. Colonel Farquhar gave judgment for Syed Omar for $1,400, and Syed Yassin said he had not the money to pay. Syed Omar replied that he had the money, but would not pay, and Colonel Farquhar said that he must either pay, or give proper security, or go to jail, for imprisonment for debt was, of course, then in force.

The imprisonment of a Syed (or Holy man) was an insult to a descendant of the Prophet which could not be wiped out, as Syed Yassin thought, and he planned his revenge, as we shall see, in an artful way. He was taken to the jail, which was near the present

Public Offices by the river side, near the mouth of the river, about two o'clock, and no one thought of searching him; but he had hidden his kris inside his coat. About five o'clock he asked Mr. Fred. James Bernard, the Magistrate, to allow him to see Syed Omar, and try to prevail on him to give him time to pay. Syed Omar lived in High Street, on the same side as the present Court House, and Mr. Alexander Guthrie lived opposite in a house in a compound on the other side of the road, behind where the Hotel de l'Europe is now. Mr. Bernard allowed it, and sent a Hindoo peon in charge of him, for which he was afterwards blamed by Sir Stamford.

It was getting dark when Syed Yassin entered the compound of Syed Omar's house to kill him. The peon stopped at the outer gate, and when Syed Omar saw Syed Yassin coming in, he guessed his intention from his countenance, and ran out of the back door and along the river to Colonel Farquhar's house, which was near where the present Cricket Pavilion is, and told him that Syed Yassin had rushed at him at his house with a drawn kris. Colonel Farquhar, who was certainly a brave man, took up his stick, and went out to Syed Omar's house. In the meantime, the peon finding that Syed Yassin did not come out, called to him to come away, as it was getting dark; and Syed Yassin went to the gate and stabbed the peon, who fell down dead at his feet. He then went back again into the house to look for Syed Omar, but did not find him as he had run to the Colonel's.

Just at this time Abdulla, the Moonshi, was on his way to Mr. John Morgan's house to give him a lesson in Malay, and he met the Colonel and his son Andrew and Captain Davis who commanded the Sepoys, who was followed by four of his men with their muskets, and another Sepoy carrying a pole. The Colonel asked Abdulla where he was going; and then said he had better not go to Mr. Morgan's, as there was a man running amok at Syed Omar's house; so Abdulla went with the party. They all went into the compound, in the centre of which, in the front of the house, was the usual square place, where natives used to sit and talk, called the *balei*. The Colonel walked round the compound and into the house several times, but saw no one; for the murderer when he saw them approaching, had hidden under the *balei*, which was in the dark, being surrounded by mangosteen trees.

Colonel Farquhar walked away from the house for some little distance (as far as the bridge, where Elgin bridge is now) and then he went back to the house. When he reached the centre of the lawn he went up to the *balei* and pushed about with his stick underneath it, when Syed Yassin suddenly made a crouching spring at him and stabbed him in the chest, the blood from the wound quickly covering his coat and shirt. Abdulla and Andrew Farquhar ran up and supported him, and the latter having a sword in his hand cut Syed Yassin's mouth right through to his ear, and the Sepoys seeing this thrust him through with their bayonets. Captain Davis rushed off to the Sepoy Lines, near where the Cathedral is now, and soon afterwards returned with the Sepoys, without uniforms, some with only a cloth on, but all carrying their arms in their hands, and dragging several cannon which were loaded and primed and drawn up opposite the Tumongong's fence which was higher up the river.

The Colonel could not walk from loss of blood, so his son and Abdulla, and the Sepoy who had carried the pole, supported him into Mr. Guthrie's house opposite, and laid him on a sofa. Dr. Montgomerie soon came running in; he examined the wound, and told the Colonel's daughters that it was not very serious, as it was luckily not more than a bad flesh wound, so he bound it up, and told the people, who were in a great consternation, that it was not so serious as had been thought. A crowd of Europeans and Natives had assembled round Syed Omar's house. There was no moon that evening, and the occurrence happening after dark, the natives brought torches and candles, and very few persons knowing what the cause of the disturbance was, hastened to the place, numbers from the other side of the river coming across it. Not a single Malay was to be seen, as they had all been chased away by the Sepoys.

The general impression among the Europeans was that the Tumongong's followers had stabbed the Resident, and in order to understand what followed, we must remember that the Settlement was only just four years old, and there was a very small number of Europeans in the midst of a native community of some ten thousand persons, and that it occurred, suddenly, after dark. Sir Stamford Raffles came in his carriage, and in great haste ran into the Colonel's house, and finding that he was not killed, as he had been told he was, took up a candle and went to see the body of Syed Yassin.

Just at this time, a person going with a torch into Syed Omar's compound, stumbled over the dead body of the Hindoo peon, and then a fresh hubbub arose. Sir Stamford, who seems to have been (as Mr. Thomson remarks in his book) the only person who kept his wits about him, asked who Syed Yassin was, but his body by this time was so cut about by the infuriated people that it could not be recognised. Captain Davis had laid the guns on the Tumongong's quarters, but the Malays had all run away across the river, and he asked Raffles to let him fire into the kampong, but Sir Stamford told him to wait until he found out what it was all about. Mr. Bernard came up then, and when he saw the dead peon's body he remembered that he had sent him with Syed Yassin; and the other body was recognised as that of the Syed. It soon became clear that it was Syed Yassin that had stabbed Colonel Farquhar and not the Tumongong's people, and so things quieted down. When the people had cleared away, they carried the Colonel in a carriage to his own house, and Raffles ordered Captain Davis to take back the cannons and the Sepoys to the cantonment. Four of the convicts came and tied a rope to Syed Yassin's feet, and dragged the corpse to the centre of the plain. Raffles then ordered a blacksmith to be called, and when he came with three others, he scored on the sand a thing in the shape of a box, to be made of iron bars like a cage, about the height of a man, and said it must be made that night and brought by seven in the morning.

The next morning Sir Stamford went to the Colonel's house, and the Sultan and Tumongong and their chiefs came, and all the Europeans. The natives were called, and it was decided that the corpse should be sent round the town, in a buffalo cart, and the gong

beaten to tell the people what he had done; and after that hung up in the iron cage at Tanjong Malang now known as Teluk Ayer point, on a mast; which was done, and it remained there for a fortnight. On the 14th March, Raffles published a proclamation stating that the Sultan in the name of the Malays had requested pardon of the King of England and the body was allowed to be removed, but all must take notice that amokers would be hung in chains and their bodies given to the winds. The body was then buried at Tanjong Paggar, where the result of the proceedings was (which Sir Stamford did not anticipate) that it became a place of pilgrimage, and Syed Yassin was considered a great saint, because the holy Syed had only killed a Fakir (the Hindoo) and wounded a Nazarene (Colonel Farquhar).

By one of those coincidences that all experience occasionally, the following passage was found in a little book that reached Singapore after the first sheets of this book were in the press. It is a little book published by Dent & Co., London, in 1901, called *The Story of Perugia*, written by Margaret Symons and Lina Duff Gordon, as one of the guide books to the old towns of Umbria:—"The street which runs from the *Piazza* down into the *Via dei Priori* is still called the *Via Della Gabbia* because of the large iron cage which used to hang above it from the upper windows of the palace. In this cage the Perugians were want to imprison thieves and other malefactors. * * * In 1442 we read of a sacrilegious robber, 'who was put into a round cage, and with a cord he was dragged up into a corner wall of the Palace of the Podesta, and there he remained for two days, and in the night he was put into prison; and in the loggia of that palace twelve sacks of the stolen goods were stored and round that cage there was a garland of false keys * * * and on the 28th January the said Angelo was again put back into the cage at midday, and it was very cold and there was much snow, and he remained there till the first day of February, both night and day, and that same day he was brought out dead and laid upon his bier on the Piazza, and he was buried in the passage of San Lorenzo which leads into the cloister.'" An interesting story of medieval times in the old-world town of Italy, and if it was not a custom that was known in other towns, is it possible that Sir Stamford may have heard of the cage at Perugia?

This was the first *amok* we have any record of here. They are now rare, although in former times, and not very long ago, they were frequent enough. Mr. Thomson mentions the cases of two of the Dutch Governors of Bencoolen, and a Dutch Admiral, and of Lord Mayo at the Andamans, and Chief Justice Norman at Calcutta, as remarkable instances of what we know as amok, but the last two were rather murders of an individual than amok.

Mr. John Crawfurd says that the word in which the k at the end is mute and is pronounced by the Malays *amo*, means a desperate and furious charge or onset, either of an individual or body of men. The charge of the English at Waterloo, or the French over the bridge at Lodi would be considered, he says, by a Malay as illustrious *pengamoks*. Dr. Johnson in his Dictionary says he "knows not from what derivation the word is made to mean to run madly and attack all he meets." Crawfurd says it is the result of a sudden and violent emotion wholly

unpremeditated, and is most frequent among the Bugis (4 Logan's Journal, 184). There is a paper on the subject (3 Logan's Journal, 532) by Dr. Oxley, who had great experience. He says that there are instances which require discrimination to prevent irresponsible persons suffering the penalty of the injured law. And that he had found cases where the monomaniac was suffering from some gastric disease or troublesome ulcer, and these fearful ebullitions broke out on some exacerbation of the disorder. Their friends said they generally appeared melancholy a few days before the outbreak; and that monomania among the Malays almost invariably took this terrible form. He said three-fourths of the cases he had seen were by Bugis. There is another paper in the same volume without the writer's name (p. 463) in which the amok is said to be the act of a monomaniac, and the mental condition is quite inconsistent with a regard for consequences; the pleasures of life have no attractions, and its pains no dread; the man being reduced to the gloomy despair and inward rage of the *pengamok*.*

The first step therefore for the suppression of amoks was the abolition of the habit of carrying weapons by causing the Malays to trust for protection to the Government, for there was no security that if subjected to misfortune, insult, or oppression, an amok would not result. In those days when a Malay of Singapore could not go in his boat to the back of the island, to Johore or over to Siak, without a risk of being robbed and killed by pirates, he could not go unarmed; and of a hundred murders in Singapore in those days very few of the perpetrators were apprehended. The same article questions whether justice which seems to closely resemble revenge is advisable, and Mr. Thomson speaking of the hanging of Syed Yassin's body in the cage, expresses the same opinion. The case that is often mentioned on this subject occurred in Penang, and the judgment has been mentioned lately in a book on matters connected with the Native States. As the judgment of Sir William Norris is given in full in the same volume of Logan's Journal, it may be interesting to reprint it here. It reads somewhat curiously half-a-century later.

The case occurred on the 8th July, 1846, when a respectable house-builder in Penang ran amok in Chuliah Street and Penang Road, and killed an old Hindu woman, a Kling man, a Chinese boy and a Kling girl of three years old in the arms of her father, and wounded two Hindus, three Klings, and two Chinese, only two of whom survived. The witnesses said that after the recent loss of his wife and child he would not drink or smoke, and they thought he was mad. He said to the jury that he did not know what he was about, but as the jury said he had committed so many murders he supposed it must have been so. The amok took place on the 8th, the trial on the 13th, and the execution on the 15th July; all within eight days. It is said that amoks, which had been frequent in Penang, became almost unknown there afterwards, so that if one of the principal objects of punishment is the prevention of crime by others, it succeeded in its object. Still it seems somewhat pitiful in the light of Dr. Oxley and Mr. Thomson's remarks and the prisoner's statement.

* *Amok*; *mengamo'* to run amuck; *pengamo'* the person who runs amuck.

It is quite certain, however, that the interpreter could never have interpreted such a homily, and that the prisoner and the natives in Court never understood what it was all about*; and if the days for such a sermon from the Bench have not yet passed away, they are certain do so in the light of advancing intelligence.

The judgment was as follows :—

"Sunan, you stand convicted on the clearest evidence of the wilful murder of Pakir Sah on Wednesday last and it appears that on the same occasion you stabbed no less than ten other unfortunate persons, only two of whom are at present surviving. It now becomes my duty to pass upon you the last sentence of the law. I can scarcely call it a painful duty, for the blood of your innocent victims cries aloud for vengeance and both justice and humanity would be shocked were you permitted to escape the infamy of a public execution. God Almighty alone, the great 'searcher of hearts,' can tell precisely what passed in that wretched heart of yours before and at the time when you committed these atrocious deeds; nor is it necessary for the ends of justice that we should perfectly comprehend the morbid views and turbulent passions by which you must have been actuated. It is enough for us to know that you, like all other murderers, 'had not the fear of God before your eyes,' and that you acted 'of malice afore-thought and by the instigation of the devil' himself, who was 'a murderer from the beginning.' But all the atrocities you have committed are of a peculiar character and such as are never perpetrated by Christians, Hindoos, Chinese, or any other class than Mahomedans, especially Malays, among whom they are frightfully common, and may therefore be justly branded by way of infamous distinction, as *Mahomedan Murders*. I think it right, therefore, seeing so great a concourse of Mahomedans in and about the Court, to take this opportunity of endeavouring to disabuse their minds and your own of any false notions of courage, heroism, or self devotion which Mahomedans possibly, but Mahomedans alone of all mankind, can ever attach to such base, cowardly and brutal murders; notions which none but the devil himself, 'the father of lies,' could ever have inspired. But if such false, execrable and dangerous delusions really are entertained by any man or body of men whatever, it may be as well to show from the gloomy workings of your mind, so far as circumstances have revealed them, that not a particle of manly courage or heroism could have animated you, or can ever animate any man who lifts his cowardly hand against helpless women and children. You had lately, it seems, been greatly afflicted by the sudden deaths of your wife and only child, and God forbid that I should needlessly harrow up your feelings by reverting to the subject. I do so merely because it serves in some degree to explain the dreadful tragedy for which you are now about to answer with your life. Unable or unwilling to submit with patience to the affliction with which it had pleased God to visit you, you abandoned yourself to discontent and despair, until shortly before the bloody transaction, when you went to the mosque to pray!!—to pray to whom or to what? Not to senseless Idols of wood or stone which Christians and Mahomedans equally abominate—but to the one omniscient, almighty, and all merciful God in whom alone Christians and Mahomedans profess to believe! But in what spirit did you pray, if you prayed at all? Did you pray for resignation or ability to 'humble yourself under the mighty hand of God'? Impossible. You may have gone to curse in your heart and gnash with your teeth, but certainly not to pray, whatever unmeaning sentences of the Koran may have issued from your lips. Doubtless you entered the Mosque with a heart full of haughty pride, anger and rebellion against your Maker, and no wonder that you sallied forth again overflowing with hatred and malice against your innocent fellow-creatures; no wonder that, when thus abandoned to the devil, you stabbed with equal cruelty, cowardice and ferocity, unarmed and helpless men, women and children, who had never injured, never known, probably never seen you before.

* There is an old story that in Malacca after a long moral discourse by the Judge, it was interpreted as "*Suda Sala, gantong besok*" (you are guilty, and will be hung to-morrow). The Judge asked the interpreter whether he had explained it all, and being told that it was all right, seemed very much surprised at the brevity of the Malay language.

Such are the murders which Mahomedans alone have been found capable of committing. Not that I mean to brand Mahomedans in general as worse than all other men, far from it; I believe there are many good men among them,—as good as men can be who are ignorant of the only true religion. I merely state the fact that such atrocities disgrace no other creed, let the Mahomedans account for the fact as they may. But whatever may be the true explanation; whether these fiendish excesses are the result of fanaticism, superstition, overweening pride or ungovernable rage, or, which is probable, of all combined, public justice demands that the perpetrators should be visited with the severest and most disgraceful punishment which the law can inflict.

The sentence of the Court therefore is, that you, Sunan, be remanded to the place from whence you came, and that on the morning of Wednesday next you be drawn from thence on a hurdle to the place of execution, and there hanged by the neck until you are dead. Your body will then be handed over to the surgeons for dissection, and your mangled limbs, instead of being restored to your friends for decent interment, will be cast into the sea, thrown into a ditch, or scattered on the earth at the discretion of the Sheriff. And may God Almighty have mercy on your miserable soul!"

Among some very old papers collected by Mr. Braddell is a translation of the proceedings held in Dutch on the trial for amok at Malacca in 1803 of a man called Tjin Tjay, described as a slave. It is mentioned here to show how the Dutch dealt with the case. The prisoner said he was despairing, so he took a parang and cut at the Chinese woman and her children, and appeared very indifferent to the proceedings. The record shows that the trial was held before "De Groot, President, and other members of the College of Justice." The English had been in possession of Malacca since 1795, but the law of Holland continued to be administered, and was carried on as usual by the Dutch authorities in the name of their High Mightinesses (see Newbold p. 126 and 151). In a despatch by Mr. Crawfurd at Singapore, written on 13th November, 1824, he spoke of this, and said "Under our administration at Malacca which lasted upwards of twenty years matters were kept as much Dutch as possible, Dutch laws having been strictly administered by the same Court of Justice of three judges with salaries of 60 to 100 guilders a piece!" The note of exclamation is Mr. Crawfurd's.

The record ends, "Wherefore it is resolved that the prisoner be carried to the place of execution, and there being delivered over to the executioner he be bound to a cross and suffer until death, and that afterwards his body be taken down and exposed as a prey to the birds of the air." This was confirmed six days afterwards at an Extraordinary Meeting of the Court "on the part of their High Mightinesses the States" which recommended that the sentence be addressed to Colonel Taylor, who was the English Resident who was succeeded by Major Farquhar.

CHAPTER X.

1823—*Continued.*

ON the 14th March, a location was given to the Sultan as follows:—To the east of the European town and lying between Rochore river and the sea; measuring in front along Beach Road 731 feet; at back of Chuliah Campong and along Rochore river about 1,200 feet; in depth from Beach Road to Rochore river 2,100 feet. Estimated to contain 56 acres. To the Tumongong was allotted a space of 6,000 feet along the Beach from Tanjong Pagar to Teluk Blangah and 1,200 feet deep. Estimated to contain 200 acres.

On the 1st April, a meeting was held about the founding of the building to be called "The Institution," which afterwards was called the Raffles Institution. The whole subject is dealt with in a subsequent chapter.

In April, in consequence of the scarcity of labour, the local convicts were ordered to work on the roads.

On the 1st day of May, Sir Stamford and Colonel Farquhar fell out, and the former deposed the Resident from his authority. It seems that the Colonel understood that the accounts were to be sent by him direct to Bengal, instead of to Bencoolen as had been the case. To this Raffles objected, and the Resident finding the control of Raffles unpleasant, became contumacious, and called upon Raffles, who was Lieutenant-Governor, to shew his authority for sitting in the Court of Justice, and refused to obey his orders. Raffles could not stand this, and took over charge of the civil duties of the station himself. Mr. Braddell in a pencil note says that Colonel Farquhar was summarily removed by an official notification intimating that his resignation, sent in as far back as 23rd October, 1820, had been accepted. In a copy of a letter in Mr. Guthrie's letter book, addressed to his partner, Captain Harrington, at Malacca, dated 2nd May, Mr. Guthrie said that on the previous day Colonel Farquhar had been deposed by Sir Stamford; he gave no reason, as Harrington was probably aware of what had been going on. The Resident had a party led by Mr. Queiros, who was agent for Palmer & Co. of Calcutta, the agents of the Dutch, against whose authority Raffles' most strenuous opposition had been carried on for years. On 23rd June, in a despatch to Calcutta, Raffles said: "It is impossible not to respect Mr. Palmer as an individual, but it is to be recollected that he is now the avowed agent of the Netherlands Government in these seas, and that it is very possible his mercantile interests may frequently be at variance with the principles which an enlightened government may wish to adopt in its dependencies."

On the 11th January Raffles had written to Calcutta that he requested to be relieved on account of bad health, but that if the two offices of Resident at Singapore and Governor General's Agent in

Eastern Seas were to be united, he would not leave Singapore till he could transfer charge to a more competent successor than Lieutenant-Colonel Farquhar, in whom he had little confidence. On the 27th January he wrote again, saying that he was anxious to make arrangements for his successor. "I feel myself called upon to state in general terms that I consider Colonel Farquhar to be totally unequal to the charge of so important and peculiar a charge as that of Singapore has now become. However competent that officer may have been for the charge in the earlier stage of the Settlement, it is obvious that it has for some time past grown beyond his management, and that he neither entertains such general views nor can enter upon those principles of general government which now mark the character of the British Indian Administration. Having passed nearly the whole of his public life in the Dutch Settlement of Malacca his views are confined to his experience at that place, where the duties were insignificant, and where, from long neglect of the higher authorities, little like regular government existed except in the forms of a Dutch Court and the partial continuance of regulations established in the plenitude of the Dutch monopoly. The circumstances of Singapore are perfectly incompatible with these, and the consequence is confusion and general dissatisfaction. The Malay connection in which Lieut.-Col. Farquhar is involved, and the general weakness of his administration afford an opening for such an undue combination of peculiar interests, as not only to impede the progress of order and regularity, but may lay the foundation of future inconvenience which it may hereafter be difficult to overcome." The letter then goes on to complain that under the weak and inconsistent rule of Colonel Farquhar, favouritism and irregularities were daily arising and, now that the Settlement was growing larger, would be inconvenient if not checked, and therefore asked that on his (Raffles) approaching departure a more competent officer should be appointed to succeed as Resident. He added that he had formerly said that he might remain in the East till 1822, but that time had passed and there was still no prospect of any final arrangement being arrived at in England about Singapore. The result was that Mr. John Crawfurd was appointed Resident, and Singapore was placed directly under Bengal.

In a letter written at Bencoolen in November (Memoirs, page 555) Raffles wrote, "I had only one object in view, the interests of Singapore, and if a brother had been opposed to them I must have acted as I did towards Colonel Farquhar, for whom I ever had, and still retain a warm personal affection and regard. I upheld him as long as I could, and many were the sacrifices I made to prevent a rupture. In Mr. Boulger's book at page 357 will be found a long letter by Raffles to the Court of Directors on the subject.

Captain Davis married one of the daughters of Colonel Farquhar; Mr. Bernard married another; and Mr. W. R. George, who was so very well known in Singapore, and died here in 1873, at the age of 77 years, married another. Major-General Farquhar died in Perth, in Scotland, on the 13th May, 1839, in his sixty-ninth year.

The system of slavery and slave-debtors prevailed in Singapore and Malacca to some extent at this time. The former was abolished

by Raffles in 1823; who carried into effect the provisions of the Act of Parliament for the abolition of slavery, and considerably modified the system of slave-debtors. The claim of the creditor was in no case to be considered to exceed the services of the debtor for a period of five years, the debt being considered as worked out at the rate of one-fifth each year. The Magistrates made a presentment against the whole system of slave-master and slave-debtors on the 7th March, and Raffles acted upon it at once, the regulation being dated 1st May, 1823. It may be found at length in the appendix to Sir Stamford's Memoirs. The gaming licenses were stopped in May, the Magistrates having in a memorial of the 9th April strongly objected to their continuance. On the 17th May, $250 were given to the Rev. Mr. Thompson from the License Fund towards building a Malay Chapel.

In May the Java Government renewed its complaints and carried on a correspondence with the British Indian Government in such a tone that that authority declined entering further into the matter. The Dutch complained that Raffles had allowed the British flag to be hoisted on the mainland at Johore. Sir Stamford had done so on the requisition of the natives because Tunku Jaffar in the name of Sultan Abdul Rahman, at the instigation of the Dutch, had sent a party to take possession of the mainland of Johore. Without the English influence Sultan Hoossain would have been quite unable to hold the mainland, and Raffles thought it politic to allow its nominal use. The Calcutta Government in a letter dated 21st May, 1824, did not approve of this, but said that the subsequent measures of the Dutch Government deprived them of all right to apology. With the light of future events it is evident that Raffles did a very wise thing. The Dutch got possession of the regalia of Johore when the Governor of Malacca and a Dutch gentleman of influence went to Pulo Peningat, and after trying persuasion in vain, are said to have marched a body of soldiers with loaded arms into the chamber of Tunku Putri, and to have taken the regalia by actual force.

In June, Raffles was making preparations for leaving Singapore for the last time, and he made a fresh agreement with the Sultan and Tumongong. The Sultan was to receive $1,500, and the Tumongong $800, monthly. The whole island of Singapore (with the exception of the land appropriated to the chiefs) and the islands immediately adjacent to be at the entire disposal of the British. The following is a translation of the arrangement, the Straits Government printed copy of which says it has no date but was concluded about the beginning of June. In a despatch from Calcutta of 16th August, 1823, it speaks of the convention of 7th June, 1823, which unquestionably refers to this document and a letter of Raffles also mentions that date. The original counterpart has been found in Johore. It is in Malay only, has no date, and is on one side of a large piece of foolscap paper:—

Their Highnesses the Sultan and Tumongong having solicited that the Lieutenant Governor would, previous to his departure, lay down such general rules for their guidance as may be most conducive to the general interests of Singapore, and at the same time serve to define the rights of all parties, that there may be no

dispute hereafter: The following rules are laid down by the Lieutenant-Governor, and concurred in by their Highnesses, to form the basis of the good understanding to be maintained in future:—

1st. In order to contribute to the personal comfort and respectability of their Highnesses, and at the same time to afford them an ample and liberal compensation for any advantage either expected or foregone by them, on account of port duties, tribute, or profits on monopolies, which are found to be inconsistent, and at variance with the principles maintained by the British Government, their Highnesses are, from the 1st instant, to receive a monthly payment, His Highness the Sultan of 1,500 dollars, and His Highness the Tumongong 800 dollars per month, on the following conditions:—

2nd. Their Highnesses to forego all right and claim to the monopoly of Kranjee and Baloo wood within Singapore, and the islets immediately adjacent, as well as all claims to presents and customs upon Chinese junks and Chinese generally coming and going.

3rd. With the exception of the land appropriated to their Highnesses for their respective establishments, all land within the island of Singapore, and islands immediately adjacent, to be at the entire disposal of the British Government.

4th. As a further accommodation to their Highnesses, the Resident will be authorized to advance such further sums of money as may be sufficient for the completion of a respectable mosque near the dwelling of His Highness the Sultan, and also to assist His Highness the Tumongong in removing and establishing himself on the ground recently selected by him.

5th. Under these arrangements their Highnesses will be relieved from further personal attendance at the court on every Monday, but they will always be entitled to a seat on the bench, and to all due respect when they think proper to attend.

6th. In all cases regarding the ceremonies of religion, and marriages, and the rules of inheritance, the laws and customs of the Malays will be respected, where they shall not be contrary to reason, justice, or humanity. In all other cases the laws of the British authority will be enforced with due consideration to the usages and habits of the people.

7th. The British Government do not interfere at present in the local arrangement of the countries and islands subject to their Highnesses' authority, beyond Singapore and its adjacent islets, further than to afford them general protection as heretofore.

Chop of the Sultan. T. S. RAFFLES.
Chop of the Tumungong.

The expense of the Civil Establishment when Sir Stamford left, amounted to $3,500 a month; the Resident, Mr. Crawfurd, drawing $1,400 (being salary $750, table allowance $500, and allowance for house rent $150); Mr. Bonham, the Assistant Resident, $300; Captain Flint, R.N., Master Attendant, $300; the Police Department, $450; the acting Chaplain, $100; Lieutenant Jackson for the Surveying Department, $200, which, however, was to include the establishment; and the Botanical Gardens $60; the rest was for clerks, boatmen and interpreters. In June, Raffles applied for a vessel to cruise against pirates, whose attacks on vessels he described as extremely frequent, and affording serious obstacles to native trade with Singapore.

During his last visit to Singapore, Sir Stamford had appointed committees of merchants and officials for various purposes, and had set the example of entrusting the un-official residents with a degree of power commensurate with their position in the community. In March, 1823, he wrote to Bengal: "I am satisfied that nothing has tended more to the discomfort and constant jarrings which have hitherto occurred in our remote settlements, than the policy which has dictated the exclusion of the British merchants from all share, much less credit,

in the domestic regulations of the settlement, of which they are frequently its most important members." Words on which much might be said, in commenting on the history of later years, and attention to which by men, not similarly gifted, in later times, might have saved a good deal of irritation on both sides, and materially advanced the interests of the place.

On Sir Stamford's departure, the following address was presented to him by the entire mercantile community, through Mr. Crawfurd:—

"To Sir T. S. Raffles, Lieutenant-Governor of Fort Marlborough.

"Honourable Sir, The period of your approaching and final departure is one of peculiar interest to the commercial community of this place, and we, the undersigned, members of it, gladly seize the opportunity which it affords us of indulging in the expression of those feelings towards your person, which the occasion is so well calculated to excite.

"At such a moment, we cannot be suspected of panegyric, when we advert to the distinguished advantages which the commercial interests of our nation at large, and ourselves more specially, have derived from your personal exertions. To your unwearied zeal, your vigilance, and your comprehensive views, we owe at once the foundation and maintenance of a Settlement unparalleled for the liberality of the principles on which it has been established; principles, the operation of which has converted, in a period short beyond all example, a haunt of pirates into the abode of enterprize, security and opulence.

"While we acknowledge our own peculiar obligations to you, we reflect at the same time with pride and satisfaction upon the active and beneficent means by which you have promoted and patronized the diffusion of intellectual and moral improvement, and we anticipate, with confidence, their happy influence in advancing the course of humanity and civilization.

"We cannot take leave of the author of so many benefits without emotion, or without expressing our sorrow for the loss of his protection and his society. Accept, Sir, we beseech you, without distinction of tribe or nation, the expression of our sincere respect and esteem, and be assured of the deep interest we shall ever take in your own prosperity, as well as in the happiness of those who are most tenderly related to you.

"We remain, with the deepest respect,
"Your most obedient Servants,
(Signed by the European and Native
Merchants of Singapore).

Singapore, June 5th, 1823.

To which Sir Stamford sent the following reply:—

"Gentlemen,—Mr. Crawfurd has delivered to me the address, which you have so kindly and delicately drawn up on the occasion of my departure.

"Under the peculiar circumstances of my personal connection with the establishment of Singapore, it is impossible to suppose that I can

be indifferent to any of its interests, far less to its commercial interests, of which I consider you to be the representatives.

"It has happily been consistent with the policy of Great Britain, and accordant with the principles of the East India Company, that Singapore should be established as a Free Port; that no sinister, no sordid view, no considerations either of political importance or pecuniary advantage, should interfere with the broad and liberal principles on which the British interests have been established. Monopoly and exclusive privileges, against which public opinion has long raised its voice, are here unknown, and while the Free Port of Singapore is allowed to continue and prosper, as it hitherto has done, the policy and liberality of the East India Company, by whom the Settlement was founded, and under whose protection and control it is still administered, can never be disputed.

"That Singapore will long and always remain a Free Port, and that no taxes on trade or industry will be established to check its future rise and prosperity, I can have no doubt. I am justified in saying thus much, on the authority of the Supreme Government of India, and on the authority of those who are most likely to have weight in the councils of our nation at home.

"For the public and peculiar mark of respect, which you, Gentlemen, have been desirous of shewing me on the occasion of my departure from the Settlement, I beg that you will accept my most sincere thanks. I know the feeling which dictated it, I acknowledge the delicacy with which it has been conveyed, and I prize most highly the gratifying terms to me personally in which it has been expressed.

"During my residence among you, it has afforded me the highest satisfaction to witness the prudence, the regularity, the honourable character of your proceedings, and when I quit you for other lands, I shall be proud to bear testimony in your favour, not only as your due, but as the best proof of the sure and certain result which the adoption of liberal and enlightened principles on the part of Government must always ensure.

"There are some among you, Gentlemen, who had to encounter difficulties on the first establishment of the freedom of the Port, and against whom party spirit and its concomitant, partial judgment, was allowed for a time to operate. In the commanding station in which my public duty has placed me, I have had an opportunity of, in a great measure, investigating and determining the merits of the case, and the result renders it a duty on my part, and which I perform which much satisfaction, to express my most unqualified approbation of the honourable principles which actuated the merchants of Singapore on that occasion.

"I am not aware, Gentlemen, that I have done any of you a favour, that is to say, that I have done to any man amongst you, that which I would not have done to his neighbour, or more than what my duty required of me, acting, as I have done, on the liberal and enlightened principles authorized by my superiors. My best endeavours have not been wanting to establish such principles, and to sketch such outlines, as have appeared to me necessary for the future prosperity of the Settlement, and in doing this it has been most satisfactory to me to

have found in you that ready concurrence, and at all times that steady support, which was essential to my government and authority.

"May you, Gentlemen, English and Native, and as the language of your address expresses it, without class or distinction, long continue in the honourable and distinguished course which you have so happily commenced, and may the principles which you respect and act upon, long distinguish you among the merchants of the East.

"I can never forget that the Singapore Institution could not have been founded without your aid. The liberal manner in which you came forward, to spare from your hard earnings so large a portion for the improvement and civilization of the surrounding tribes, and in the furtherance of general knowledge and science would at once stamp the character of the Singapore merchant, even if it did not daily come forward on more ostensible occasions.

"I am grateful for the kind expression of your personal regards to me, and those who may be dear to me; and, in return, beg you will accept my most sincere and heartfelt wishes for your health, comfort, and prosperity.

"I have the honour to be,
"Gentlemen,
"Yours most faithfully,
T. S. RAFFLES."

Singapore, June 9th, 1823.

The following resolutions of the Bengal Government show the reason for placing Singapore under that government, to which it was transferred from Bencoolen:—

Fort William, 29th March, 1823.

"The first question for consideration is the nature of the control to be exercised henceforward over the affairs of Singapore, and the proceedings of the local Resident. The arrangement under which that trust was vested in the Lieutenant-Governor of Fort Marlborough originated in the circumstances under which the settlement was founded, and the temporary convenience resulting from it will cease with the relinquishment of the charge by Sir Stamford Raffles, under whose immediate direction the settlement was established, and whose personal superintendence of it, in its early stage, therefore possessed a peculiar value.

"It would seem more naturally to fall within the range of the Government of Penang, but there are objections of a different kind to that arrangement. There is a general impression that the prosperity of Singapore must in a great degree be attended with a proportionate deterioration of Penang. As far as the information furnished by the records of the custom house at the latter place affords the means of judging, it would not appear that this has yet been the case; but there is no doubt that the feeling prevails among the inhabitants of both settlements generally, and without supposing that it reaches the Government, or that if it did, it would bias their conduct, there seems no such advantage to be contemplated in rendering Singapore dependent on Penang, as to justify the risk of injury to the interests of the

rising establishment, from the direct or incidental consequences of such an arrangement. The system of government and the principles of commercial policy prevailing at the two settlements are moreover radically different, and it is not reasonable to expect that each could be administered under the direction of a subordinate and limited authority with equal effect.

"On the occasion of relieving Sir Stamford Raffles from the Superintendence of Singapore, the Governor-General in Council deems it an act of justice to that gentleman, to record his sense of the activity, zeal, judgment, and attention to the principles prescribed for the management of the settlement, which has marked his conduct in the execution of that duty.

"On placing Mr. Crawfurd in charge of the settlement of Singapore, you will be pleased to communicate with him fully on all points, and furnish him with such instructions as you may deem necessary for carrying into effect the orders which are now communicated to you, in reply to your several despatches relative to the affairs of that settlement."

The rest of this chapter consists of the papers referring to the arrangements Sir Stamford made for establishing the constitution he spoke of in his letters in November, 1822. The greater part of them have been preserved in Mr. Braddell's Notes, but the Proclamation was sent to the Straits Branch Asiatic Society's Journal for 1891, by the late Mr. H. A. O'Brien. He was Treasurer of the Colony and found it among some old documents in the Singapore Treasury. He was apparently, unaware that it was printed at page 66 of the Appendix to Lady Raffles' book in 1830.

PROCLAMATION.

Provision having been made by Regulations Nos. III. and VI. of 1823 for the establishment of an efficient Magistracy at Singapore and for the mode in which local Regulations having the force of Law should be enacted, and by whom such Laws should be administered, it now becomes necessary to state the prineiples and objects which should be kept in view in framing such Regulations, and, as far as circumstances may admit, to apprize all parties of their respective rights and duties, in order that ignorance thereof may not hereafter be pleaded on the part of any individual or class of people.

The Lieutenant-Governor is, in consequence, induced to give publicity to the following Minute containing the leading principles and objects to be attended to:—

MINUTE BY THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR.

1. As the population of Singapore will necessarily consist of a mixture, in various proportions, of strangers from all parts of the world having commercial concerns at this Port, though chiefly of Chinese and Malays, it would be impracticable for any Judicial Authority to become perfectly acquainted with the Laws and Customs having the force of Law which are acknowledged in their own countries respectively by the varied classes of so mixed a population, and to administer them in such a manner as to preserve them inviolate even in the mutual intercourse of those classes severally amongst themselves, far more so when justice is to be done between the Englishman and Chinese, the Bugguese and Hindoo, and the like. On the other hand, to apply the law of Europe direct, with all its accumulated processes and penalties, to a people of whom more than nine-tenths will probably be natives of China and the Malay Archipelago, would be as repugnant to universal and natural justice as it would be inconsistent with the benevolence and liberality which has ever marked the British rule in India.

2. Under these circumstances, nothing seems to be left but to have recourse to first principles, to use every precaution against the existence of temptation to crime that is found consistent with the perfect liberty of those who have no evil intentions, and when these precautions fail, to secure redress to the injured party, when possible, and such punishment as will be most likely to prevent a repetition of the crime, either by the party himself offending, or by those who may be inclined to follow his example. Nothing should be endured in the Settlement, however sanctioned by the local usage of particular tribes who resort to it, that has either a direct effect, or notoriously strong tendency to endanger the safety or liberty of person or the security of property, and in the same manner no want of what are considered legal formalities in any country should debar a person from having substantial justice rendered to him, *so that legal and moral obligation may never be at variance.*

3. Taking this as the fundamental principle for the Laws of the Settlement, it may be presumed that no local Regulation would be enacted that the society if left to themselves would not desire to see carried into effect; no public institution or source of expense would exist of which the benefit was not obvious to the enlightened part at least, if not to the whole body of the community, who would therefore soon feel that the Government was not made to tyrannize over the people, but for their protection and happiness.

4. Under such a system of administration, it is not unreasonable to expect that every facility would be afforded by the mass of the population to the Executive in carrying the Laws into effect, for even the midnight robber and swindler have no desire that their own persons or property should be liable to those evils which they inflict on the rest of the community, and will readily join in their suppression when other delinquents are the objects of the terrors of the Law.

5. In carrying such a system into effect, it ought to be fully understood and maintained on all occasions, that while individuals are allowed to *protect* themselves as far as possible against wrongs, the *redress* of wrongs cannot be left to the resentment or the revenge of the parties conceiving themselves injured. That must be done solely by Government through the instrumentality of the Judicial and Executive Officers whom it appoints for that purpose.

6. No one therefore being allowed to be a judge in his own case, or to revenge his own quarrel, arms or weapons capable of inflicting instant death as habitually worn by the Malays become unnecessary, and, by dispensing with them, the greatest temptation to and power of doing to others the greatest and irremediable wrong in depriving them of life is in a great measure removed. If a man takes another's horse or cow by robbery or theft or under a mistaken idea that he has a right to the property in question, redress can be afforded to him as soon as he is convicted of his crime or discovers his error, but if from revenge or under false impressions a man is suddenly excited to take the life of a fellow creature, it is in vain that he afterwards discovers that he was misled by passion or had been deceived by appearances. It often happens too in these countries that a man who considers himself aggrieved by a particular individual and finding himself in possession of a sharp weapon, attempts the life of every one he meets indiscriminately, and without having any wrong at their hands to complain of. It is impossible to see who may or may not be guilty of such acts of inhuman cruelty, and therefore all should agree to lay aside the use of the weapon that is commonly employed by persons who then transform themselves to wild beasts by giving way to brutal passion.

7. On the same principle, it has been found by experience that those who indulge frequently in gaming and cock-fighting, are not only liable to engage in quarrels with those who have won their money, but also that they are incited to acts of fraud and robbery in order to obtain the means of amusement or of attempting to retrieve their losses; it is therefore the duty of Government to suppress both gaming and cock-fighting as far as possible without trespassing on the free will of private conduct. No man should be allowed to receive any money either directly or indirectly for conducting a gaming table or cock-pit, and winners of money at such places should be compelled to restore the amount to the losers, and should on no account be permitted to enforce payment from those with whom they have gambled on credit.

8. Intoxication being a source of personal danger to the community, and the indulgence in that vice being a frequent cause of betraying those who are addicted to it to the commission of acts of dishonesty, it is the duty of a good Magistracy to throw every obstacle in the way. In the first place the Officers of Police should be required to place in constraint any person seen in public in a state of intoxication until he becomes sober, and in the next place the vendor of intoxicating articles who supplied him with the means of inebriety, should be visited with reproof and fined, and be liable to make good the amount of any loss which the person so intoxicated can prove he suffered during his inebriety from being unable to take care of himself; the extent of this fine must necessarily be discretionary on the part of the Magistrate, depending principally on the degree of inebriety produced; it should always be of such an amount that the fear of being subject to it may be sufficient to outweigh in the mind of the vendor the temptation of profit in the sale of his goods; of course if it should appear in evidence that the individual was supplied with the means of intoxication for the purpose of taking advantage of him in that state, the object converts the simple misdemeanour into a crime according to the particular purpose contemplated, and further punishment to the guilty as well as redress to the individual injured must be awarded accordingly. The use of spirituous liquors, though innocent in moderation, becomes vicious when indulged in to excess: the consumption may be diminished by the enhancement of price: and in this way the indulgence may be made so expensive as to be only attainable beyond the bounds of moderation by those whose means give them a station in society that induces them to be guarded in their conduct for the sake of preserving the respect of those whose eyes are turned upon them; thus, while gaming as practised by the Chinese and cock-fighting by the Malays are absolutely pernicious in every degree in which they come under public cognizance, the use of opium and spirituous liquors may be repressed by exacting a heavy tax in the way of License from the vendors.

9. There are many important considerations that stand in the way of enacting laws against prostitution, indeed it would, in a country where concubinage is not forbidden, be difficult to draw a line between the concubine and the common prostitute; it is practicable however in some degree, and highly desirable, that the temptation to profit should not exist to induce the seduction of women into this course of life by others of their own sex; the unfortunate prostitute should be treated with compassion, but every obstacle should be thrown in the way of her service being a source of profit to any one but herself. It should therefore be declared unlawful for any person whatever to share the hire or wages of prostitution or to derive any profit or emolument either directly or indirectly by maintaining or procuring prostitutes, as for any parent or guardian of a female or any other person to ask or receive directly or indirectly any reward for bestowing a female in prostitution, any custom, law or usage of the country in which such female or her parents or her guardians were born notwithstanding, reserving only for a jury to advise what constitutes a legal obligation on the man to support the woman thus bestowed, or in other words a contract of marriage by local usage, and what a connection of prostitution; the penalty must be here also be modified by circumstances. It is much more criminal to induct a girl into prostitution than to facilitate her pursuit of vice after she has entered upon it as a profession.

10. It may be necessary to make specific Regulations for the protection of the community generally against fire, both with regard to the construction of buildings, the storing of gun-powder and combustibles, the manufacture of arrack, &c., &c., the power of infringing on a neighbour's property after a fire has broken out either for the purpose of access to the means of extinguishing it or to prevent its spreading to a greater distance.

11. Boatmen and parties offering themselves publicly for hire may also be subjected to regulation with the view of facilitating the attainment of redress when they are guilty of fraud and negligence.

12. Weights and measures of the acknowledged standard should be accessible to all, and those used in purchases and sales ought to be in strict conformity with such standards. Certain Magisterial Officers, therefore, should be employed to examine those used by persons who openly keep goods exposed for

sale. When found defective the person in whose behoof they are used should be liable to fine proportioned to his supposed means and the apparent degree of fraud resorted to.

13. Fraud with respect to the quality of articles is a crime more readily detected, and may be left to private prosecution. In giving redress to the individual, punishment ought to be annexed in proportion as the fraud is of an injurious nature.

14. As a great check to fraud and falsehood, a general Registry Office for all written agreements or engagements which are liable to be made the ground of dispute before a Court of Justice, should be opened for the public. Regulation should be made for the authenticity of the document in the first instance, and either party or any party interested should be entitled to a copy, paying for the same a moderate fee as a compensation for the trouble given to the Registrar and his Establishment. Precaution must of course be taken against the falsification or abstraction of such documents from the Registrar's Office. All deeds which may be so registered should have an avowed preference over one that is not so registered, unless the holder of the latter can shew a clear, distinct and satisfactory cause why he has not been able to have his deed registered and the *onus* of establishing this ought decidedly to rest on him.

15. Nuisances generally speaking may be safely left to complaint of individuals in each particular instance where the cause of nuisance is not obvious to all, or directly injurious to particular individuals, as crowding the river with vessels, &c., when it may be made subject of special regulation.

16. All house-holders should be registered and all houses numbered; auctioneers and pawnbrokers should be placed under specific regulations, and none allowed to act as such without giving security for complying with the same and taking out a license for the purpose.

17. With respect to the employment of informers, it may be observed that Magistrates must have information, but no bad passion should be elicited in the procuring of it. No temptation to lead others to vice for the sake of reward for informing, no inducement to betray confidence, and the act of giving information should be treated as a public and honourable duty.

18. Precautionary measures being taken on the above principles for preserving the peace and good order of society and removing as far as practicable the immediate temptations to crime and violence, it next becomes necessary to define what shall be considered Crimes, what lawful punishments, and how injuries shall be redressed.

19. By the constitution of England, the absolute rights of the subject are defined as follows:—

1st. "The right of personal security; which consists in a person's legal uninterrupted enjoyment of his life, his limbs, his body, his health and his reputation."

2nd. "The right of personal liberty; which consists in the power of locomotion, of changing situation or removing one's person to whatever place one's own inclination may direct, without imprisonment or restraint, unless by due course of Law."

3rdly. "The right of property; which consists in the use, enjoyment and disposal of all acquisitions without any control or diminution save only by the Laws of the Land."

20. There seems no reason for denying corresponding rights to all classes of people residing under the protection of the British Flag at Singapore, the Laws of the Land being such as are or may be enacted under the provisions of Regulation No. III. of 1823, dated the 20th January last, with such others of a more general nature as may be directed by a higher Authority or which may necessarily accrue under the provisions of the Legislature and the political circumstances of the Settlement as a Dependence of Great Britain. Admitting these rights to exist, it follows that all acts by which they are invaded are wrongs, that is to say, crimes or injuries.

21. In the enactment of Laws for securing these rights, legal obligation must never supersede or take place of or be inconsistent with or more or less onerous than moral obligation. The English practice of teaching prisoners to plead not guilty, that they may thus have a chance of escaping from punishment, is incon-

sistent with this and consequently objectionable. It is indeed right and proper that the Court should inform itself of all the circumstances of a crime from witnesses as well as from the declaration of the prisoner himself. Denial is in fact an aggravation of a crime according to every idea of common sense. It disarms punishment of one of its most beneficial objects by casting a shade of doubt over its justice.

22. The sanctity of oaths should also be more upheld than in the English Courts. This may be done by never administering them except as a *dernier resort*. If they are not frequently administered, not only will their sanction be more regarded and in this way their breach be less proportionately frequent, but of necessity much more *absolutely* uncommon and consequently much more certainly visited with due punishment in all cases of evidence given before a Court of Justice.

23. The imprisonment of an unfortunate debtor at the pleasure of the creditor, by which the services of the individual are lost to all parties, seems objectionable in this Settlement, and it is considered that the rights of property may be sufficiently protected by giving to the creditor a right to the value of the debtor's services for a limited period in no case exceeding five years, and that the debtor should only be liable to imprisonment in case of fraud, and as far as may be necessary for the security of his person in the event of his not being able to find bail during the process of the Court and for the performance of the decree after judgment may be passed.

24. It is well known that the Malay race are sensibly alive to shame, and that in many instances they would prefer death to ignominy. That is a high and honourable feeling and ought to be cherished; let great care be taken to avoid all punishments which are unnecessarily degrading. Both the Malays and Chinese are a reasoning people, and though each may reason in a way peculiar to themselves and different in some respects from our own way of reasoning, this germ of civilization should not be checked. Let no man be punished without a reason assigned. Let the principles of British Law be applied not only with mildness but with a patriachal kindness and indulgent consideration for the prejudices of each tribe as far as natural justice will allow, but also with reference to their reasoning powers however weak, and that moral principle which, however often disregarded, still exists in the consciences of all men. Let the native institutions as far as regards religious ceremonies, marriage and inheritance be respected when they may not be inconsistent with justice and humanity or injurious to the peace and morals of society.

Let all men be considered equal in the eye of the law.

Let no man be banished the country without a trial by his peers or by due course of law.

Let no man be deprived of his liberty without a cause, and no man detained in confinement beyond 48 hours without a right to demand a hearing and trial according to due course of law.

Let the people have a voice through the magistracy by which their sentiments may at all times be freely expressed.

25. In fixing a scale of punishments, the first principle to be attended to is that they should be so graduated as to attach to each particular crime its due and relative punishment according to its enormity, and with regard to the nature of the punishments they should be as mild and humane as the general security of person and property will admit. Severity of punishment defeats its own end, and the laws should in all cases be so mild that no one may be deterred from prosecuting a criminal by considerations of humanity. No feeling interferes with justice in behalf of a murderer, let this crime be punished by death, and no other. Banishment is the next in order. Solitary confinement proportioned to the degree of the offence or pertinacity of the offender in his criminal course seems the least objectionable of all sorts of punishment. Disgrace may also be a form of punishment, but much caution is required in this respect lest a too frequent enforcement of the punishment destroy the feeling which can alone make it a punishment. Personal chastisement is only for the lower orders who are incapable of feeling the shame of disgrace, and may probably be had recourse to in cases of wilful perjury where the falsehood of the witness is palpable and his object particularly mischievous. In all cases let it be considered as no less an object of the Law

to afford redress to the party injured, than to punish the offender. Compensation should in all cases, where it is possible, be made to the injured party to the extent of the means of the offender, as in the case of the Malay *Bangoon* where when the father is murdered, the family are entitled to pecuniary compensation for his loss.

T. S. RAFFLES.

With these views and principles the Lieutenant-Governor has this day transmitted to the Acting Magistrates such a graduated Scale of Crimes and Punishments as appears to him sufficient to meet the existing circumstances of the Settlement and to answer the end of substantial justice, with instructions that they will duly deliberate on the subject and after such revision as their local knowledge and experience may suggest, submit the same to the Chief Local Authority with their opinion, and in the form of a Code of Laws to be established for the Settlement and to be in force after publication by the Resident until rescinded by a higher Authority, or altered under the provisions laid down for the enactment of local Laws and Regulations.

The Magistrates have further been required to frame in the form of a Police Regulation, to be approved and published by Government, such further Regulations as may be advisable in that department.

It is to be hoped that the provisions that will be thus made will be found sufficient for the public peace and the protection of person and property until circumstances may admit of the establishment of a more regular Court of Judicature, every arrangement that can be now made being necessarily of a provisional nature.

Dated at Singapore 6th of June, 1823.

By the Lieutenant Governor of Fort Marlborough and its dependencies.

T. S. RAFFLES.

Letter of Instructions to Mr. Crawfurd on Raffles' departure.

To JOHN CRAWFURD, Esq.,
Resident of Singapore.

Sir,

Having communicated so fully with you personally, on the affairs of Singapore and our interests to the eastward, and so entirely concurring as we do in all general questions of policy relating to them, it is only necessary that in transfering to you the future administration of this Settlement, I should advert to such points of detail as may require to be particularly defined.

Pars. 2-6 Relate only to form of accounts.

7. The Governor-General in Council having authorized the appointment of a responsible assistant to the Resident, Mr. Bonham, of the Bencoolen Civil Service, has been appointed to that situation, and I trust his conduct will merit your confidence; as, however, he is a young man and cannot be expected at present to have that weight in society that so experienced and responsible an officer as Captain Murray must have, it is left to your discretion to make such temporary provisions to supply your place in case of accident, or of your leaving the settlement, as may be necessary for the public service, pending the orders of the Governor-General on the subject, it being understood that your Civil Assistant is the proper officer to supply your place when absent, if he is competent to the duty.

8. The peace of small settlements being frequently disturbed by disputes concerning rank, particularly of the ladies, I think it would be advisable for you to avoid fixing any real rank whatever. Good breeding will always pay due deference to those who have any particular claims to precedence, at the same time that it will prevent the latter from claims it may not be agreeable to others to acknowledge, and as far as the public service is concerned your particular instructions according to the occasion will define what may be necessary.

9. The proclamation of 1st January, defines the form in which all regulations of a general nature are to be drawn out, and the several provisional regulations of 1823, contain all such general laws and regulations as are now in force.

10. With regard to the allotment of ground already granted, every detailed information will be found in the office of the Registrar and Executive Officer. The last grant issued by me is No. 574.

11. The enclosed extract of the resolutions of the Governor-General in Council, will place you in possession of (the opinion of) that authority regarding the principle on which ground should in future be disposed of, and you will of course pay particular attention to the same. The advertisement of the 31st ultimo provides for the cases particularly referred to by the Supreme Government, in which I have substituted an annual quit-rent for the payment of a capital sum as purchase money. On a reference to the register of grants it appears that the quit-rents for grounds in the vicinity of the town, already amount to an annual sum exceeding 3,000 Spanish dollars, which affords a permanent interest of 5 per cent. on a capital of 60,000 Spanish dollars, and exceeds by 20,000 dollars, the amount for which these particular lots were disposed of, after deducting for these lots which were granted in lieu of others and for which no purchase money was to be exacted.

12. By the accounts of the Town Committee, just delivered, you will perceive that the amount advanced by Government as compensation for removing these houses to make room for the Commercial establishments, on the opposite side of the river, will be dollars 10,259 for the China campong and dollars 1,704 for the Chuliah campong, and enclosure No. 4 contains the plan proposed by the Town Committee for recovering those amounts for the parties who are now enjoying the benefit of it. You will adopt this or such other arrangement as you may deem most just and proper and at the same time calculated to meet the convenience of the parties.

13. With regard to the ground between the Tumongong's and the sea, you will also perceive on reference to the same accounts, that the total amount stipulated for by the Committee is 25,706¼ Ct. dollars, and that of this sum 14,756¼ has already been paid, and 10,950 remain due to the parties, exclusive of the compensation granted to Mr. Quieros, Captain Methuen and Mr. Bernard, regarding which I have addressed you in a separate letter of this date.

14. It will further be seen by the said accounts that a sum of Ct. dollars 6,305 has been stipulated by the Committee to Chinese and others removing from the beach at Campong Glam, &c., and that of this sum there remains still due dollars 4,133.50.

15. The total amount compensations sanctioned by the Committee therefore amount in the whole to Ct. dollars 43,974.50, of which sum dollars 24,886 has been already paid and dollars 19,088.50 still remain due, and for this amount of balance due, you will be pleased to make such advances from the Treasury to the License fund, as may be required from time to time in fulfilment of the engagements entered into, it being desirable that until the accounts of compensation are finally closed, the whole should stand as disbursements from the License fund as heretofore.

16. Whenever the License fund shall have satisfied all these demands, and repaid into the Treasury the amounts from time to time advanced into it, you will be pleased to receive the amount so falling due as the revenue of Government, and carry it to account in the Treasury accordingly.

17. The remaining duties to be performed by the Committee may I conceive be conducted by your assistant and the executive officer, who are well acquainted with the details.

18. The ground plan of the town and its vicinity with which you have been furnished, with the explanations which I have personally given, will have placed you fully in possession of the arrangements I have had in view in this respect, and for all further details and information, I refer you to Lieutenant Jackson, the executive officer, who fully comprehends them and will be able to give you every satisfaction.

19. In laying out the town, I particularly recommend to your attention the advantage of an early attention (not only) to the provision of ample accommodation for the public service hereafter whenever it may be required, but to the beauty, regularity and cleanliness of the settlement; the width of the different roads and streets should be fixed by authority, and as much attention paid to the general style of building as circumstances admit.

20. The only public works of importance at present in hand, are the bridges and Sepoy lines, the former is executed by contract and the latter on estimate by the executive officer.

21. For your information respecting the form to be observed in the execution of public works, I enclose copy of a letter from the Secretary to the Governor-

General in Council, in the Territorial Department, under date the 20th January last. There are other points in this letter which will deserve your attention and particularly its conclusion, where a principle is laid down of which you should never lose sight, namely, that advantages in a financial point of view "must chiefly be looked for in a careful system of economy, avoiding unnecessary expense, rather than seeking revenue to cover it."

22. Enclosure No. contains the agreement this day entered into with their Highnesses the Sultan and Tumongong, and which it is trusted will prove satisfactory to all parties. I have had reason to be much satisfied with the honest intentions of these chiefs and particularly of their attachment to our Government, and I recommend them particularly to your personal kindness and attention. There are not wanting mischievous people, however, to mislead them and you should be on your guard against these.

23. Their Highnesses the Sultan and Tumongong seem to be under some apprehension regarding the safety of Johore, Rajah Moodah of Rhio, under the direction of the Dutch authorities, having made several attempts to enforce his authority there. You are recommended to take an early opportunity of conferring with their Highnesses on the subject, and adopting such provisional arrangements for the security of the place as may be prudent, without involving us in any new question with the Dutch.

24. You are personally so well acquainted with the politics of Singapore, the nature of our term and the importance of avoiding all further clashing with the Dutch authorities, that it is unnecessary for me to give you particular instructions on this head.

25. I shall make a point of forwarding to you for record in the Resident's Office at Singapore, copies of all correspondence which has taken place with the Supreme Government respecting the settlement, and in the event of my immediate departure preventing my communicating with the Governor-General in Council the particulars of the transfer until your monthly accounts are forwarded, you will be pleased to transmit with the same to that authority a copy of the instructions now given to you, with an intimation, that it is my will to address the Governor-General in Council more fully on the subject by an early opportunity.

26. Should I have omitted any particular points, I shall hereafter communicate with you further, and in the meantime I trust the above will be sufficient for your guidance as far as concerns the immediate management of Singapore.

27. Having given you these instructions as far as regards your situation as Resident of Singapore, I am desirous also of calling your attention, on some points, to the line of policy which it appears to me advisable for you to pursue more generally in your political capacity in the Archipelago. On this subject one of the most material points is our political relations with Siam and the Malayan States alleged to be tributary to it. On this point it is incumbent upon me to state with candour that the policy hitherto pursued by us has in my opinion been founded on erroneous principles. The dependence of the tributary states in this case is founded on no national relation which connects them with the Siamese nation. These people are of opposite manners, language, religion and general interests, and the superiority maintained by the one over the other, is so remote from protection on the one side or attachment on the other, that it is but a simple exercise of capricious tyranny by the stronger party, submitted to by the weaker from the law of necessity. We have ourselves for nearly forty years been eye witnesses of the pernicious influence exercised by the Siamese over the Malayan States. During the revolution of the Siamese government these profit by its weakness, and from cultivating an intimacy with strangers, especially with ours over other European nations, they are always in a fair train of prosperity. With the settlement of the Siamese government, on the contrary, it invariably regains the exercise of its tyranny and the Malayan States are threatened, intimidated and plundered. The recent invasion of Quedah is a striking example in point, and from the information conveyed to me it would appear that that commercial seat, governed by a prince of most respectable character, long personally attached to our nation, has only been saved from a similar fate by a most unlooked for event. By the independent Malayan States, who may be supposed the best judges of this matter, it is important to observe that the connection of the tributary Malays with Siam is looked upon as a matter of simple compulsion. Fully aware

of our power and in general deeply impressed with respect for our national character, still it cannot be denied that we suffer, at the present moment, in their good opinion by withholding from them that protection from the oppression of the Siamese which it would be so easy for us to give; and the case is stronger with regard to Quedah than the rest, for here a general impression is abroad amongst them, that we refuse an assistance that we are by treaty virtually bound to give, since we entered into a treaty with that state, as an independent power, without regarding the supremacy of Siam or ever alluding to its connection for five and twenty years, after our first (establishment at Penang). The prosperity of the Settlement under your direction is so much connected with that of the Malayan nations in its neighbourhood, and this again (so much depends) upon their liberty and security from foreign oppression, that I must seriously recommend to your attention the contemplation of the probable event of their deliverance from the yoke of Siam, and your making the Supreme government immediately informed of every event which may promise to lead to that desirable result.

28. The suppression of piracy in the sea of the Archipelago is the second point to which I would call your attention. It would be extremely desirable that a general plan having this in view were put in force in conjunction with the government of Prince of Wales Island, the Dutch authorities, and the principal native independent states. Your centrical position at Singapore will afford you superior means for submitting such a plan to the supreme authorities. It is true that since the establishment, of late years, of vigorous and powerful governments in these seas, on our part and that of the Dutch, piratical attacks on European vessels have become comparatively rare. They continue however extremely frequent on native vessels, and afford serious obstacles to that intercourse by which the productions of the neighbouring nations are collected at this emporium, and our wares and manufactures disseminated in return. Piracy for example is so frequent in the Straits of Malacca, between Malacca and Pinang, that the square-rigged vessels of the Chuliahs or natives of the Coromandal Coast, a timid people, are on this account precluded from coming further than Pinang and Achin, and thus the trade of fifty or sixty brigs and ships are in a great measure lost to Singapore, for an inconsiderable portion of these people, only, tranship themselves and their goods on British vessels for security and thus find their way to us. This peculiar obstacle may be remedied by directing the vessel, for which application is made to the Supreme government, to afford them convoy once a year from Penang, an employment which will not materially interfere with the other duties to which it may be appointed.

29. The most formidable piratical depredations here, are committed by the hardy and ferocious races which inhabit the Sooloo and other islands lying between Borneo and the Philippines. These portions of the east insular seas are little known to us, and the first object will be to obtain some accurate knowledge respecting their social and political condition. I especially recommend this subject to your attention; valuable information regarding them may be collected from the numerous native traders already frequenting Singapore, and a personal visit to the countries in question may hereafter be deemed advisable. In the meantime the maintenance of a friendly and conciliating correspondence with the chiefs of the tribe and nations in question, and generally with all independent tribes of the Eastern islands within the limits of the authority given to you by the Supreme Government, will strengthen the confidence of the native inhabitants in general and promote the important purpose of your appointment.

I am, &c.,
(Signed) T. S. RAFFLES.

Singapore, 7th June, 1823.

Sir T. S. Raffles's Letter to the Supreme Government, 7th June, 1823.

Allotment of Ground.

The principle laid down in the Resolution of the Supreme Government in the Political Department of the 21st March last, and transmitted with Mr. Secretary Swinton's letters of the same date, regarding the manner in which ground should

be disposed of at Singapore, has been duly make known, and the public have been apprized that all ground will be considered as let on a perpetual lease or for a term of years, that the plan of disposing of the ground to the highest bidders is approved, and that the biddings for the same in future are to be made in quit-rent, the lease being granted without any present payment to the parties who may offer the largest amount of annual rent.

This arrangement had previously occurred as the most convenient, and with the exception of the particular lots alluded to, all other allotments made by me were disposed of for the annual quit-rent offered, so that no inconvenience has resulted from this modification of the original plan.

With regard to the particular cases referred to, in which the Supreme Government has directed that the amount of purchase money should be commuted for an annual quit-rent, I have the satisfaction to report that the same has been carried into effect on the following principle.—The total amount of purchase money, agreeably to the account already transmitted to the Supreme Government, was 56,000 Spanish Dollars, but of this amount nearly one-half was purchased by persons who were compelled to remove from the opposite side of the river, in favor of whom it was a condition that purchase money would be foregone.

On reference to the registry of grants already transmitted to the Supreme Government, it will appear that the quit-rents for ground in the town and its vicinity already amount to upwards of 3,000 Spanish Dollars, which affords a permanent interest of 5 per cent. on a capital of 60,000 Spanish dollars, exceeding by one-half the amount due on account of purchase money for the particular lots in question, and which may be considered as by far the most valuable portion.

Under these circumstances, and as I had in the grants provided for either alternative by including a fixed quit-rent corresponding with the particular value of each lot, I have not found it necessary to do more with regard to allotments for commercial purposes than to declare that government has foregone the purchase money in consideration of the quit-rents, the ground being considered as let on a perpetual lease as directed by the Supreme Government.

One of the conditions on which this ground was disposed of, was, that the purchasers should compensate the occupants of temporary buildings who were obliged to make room for them, and the removal of these persons having been conducted by a committee appointed by government, the disbursements on this account have amounted to current dollars 10,159; this amount has been advanced by government but it will be re-imbursed by the parties and the resident has been recommended to adopt such arrangement for this purpose as may be most convenient for them.

With regard to the compensation to be paid by government to individuals removing from the space between the Tumongong's and the sea, I shall have the honour to address the Supreme Government more fully in a separate letter, and it may suffice to observe in this place, that notwithstanding the various difficulties thrown in my way by the local authority, I have eventually had the satisfaction of completing this important arrangement to the satisfaction of all parties, and so as to render all further reference or dispute on the subject unnecessary.

Arrangements with the Sultan and Tumongong.

The advantage which had been taken of the general terms in which, from political considerations, it was deemed most advisable that the treaty with their Highnesses the Sultan and Tumongong should in the first instance be expressed, and the extraordinary principle assumed by Lieutenant-Colonel Farquhar, and maintained by him in opposition to my authority, that the disposal of the land was vested in the native chiefs, that the government of the country was native and the port a native port, rendered it indispensable that these points should be fully explained and more clearly defined, and as that officer had also permitted various exactions and privileges to be enjoyed by their Highnesses incompatible with the freedom of the port, I have availed myself of the opportunity offered in negociating with their Highnesses for the payment of an equivalent for the port duties, to stipulate such arrangements as seem essential to form the basis of the good understanding to be maintained for the future. With reference to the political discussions which have taken place regarding the Settlement, and the questions which have arisen regarding its tenure, I did not deem it prudent in any way to

alter or revise the original treaty, but the conventional agreement now made may be considered equally binding on the parties, and may of course be hereafter adopted as the basis of any more definite treaty to be entered into, after the permanency of the Settlement has been established.

The amount stipulated to be paid to their Highnesses is,—to the Sultan 1,500 current dollars and to the Tumongong 800 current dollars per month, or in the whole current dollars 2,300, equal to Spanish dollars, at 15 per cent. premium (the present rate) 1,955. This is somewhat in excess of the 500 dollars originally intended for each, but I found it impracticable to effect the arrangement in a satisfactory manner for less, the demands of the parties or rather of their advisers having been materially influenced by the countenance which the chief local authority had so injudiciously and improperly given to their claims in opposition to the essential interests of government. The rapid increase in the value of property of every description rendered it however indispensable that no time should be lost in fixing the amount of compensation, and having waited the arrival of Mr. Crawfurd and conferred with him on the subject, I lost no time in completing the arrangement which upon the whole seemed most advantageous, and which I trust will meet the approbation of the Governor-General in Council.

Extract of Letter from Sir T. S. Raffles to the Secretary to the Supreme Government.

The information which must be before the Supreme Government from Prince of Wales Island, as well as in the reports of the late Mission to Siam, renders it unnecessary that I should enter at any length on the actual condition of the Malay States on the Peninsula, but I have thought it advisable to direct Mr. Crawfurd's attention to the subject, with the view of his keeping the Governor-General in Council regularly advised of the progress or otherwise of the Siamese influence among them.

The conduct and character of the Court of Siam offer no opening for friendly negociations on the footing on which European States would treat with each other, and require that in our future communications we should rather dictate what we consider to be just and right, than sue for their granting it as an indulgence. I am satisfied that if instead of deferring to them so much as we have done in the case of Quedah, we had maintained a higher tone and declared the country to be under our protection, they would have hesitated to invade that unfortunate territory. Having however been allowed to indulge their rapacity in this instance with impunity, they are encouraged to similar acts towards the other States of the Peninsula, and if not timely checked may be expected in a similar manner to destroy the truly respectable state of Tringanu, on the eastern side of the Peninsula.

The blockade of the Menam river, which could at any time be effected with the cruisers from Singapore, would always bring the Siamese Court to terms as far as concerns the Malay States, and from the arrogant and offensive tone recently assumed by the Siamese, some measure of the kind will I fear ere long become indispensable, unless the possible apprehension of our adopting such a measure may bring them to terms of more accommodation than they have yet shewn.

The only remaining point to which I have directed Mr. Crawfurd's attention, has been the consideration of such measures as it may be hereafter advantageous to adopt for the more general suppression of piracy in the eastern seas.

I have honor to be, &c.,

Singapore, 7th June, 1823. T. S. RAFFLES.

Mr. Crawfurd arrived at Singapore on the 27th May, was received by a guard of honour and a salute of fifteen guns, and took charge of the Resident's Office. Colonel Farquhar left Singapore for England, the natives accompanying him to the ship in the harbour with numbers of boats decorated with flags and accompanied by music. Abdulla gives an account of his departure, and in a letter of the Colonel's we find an allusion by him to the number of addresses he received from the inhabitants on leaving the Settlement.

CHAPTER XI.

THE RAFFLES INSTITUTION.

ON 12th January, 1823, Sir Stamford Raffles wrote that he had selected a spot for the College he intended to establish. He had proposed to the Sultan and Tumongong that their sons should be sent to Calcutta for education, but they would not consent, so he decided to establish a school in Singapore. From a pamphlet printed at the Mission Press at Malacca in 1823 it is seen that a meeting was held at Raffles' House on Government Hill on 1st April when a very long and able minute, written by Sir Stamford Raffles, from which sentences have been often quoted, was read, in which he stated that there were three objects in view. (1) To educate the sons of the higher order of natives and others. (2) To afford means of instruction in the native languages to such of the Company's servants and others as may desire it. (3) To collect the scattered literature and traditions of the country with whatever may illustrate their (*sic*) laws and customs, and to publish and circulate in a correct form the most important of these, with such other works as may be calculated to raise the character of the institution and to be useful and instructive to the people.

A long paper written by Dr. Morrison was then read, suggesting the scheme for removing the Anglo-Chinese College from Malacca and uniting it with the Institution in Singapore. The Rev. R. S. Hutchings, who was the Chaplain at Penang, then spoke, and after him Dr. Morrison. These speeches were all reprinted in a pamphlet in Singapore in 1838, with the annual report of the Institution Free School. The officers were nominated, including the principal inhabitants, and among the Patrons was William Wilberforce, M.P. of England.

On 15th April the first meeting of the Trustees was held, Mr. J. A. Maxwell being the Honorary Secretary and A. L. Johnston & Co. the Honorary Treasurers. The subscriptions had amounted to $17,495; being $9,670 for the Institution generally, $1,075 for the Scientific Department, and $6,750 for the Malayan College. The Anglo-Chinese College house at Malacca was intended to be sold, and $4,000 was included in the above amount as its probable proceeds, the East India Company contributing $4,000, Raffles $2,000, Dr. Morrison $1,200, Colonel Farquhar $1,000, the Sultan and Tumongong $1,000 each, and Lady Raffles $400. The other subscribers were Mr. Bonham, F. G. Bernard, Captain Davis, Captain Flint, D. A. Fraser, G. Gordon, Thomas Howard, Lieut. L. N. Hull, Rev. R. S. Hutchings, Lieut. Jackson, A. L. Johnston, the Malay College, J. A. Maxwell, G. Mackenzie, Dr. Montgomerie, D. S. Napier, Charles Scott, and Rev. G. H. Thomson. A monthly subscription of $300 had been promised by Government for the schools, and $25 yearly for the library. Lieutenant

Jackson made a plan and estimate of the proposed building, which he said could be constructed in twelve months, this was approved, and $15,000 was voted for the purpose.

The building was then erected. It was not a well-constructed building, the roof especially being unskilfully erected, which caused frequent expense. It was originally built in the form of a cross and a wing was subsequently added at each arm. The addition and the three-storied wing at the Brass Bassa Road end were not erected until 1875, at the entire cost of the Government. Abdullah gives a short account of the laying of the foundation stone, which was attended by all the Europeans and the Native Chiefs and Malays; some money (he says a golden rupee, probably a sovereign) was put by Raffles, and $80 by the Europeans, under the door; a salute was fired, and Raffles named the building. Abdullah says that during the progress of its erection three Chinese fell from the scaffolding and were killed.

On 20th May, 1823, Raffles wrote a long despatch to the Governor-General at Bengal, calling attention to the advantage and propriety of educating the natives who came to Singapore. He said that all were in favour of it, but some wanted it delayed until the question of the permanency of the Settlement was decided with the Dutch. But as Dr. Morrison had arrived from China, and there was a question of moving the Anglo-Chinese College from Malacca now that place was under the Dutch, quick measures had been necessary to take advantage of this. After much deliberation with Dr. Morrison and Mr. Hutchings, the Penang Chaplain, who was in Singapore, he had decided to remove the College to Singapore and unite it under the general designation of the Singapore Institution, to be connected with branch schools in the Chinese and Malay languages, with a library and museum, as means admitted. He also said that he had appropriated for the use of the Institution and schools an advantageous allotment of ground near the town, and had endowed each of the Departments with 500 acres of uncleared ground on the usual terms. On 6th November the Governor-General wrote in reply that he did not approve of haste, and it would have been better if sanction had been asked before promising the grants of money; because Singapore was not settled yet. The scheme for removing the Anglo-Chinese College to Singapore fell through and in the *Free Press* of 12th December, 1839, it was spoken of as having proved a total failure, which had dwindled down into, if indeed it ever rose beyond, a small school, used merely as a dwelling house for the Principal.

On the 8th April, 1823, a lease of land, which cannot now be found, was promised by Raffles to the Trustees for the Institution, described as measuring 600 feet on the sea-side, and 1,140 feet inland to Rochore Street and bounded on the side (sides?) by College Street and the Fresh Water Stream; estimated to contain acres 15.2.32½. If these measurements are compared with the present map of the town, it will be seen that it was the large block of land now occupied by the Raffles Institution and the Convent, and now bounded by Beach Road, Brass Bassa Road, Victoria Street and Stamford Road. What was called Rochore Road in 1823 is now known as Victoria Street. North Bridge Road was not then made, nor was the line of that road

reserved for a road in the lease to the trustees. What was described in the lease as College Street is now called Brass Bassa Road (it was always spelt so until quite lately, now it is written as Bras Basah); in an old lease of 1826 this road was called Cross Road. The name College Street was probably a suggestion by Raffles which was afterwards forgotten. What was described in the lease as Fresh Water Stream was a curious name, considering the great complaints that were made subsequently about the foul state of the water that still runs alongside Stamford Road.

In 1840 being in want of funds the Trustees retained only the large block between what is now North Bridge Road and the Sea, but only extends now to Beach Road, as the Reclamation from the sea was made many years afterwards. They disposed of the whole of the other (the Convent) block, at auction on 7th January, 1840, for $3,150 and a yearly quit-rent of $135, for the residue of the term of 999 years, in nine lots, each containing about 3,600 square yards, as follows:—

Lot 1 to Syed Omar bin Alley al Junied.
Lots 2, 3, 4 to Jozé d'Almeida & Sons.
„ 5 to T. O. Crane.
„ 6 to Antonio Jozé de Vasconcellos.
„ 7 to Antonio d'Almeida.
„ 8, 9 to Joseph Melany.

In 1860 the Rev. J. M. Beurel had acquired nearly the whole of these for the Convent. There remains in other hands to this day only a small portion at the corner of Stamford Road and Victoria Street; the rest is all occupied by the grounds and buildings of the Convent.

In addition to that large block of land, "a hill with the land adjacent to it to the northward at the back of Government Hill, to include an area of 100 acres," was also promised to the Trustees, on 8th April, 1823. These two grants it is said were issued as No. 1 dated 20th March, 1823, and No. 419 dated 10th April, 1823, but if this is correct they were issued before the promise made by Raffles on April the 8th; there is probably some mistake, and no copies of the grant are now to be found to correct it, nor any other record than the paper from which these particulars are taken.

The grant of the hill (afterwards called Institution Hill at River Valley Road) was for acres 28.1.31, and not for 100 acres; and the Trustees, saying that the land had been lying waste and producing no revenue, decided in December, 1844, to dispose of it. It was suggested to sell it to Chinese for a burial ground; on which the *Free Press* remarked as follows:—"We think the sale of the Institution Hill for any such purpose is much to be deprecated, and we trust the Trustees of the Institution will not dispose of it to any parties who would allow it to be applied in such a manner. It is too near the town to have a burial ground upon it, and it would give visitors a very unfavourable impression as to the unhealthiness of the place were they, on entering the Roads, to see this conspicuous hill, in addition to those in the vicinity of the town already appropriated to such purposes, covered with tombs. We do not think that the Trustees will lend themselves to this object; but, perhaps, the best plan to avert any chance of the thing happening would be for our

correspondent to buy up the hill. The Trustees would, we think, be inclined to take a fair and reasonable price from him, rather than accept the extravagant sum, which the eligibility of the situation for their purposes would, perhaps, induce the Chinese to offer." Luckily, the sale was never carried out, and the hill is now covered with European houses. One of the finest hills in Tanglin is occupied solely by Chinese graves, and it was fortunate that Prinsep's Hill and Institution Hill never shared the same fate. In the following January 1845, the Trustees advertised the hill to be let as follows:—

"The Trustees of the Singapore Institution invite offers to rent the hill belonging to the Institution, which adjoins the River Valley Road, for a term of 10 years at an annual quit-rent of $100; upon expiry of the leases the hill with all buildings and fixtures thereon to revert to the Institution. Or for the whole term of the Government lease (viz., 999 years) at an advanced rent. Tenders will be received until the first Friday in February, when the one approved of by the Committee will be accepted. The hill is well adapted for building lots. A stipulation will be entered in the lease prohibiting the hill being converted into a burying ground by the Tenant. Tenders to be sent to T. Oxley, Secretary."

As no offers were made to rent it, it was advertised in the following April by Mr. F. Martin for sale for the whole term of the lease at the highest annual rent. The result of the sale was told in the *Free Press* as follows:—

"On Monday, the 7th April, the remainder of the term for which the Institution Hill is held—about 990 years—was exposed at public auction, and knocked down for the annual sum of $225. This is a very high price indeed, and were it to be taken as a criterion of the general value of land in the island, might be held as bearing out, in a great degree, the extreme notions of certain parties on this point. We believe, however, that the high rate obtained was entirely owing to the peculiar situation of the hill which so completely overlooks the neighbouring properties, on which there are several houses, so that if the owners of the latter had allowed the hill to get into other hands, they would have been constantly exposed to the close oversight of the inhabitants of the hill, a situation which would have been anything but pleasant. It was this fact, and to prevent it being used as a situation for manufactures which might have made it a very unpleasant neighbourhood, that induced the owner of the adjacent property to secure the hill, which we suppose he will keep in grass." It was bought by Adam Sykes and Mungo Johnston Martin, on the 30th December, 1845. Dr. Robert Little afterwards purchased it and lived on the land for about thirty-five years in one house, a record probably for Singapore. Thus the Trustees parted with a considerable quantity of the land contained in these two grants (the block where the Convent stands and Institution Hill), which is now of very great value, for the small yearly sum of $360.

Sir Stamford Raffles, however, had given the Institution even more than this. He had also given orders, and Bengal had approved, to appropriate 1,500 acres of uncleared ground, on the usual terms, for the use of the School, which would appear to have been done, though the

position of the land granted as Nos. 499, 500 and 501 referred to presently, cannot now be traced. It seems that on 9th January, 1827, a Government Notice was issued that all persons who failed to fulfil the terms of their contract to clear and build on land would forfeit their right if they did not comply before the 1st May. On the 27th February the following letter was sent to the Resident Councillor by Mr. J. A. Maxwell, the Honorary Secretary to the Singapore Institution:—

"Sir, on behalf of the Trustees of the Singapore Institution, I have the honour to enclose a document under their signature by which they renounce all claim to the lot of ground referred to in your favour of the 19th January, and I trust the same may be considered satisfactory with a view to the object for which it has been framed. The Grants referred to, viz., 499, 500 and 501 are in my possession and are ready to be delivered up if necessary."

A great deal has been said since about the Government having "illegally" resumed the land. At that time the Institution was serving no purpose; no classes, as far as can be seen, were held; the roof was tumbling in, and it may well be that the Trustees considered it could only be preventing the use of the land for a useful purpose if they held on to it when they could not fulfil the conditions under which it had been granted. It would be interesting to know where that land was. There is good reason to think that it was at the top of Orchard Road where Abbotsford, Nassim Hill, and part of the Tanglin Barracks are now. It was no doubt looked upon then as only jungle of problematical value, and not worth spending money to clear. There is no doubt that the lands given to the School, if they had remained in the hands of the Trustees would now be of very great value, beyond any possible conception at that time, and that the Report of the Trustees in 1845, in congratulating themselves on having secured a permanent monthly addition to the income of $18.75, by disposing of the lease of Institution Hill, reads curiously by present lights. But it is useless to judge of those things solely from the glare of the present day. In 1873 the Trustees wrote to the Government about the resumption of these lands in 1827, and eventually a fixed yearly grant of $5,940, and an undertaking to keep the Institution building in repair, were given by Government as compensation for lands resumed by Government in 1827. This appears in the foot note to the yearly account published in the annual report of the School, and in a letter of the Colonial Secretary to the Honorary Secretary of the Institution dated 3rd November, 1885, printed in the yearly report of the School.

Having now explained about the lands given to the School, the story of its progress is resumed. In May, 1825, the Court of Directors of the East India Company wrote to Singapore that they considered the establishment of the Institution (however useful in itself) was premature, as it was uncertain whether Singapore would continue to form a part of the British Dominions; but they did not disapprove of what had been done, so far as to stop supplies, and did not refuse to sanction the grants of land and the subscription promised by Sir Stamford Raffles, if the Governor considered the amounts unobjectionable.

The Court of Directors called upon Mr. Crawfurd, the Governor, for a report, and he sent a long despatch dated 7th February, 1826. After three years experience of Singapore, he thought the scheme of the Institution had been on too extensive a scale for the times, and the means were not sufficient to carry out the object. He recommended Government to confine the aim to elementary education, in the first place, since the present inhabitants of Singapore were utter strangers to European education and methods of instruction. He proposed that it be confined to reading and writing in Malay and Chinese (the most numerous and influential classes) and perhaps Arabic; but above all to reading, writing and arithmetic in English. The chief benefit of instruction in Asiatic languages was to reconcile the natives to European education and accustom them to regular habits of subordination and study. One great obstacle was the fear by the parents of conversion. The Rev. Mr. Thomson had long tried to get up a school without interference with religious matters. It would be better to wait until this feeling was allayed, and to have only laymen as masters. Chinese, Arabs and Malay teachers could be got; the difficulty was to find competent and respectable men, as the success would depend upon this. The originating of the schools would depend upon the patronage of the Government. The Court had authorised $300 a month; and arrears from April, 1823 to February, 1826, would amount then to $10,200, which with private subscriptions would suffice to endow and carry it on. He also asked for land for the school, and power to invest the money in buildings upon it; and for permission to occupy a Government building at present vacant. And generally he proposed to exclude the original scheme altogether for the present, as quite beyond any probable means of carrying it out, and if hereafter there were better prospects, the schools could then be joined to the Institution. The present building was too far from the town for the convenience of the children, so their parents did not send them, and they also objected to any religious teaching in the school, as in the Anglo-Chinese College.

There is a short note by Mr. Braddell, no doubt an extract from some Government correspondence, that on 18th August, 1827, the Trustees tendered the Institution to Government to purchase it or rent it, which was declined on the 6th September.

At the end of 1832, the *Free Press* said:—"The unfinished building, or rather ruin, so well known as the Singapore Institution, stands in a conspicuous situation at the head of Kampong Glam, on the town side fronting the sea-beach. To strangers it is often a matter of astonishment that a building in such an eligible site, and in the neighbourhood of so many respectable and new habitations, should be suffered to remain in its present dilapidated condition, especially when a comparatively small sum would suffice to put it in repair, and make it habitable. For several years, it has been an eye-sore to the inhabitants of the Settlement, from the desolate and neglected appearance of the building and premises; and latterly it has become a nuisance, in some degree, as it affords a convenient shelter for thieves, a class of beings whom the benevolent founders of the Institution never contemplated should be supported on its foundation. The ground attached

is nearly all covered with stagnant marsh, and jungle, which must in some wise affect the air in that neighbourhood."

Mr. Fullerton had proposed buying the ground and converting the house into a Church. At another time it had been proposed to make a Public Library and Town Hall of it, and to sell part of the ground to finish the building. Some of these proposals were referred to Dr. Morrison in China, and he replied: "I would rather, even if it were a hundred years hence, have the land and building reserved for the original purpose of native education, than for the sake of any other object consent to alienate it."

It was said in an old report of the School that had Sir Stamford Raffles remained longer in Singapore, or the Institution proceeded on the plan he laid down, most of the objects he proposed might have been accomplished, but after his death no influential person was found able and willing to follow up his views and plans, and nothing but an unfinished building of eleven years standing remained in 1834 to show that such a project had been contemplated. The intention had been to instruct the better class of natives, and there were not sufficient of them to form classes, and nothing was done beyond framing an elaborate scheme, with European teachers for Malay, Siamese and Chinese, who would have had no scholars to teach. As far as can be traced now, no classes were actually formed, the masters in the College at Malacca not coming to Singapore.

In February, 1834, Mr. Darrah, the Chaplain, began writing about the subject of the neglected education of the children in the Settlement, and on 3rd May made the proposal to establish elementary schools in different places with native masters, with a central school at which the descendants of Europeans could attend, with some of the more advanced boys from the minor schools. Mr. Darrah circulated a paper, and $335 were subscribed towards erecting a building, and $45 was promised in monthly subscriptions. Until the building of planks and attap, which was estimated to cost $600, should be erected, the Government gave the use of an unoccupied house near the foot of Fort Canning, nearly opposite (Mr. James Guthrie wrote) to the top of High Street. Another account says that the Government only gave the use of the ground, and a building 70 feet long by 22 feet wide was built for $600. However this may have been, the school was opened on the 1st August, 1834, and managed by Mr. J. H. Moor. There were 46 boys, and before long the number increased to 80. On the 25th September a meeting was held of the subscribers and it was decided to form an association called the "Singapore School Society." The schools to be under the direction of the Chaplain in their religious and literary details, and the Bible to be used generally as a class book, but not to be indispensable for children of any sect of religion different from the Established Church. The Committee consisted of Messrs. Johnston, Wingrove, Scott, Darrah, Oxley and Napier. Mr. Moor was the first European Master at $75 a month and there were two native masters at $12 each. The Governor and the Recorder were Patrons. The school had 32 boys in the English classes, of whom 12 paid; but the whole fees only amounted to $3 a month. There were 18 boys in the Tamil class, 12 in the Malay, and 12 in the Chinese, but the report says

"The American Missionaries, the Rev. Tracy and Parker, having opened a Chinese Free School in a central part of the town, the boys went there as it was near their homes, and they avoided the real or imaginary danger incidental to crossing the wooden bridge which led to the Singapore school from the town!"

On the 27th August, 1835, a meeting was held at the Court House, Mr. Alexander Guthrie in the chair, at which it was resolved that the original scheme of the Institution should be rescinded and another adopted more consonant to the general sense of the supporters and better adapted to the object in view. That children of any country should be taught without regard to any exclusive course of religious instruction. The salary of the head master not to exceed $100, and for native teachers $15. The Patrons to be the Governor, Recorder and the Resident Councillor, and a Committee of five was appointed, of Messrs. Wingrove, W. Napier, G. D. Coleman, Thomas McMicking and Thomas Oxley. Dr. Oxley became Honorary Secretary. A Government allowance of $100 a month was granted, and the subscription list amounted to $81, but the Government allowance for the first year was appropriated towards the completion of the Institution building, which was in such a bad state. The house that had been lent by the Government in High Street for the school was in such bad repair, that it was only fit for another year, and the Committee proposed that the Institution building should be repaired and used by the "Singapore School Society" as it was now termed, though the name "Singapore Free School" seems to have been generally used. On the 1st January, 1836, there was a public meeting held at the Reading Room, of the subscribers to the monument that it had been intended to erect to the memory of Sir Stamford Raffles. It was decided "that it is the opinion of this meeting that they will best perpetuate the remembrance of the eminent services rendered to this Settlement, and the commercial world generally, by this distinguished individual, by endeavouring to complete the Institution founded by him for the purposes of education. That as the meeting finds the funds already collected for the monument amount to $1,827, and that there is nearly $1,000 more subscribed, which it is expected will be paid immediately, it is resolved that as soon as it is found a sufficient sum can be raised by additional subscriptions for the purpose of completing the buildings and making them fit for schools on an extended scale, they will place at the disposal of the Trustees of the Institution the whole sum subscribed for the erection of the monument."

The amount necessary for the purpose was estimated at $5,000, and Dr. Montgomerie undertook to superintend the repairs and completion. It was then mentioned that the bust of Raffles by Chantrey, which Lady Raffles had presented to the Institution, would be placed in a conspicuous spot in the completed building, with an inscription in English, Latin, Chinese and Malay. The inscription was never made.

On the 5th of the same month, a meeting of the Trustees of the Singapore Institution was held in the Resident Councillor's Office, and the following resolutions were passed. "1st.—That the plan proposed by the subscribers to the monument of Sir T. S. Raffles of giving their funds for completing the Institution for Schools be approved of

and thankfully accepted, and that a Subscription List be opened at the Reading Room immediately for further donations from the European and Chinese inhabitants to finish the building on a plan and estimate already furnished by Mr. Coleman.

"2nd.—That the Institution having been founded jointly by Sir T. S. Raffles and Dr. Morrison, a communication be immediately made of these proceedings to the son of the latter, Mr. J. R. Morrison, now Interpreter to H. M. Superintendent in China, requesting that he will be pleased to name such persons, as he may be desirous should act as Trustees.

"3rd.—That the Hon'ble Kenneth Murchison, Governor, and the Hon'ble J. E. Gambier, Recorder, be requested to become Patrons of this Institution, and that the following gentlemen be nominated Trustees according to the Regulations provided at the founding of the Institution: Messrs. R. F. Wingrove, W. Montgomerie, Jas. Fraser, W. D. Shaw, A. Guthrie, G. D. Coleman, T. McMicking, Wm. Napier, and the Rev. S. Wolfe, and that Thomas Oxley, Esq., be requested to act as Secretary."

At a meeting called by the Trustees of the Raffles Institution in May, a letter from Dr. Morrison was read, stating that he had already collected upwards of $1,000 by subscriptions in China, and that he had received a promise of $400 additional, whenever the building was completed, and the education of the natives actually commenced; also, a statement of the funds then available and accumulating having been submitted by the Treasurers, and plans and estimates for finishing the building with suitable out-offices on a scale adequate to present resources, and adapted for immediate objects, as well with a view to its future extension and enlargement in accordance with the original objects of the Founders, having been laid before the meeting by Mr. Coleman, who declared himself willing to contract to finish the whole in two years from this time for the sum of $5,700, and it further appearing to the meeting that the funds will be sufficient for the purpose, and the building when completed in every way suitable for the objects contemplated,—it was unanimously resolved that a committee, consisting of Alex. L. Johnston, Esq., Wm. Montgomerie, Esq., and W. D. Shaw, Esq., be empowered to make a contract with Mr. Coleman for finishing the building and out-offices for the sum specified, and on the plans submitted. It was further resolved, that every effort should be made to increase the subscriptions collectively and individually by the Trustees, and that those already subscribed be immediately collected.

The paper spoke as follows of the meeting:—"It is proposed to appropriate one of the upper rooms as a Library and Museum, where all meetings of the Committee or of the Trustees can be held. Donations of books should be forthwith solicited, to form the Library and Museum, as also specimens of the Natural History of the Archipelago, and the countries in our vicinity. If only a little zeal be displayed in accomplishing these two desirable objects, collections would soon be made, which would form perhaps some of the principal attractions of the Institution after its completion. The building which is of considerable extent, although not nearly approaching in magnitude to

the original plan, will be a handsome and striking object, constructed according to scientific principles, in which that part of the building which had been completed under the original design showed a lamentable defect. It is also built so as to be capable of receiving such additions as will bring it to the dimensions of the original plan without any disfigurement of its parts, or detraction from its symmetry. With a proper degree of support, there is every reasonable hope that this establishment, on the scale on which it is at present proposed to be conducted, will not only effect its more immediate objects, but be the means, slow perhaps, but sure, of realising and embracing the more extensive and advanced system of education which its gifted and lamented founder had so much at heart, and which it is still so important an object to secure. It is stated that one gentleman at Canton promised $400 on the completion of the building, and we have reason to believe that there are several others in this Settlement who withhold their contributions until they can see that their money is likely to be well applied. As the workmen have already commenced on the repairs, we trust not many months will elapse before they will be able to satisfy themselves on that point."

In May, 1837, the *Free Press* said that the Institution building was nearly finished, and in December the classes were removed to it from High Street and the building was first used as a School. The arrangement being that the building was lent to the School Committee but that if funds should afterwards be provided to carry out the original proposal of Sir Stamford Raffles, the Trustees of the Institution should give one year's notice before resuming the building, and should repay the money advanced for repairs from the School funds, which had then amounted to $1,800. The upper school then contained 50 boys, taught by Mr. Moor and Mr. Fitzpatrick, who came from Calcutta. There was a Library, the first in Singapore, open free to all, in one part of the building; but only subscribers to the school fund could borrow the books. It was proposed to commence a museum, but this was never done. A large attap shed was put up for play, with a gymnasium, a small fives court and quoit ground, which the boys and their friends subscribed to pay for. There were 102 Chinese, 46 Klings and 51 Malays. A Bugis class was started but was unsuccessful. The Rev. Edward White, Residency Chaplain, gave great assistance and partly furnished the lower English class at his own expense.

In April, 1838, the Committee sent a Memorial to Lord Auckland, the Governor-General, asking for Rs. 5,000 to purchase scientific apparatus, of which they sent a list, including a telescope, microscope, electrical machine, surveying instruments and many other things. The only result was that the Government allowance was increased from $93.53 to $187.27; the Government accounts being kept in rupees. At this time a circular letter was drawn up in Malay urging the Malay Chiefs to send their children for instruction. The Rajahs of Kelantan, Tringanu and Quedah answered that they approved highly of the object and system of the school; but nothing came of it. To leave nothing untried, another address to Malays in general was drawn up, and the son of the Sultan and some other influential Malays attended a meeting at the school on 15th September, 1838, and signed the paper.

Five hundred copies were printed and placarded over Singapore and Kampong Glam, and sent to no less than thirty different places round the coast and Borneo and Celebes by the nakodas of trading vessels, but it led to no result. The following are passages from the address:— Our friend has undoubtedly heard of the eminent and enlightened Sir Stamford Raffles and how anxious he was to promote the intellectual improvement of the Malays, and add to their happiness. To help the desirable and benevolent object the late Sultan of Johore and the Tumongong, with Sir Stamford Raffles and other gentlemen, subscribed a large sum of money to erect a handsome edifice in Singapore to serve as an Institution for the instruction of Malays and other neighbouring natives. We have to acquaint our friend that the Singapore Institution is now completed. It is of brick, 120 feet long and 60 feet broad, two-stories high. Competent masters have been engaged, and we invite our friend to send his sons, relations, and the sons of some of his nobles to Singapore to be taught to read and write both the Malay and English languages, and to acquire much useful knowledge." It then spoke of the advantages of education, and said that students could reside in the building, or be boarded with respectable Malays and attend as day scholars.

In November, 1838, a letter was sent asking the Secretary of the British and Foreign School Society in London to engage a teacher at a salary of $100 a month, with a house, and accommodation to take in boarders; and £100 was sent for the passage money. In anticipation of his arrival it was proposed to erect a bungalow behind the school, but it was thought better to build one of the wings contained in the original plan of the building. The foundations had been laid at first for both the proposed wings. Mr. Coleman estimated the cost at $2,800, and a memorial was sent to Calcutta asking for $1,000 towards it. The Trustees of the Institution consented that the sum spent by the Committee should be treated in the same way as the previous $1,800 for repairs. Bengal did not allow the $1,000, and subscriptions were asked from Canton, Batavia and Manila. Mr. Thomas McMicking, who had gone to reside at Manila, collected $170, and Mr. Oliphant of Canton gave $500. The new wing was finished in May, 1839.

In August, 1839, it was decided at a meeting held at the Institution that as considerable inconvenience had arisen from there being two authorities (the Trustees of the Institution itself and the School Committee) connected with the Singapore Institution, whose views and interests were entirely similar in every respect, it was desirable to vest the whole in the Trustees alone; and that the School Committee should deliver all funds and property to the Trustees, which should appoint a school committee of a certain number from their body annually. After a long delay it was found that a master had not been engaged in England, and the Rev. J. T. Dickenson, of the American Foreign Missions in Singapore, was engaged at $100 a month in April, 1840, and he occupied the upper part of the new wing; one large room downstairs being used for a Chinese school-room, and the other for the printing room, where printing was done for the benefit of the Institution, but did not bring in much. There were then 14 boarders

living with Mr. Moor, paying $3 each a month. Mr. Keasberry was Superintendent of the Malay classes. The Tamil class was closed as it did not succeed for want of a competent master. There were 208 boys on the list, average attendance 160 to 170, including 38 Roman Catholic and 25 Protestant Christians.

In December, 1839, some Siamese noblemen sent $194 from Bangkok towards the expense of erecting a wing to the building, and Prince Momfanoo said he would send two Siamese youths of respectable family to be educated at the Institution, but this does not seem to have been done.

There was a hillock then just behind the school, and in 1840 the Trustees advertised that persons buying land near the school and desiring to erect substantial buildings could take stones from the hillock immediately behind the Singapore Institution. It was about fifty feet high, and an account of the geological formation of it will be found in the first volume of Logan's Journal at page 88.

The second wing was now built and was finished towards the close of 1841. The Supreme Court gave $50 a month from the interest on some funds at its disposal which assisted in paying the expense, which was about $3,030. School hours were then from nine to two o'clock, with only five minutes interval at noon, as some parents objected to their children playing in the sun at mid-day. The wing (it is called in the Report the right wing, whatever that may mean) was occupied by one of the masters and his family, and the large rooms in the main building were exclusively appropriated to the general purposes of the Institution, one being used as a Committee Room, the other as a Library.

In May, 1843, Mr. J. H. Moor, the first master died suddenly at the early age of forty and a subscription was made for his widow and children, which amounted to $6,700. It was invested in three mortgages on houses in the town at 12 per cent., and a monthly allowance was received by the widow until she died in Singapore in November, 1884.

Mr. Moor was born in Macao, whence he proceeded at an early age to Ireland, where he received his education. He was sometime at Trinity College, Dublin, with the view of qualifying himself for taking orders, but an unfortunate impediment in his speech ultimately led to Mr. Moor abandoning his intention. While in Dublin Mr. Moor served an apprenticeship to a respectable book-seller there and might afterwards have advantageously followed that business in Britain, but he preferred returning to the East. He came out to Madras on chance, and after remaining there a short time proceeded to Malacca, where, soon after his arrival in 1826, he originated the Free School under the auspices of Mr. Garling, then Resident Councillor at Malacca. Mr. Moor continued to conduct that school for four years, and during that time it was in a flourishing condition, being numerously attended. In September, 1826, Mr. Moor established the *Malacca Observer* which he carried on until October, 1829, when, in consequence of the paper having incurred the disapprobation of Government from the zeal with which the editor had exposed the system of slavery which then prevailed in Malacca, it was discontinued. In 1830, Mr. Moor came to Singapore

where he taught a private school until 1834, when he was appointed Head Master to the Singapore Free School. Shortly after his arrival, Mr. Moor became editor of the *Singapore Chronicle*, which he conducted for four years, and only resigned on the establishment of the *Free Press* in October, 1835, the sub-editorship of which he held for about two years. After that he devoted himself chiefly to the duties of his situation in the Institution. In the latter end of 1837, Mr. Moor published the quarto volume entitled "Notes of the Malayan Archipelago," which consisted chiefly of articles which had appeared in the different Straits papers, of which Mr. Moor had been editor. This work, which was accompanied by a number of maps, contained much valuable information regarding the Native States and places adjacent. In a pecuniary point of view, however, it was very unprofitable work to Mr. Moor, from the expense incurred in engraving the charts, and the difficulties attendant on bringing out a work of any size with the limited materials at command in such a place as Singapore, and also from the slow and small sale. In the end a considerable loss was sustained, which prevented the appearance of the continuation of the work, which was at one time contemplated. From his long residence in the Straits Mr. Moor possessed much knowledge of the history both of the British possessions and the neighbouring states, which it is a pity he did not embody in a permanent form. Mr. Moor contributed largely to promote a taste for reading in the Settlement and adjacent stations by procuring consignments of books from the London publishers, which were disposed of at the English prices. A large number of books were, through Mr. Moor's instrumentality, sold in Singapore, and also in Java and China, but in this instance also the public were the only party benefited, as on account of the difficulty of procuring returns from the different places to which he sent the books, Mr. Moor was considerably out of pocket by the speculation. The above account of Mr. Moor's life is taken from the *Free Press* at the time of his death.

The Rev. J. T. Dickenson took charge of the school for four months, when he returned to America on account of his health and Mr. John Colson Smith, master of the Free School in Penang, was made Head Master of the Institution, and Mr. R. W. Wiber from the Penang Chinese Mission School was second master from January, 1844. Mr. Smith was very popular, and was a prominent Freemason. In 1852 he left the school and was Deputy Sheriff and in 1860 was appointed Magistrate and Commissioner of the Court of Requests, and left Singapore in 1862 for England, and afterwards died in Mauritius.

Mr. Fitzpatrick left in July the same year, and a system of monitors for teaching the lower classes was established as more useful, and by reducing expenses it was possible to establish a Girls' School, which was opened on 4th March, 1844.

The Rev. Alexander Stronach of the London Missionary Society had given much assistance, and done a great deal of good to the school. The Resident Chaplain had fallen out with the Committee on the subject of religious teaching, and nearly filled up the *Free Press* newspaper in August, 1844, with a very long correspondence on his side of the question. The Committee in their report said it was a matter of great regret that the Chaplain of the station neglected so

interesting a field of usefulness and benevolence, having that time to attend to such an important duty which no other member of the Committee possessed. The Bishop of Calcutta was appealed to, and at his desire the Chaplain again resumed his connection with the school; but he contented himself with taking some little interest in the lower native classes only, and what was done was due to Mr. Stronach, who had worked continuously for nearly six years until he was removed to China in 1844. At this time there were 195 boys in the school.

In 1852, the Rev. W. B. Wright became Head Master. He had been a missionary in Sarawak; his wife was a connection of Governor Butterworth. Mr. George Rappa had been at the Bishop's College, Calcutta, and returning to Singapore with very good testimonials, was appointed second master, and continued in the school until 1856. Mr. Wright remained until 1857 when he went to Malacca, to the great regret of the Committee.

The report for 1856 says that the Government of India had intimated the intention to contribute to every educational charity an amount equal to that subscribed or collected from the scholars in shape of fees, and that the Tumongong had agreed to give $1,500 annually for the support of vernacular schools. At the meeting of the subscribers, Mr. J. J. Greenshields and Dr. R. Little proposed, and it was adopted, that the land in rear of the Institution (the present play-ground) which belonged to the school, might be made available towards the support of the schools, (meaning disposing of the land) and Mr. R. C. Woods and Mr. W. Napier proposed that the Committee should consider the propriety of disposing of the existing building and ground to the Government and applying the proceeds to the establishment of schools in central positions of the town. Fortunately neither of these schemes came to anything, and the only sale that was made was never completed and the Girls' School now stands on the site. It was a curious fact that in 1855, at the request of the Ladies' Committee, Mr. Whampoa arranged to provision the Girls' School at an average charge of $4 a month for each child. On the 20th March, 1857, the new Head Master, Mr. John Barrett Bayley, arrived from England, and was Head Master until 1870.

The report of 1857 gives a list of the continuing Trustees of the Singapore Institution as distinct from the Committee of the School. They were William Napier, appointed 5th January, 1836; T. O. Crane, 6th February, 1842; M. F. Davidson, 6th February, 1844; W. H. Read, 27th March, 1846; John Harvey, 31st March, 1842; and Mr. Humphrey, the Residency Chaplain, 12th February, 1857.

In this year the question of the legal position of the Trustees was brought before the Supreme Court in a friendly suit between the Governor and two of the Trustees, W. Napier and T. O. Crane. It hung on for over four years, and ended by the Recorder on 27th April, 1861, confirming a long report by Mr. Christian Baumgarten, the Registrar of the Court, by which the matter was put on a settled footing. It provided for twelve Trustees, with a quorum of four for ordinary business and seven for the election of a Trustee or for voting extraordinary disbursements. An attempt was made to set aside the sale of the land that had been made, as already described, but lapse of time, if no other reason, prevented this. The first Trustees appointed under this order, besides the Resident Coun-

cillor, Residency Chaplain and Surgeon, who were appointed *ex-officio*, were W. Paterson, W. H. Read, C. H. Harrison, J. J. Greenshields, T. H. Campbell, C. H. H. Wilsone, N. B. Watson, the Rev. M. Fraser and Captain C. A. Purvis, Madras Artillery. They took charge of the building and its affairs on 15th June, 1861.

In August, 1863, a second European Master, Mr. George Williams, was engaged in England through the Queen's Inspector of Schools. In order to meet financial difficulties the trustees in that year accepted an offer of $4,000 from Mr. Joseph Joshua for "one third part of the land in the rear of and adjoining the Institution." This is the land on which the present Girls' School is built, and part of the play ground. Very fortunately the sale was never completed, and in 1875 the land was resumed as it had not been built on. In 1866 Mr. Bailey went to Europe on leave for two years, and Mr. George Brown was appointed second master. He had been a school master in the Navy, and being on board a surveying vessel stationed here, he left the service in Singapore to join the School. He afterwards took orders in Singapore, being ordained in St. Andrew's Cathedral, and went afterwards to Australia, where he was Rural Dean at Penrith and has now a parish church in the town of Sydney.

Mr. Bayley remained head master of the Institution until October, 1870. He earned the gratitude of the school boys of Singapore who owed much to him. He was a practical teacher, and the boys learned to write and cipher well, which was necessary for earning their living as clerks in Government and mercantile offices, their principal means of employment. From a comparatively small school, Mr. Bayley during thirteen years raised it to a large and flourishing one, (to quote the words of a report of the trustees) and it was ill-health which compelled him to leave Singapore. He went to Europe, and some years afterwards he came out for a short time as master of the School in Sarawak. He died in England on 16th July 1893, the Trustees recording on their minutes that he had for twelve years discharged the onerous duties of Head Master with great ability and success, and expressing their regret at his death.

At various times before 1854 the sum of $4,000 had been subscribed for a Scholarship Fund, Mr. R. C. Woods giving a yearly sum of $50 for some time. The interest on this sum is now applied in payment of the School-fees of some of the scholars, which is probably not what the subscribers intended to be done with the money.

In 1859 Mr. W. W. Shaw of Boustead & Co., gave $500 as the foundation of a fund for prizes for European, Eurasian or Portuguese boys studying Chinese, in order to provide better interpreters in the Courts. Some Chinese residents added $500, and subsequently Messrs. Alexander and James Guthrie gave $1,000. The interest on this was applied for a long time to the Chinese Class, which did not prove successful. Nor did the Malay Class, towards the support of which Messrs. Guthrie had also given $1,000. In 1890 the interest on the whole $3,000 was appropriated with the consent of the donors towards the expenses of the Girls' School.

In 1872 Mr. Jasper Young, of Boustead & Co., and Mr. Oscar Mooyer, of Behn, Meyer & Co., gave a sum of $2,000, the interest on which forms a yearly Prize-Fund.

In 1871 the Trustees congratulated themselves that seventeen boys had been sent to the School by the King of Siam, and expense was incurred to make arrangements to receive them; and to make more room a house was rented for the Girls' School which had occupied part of the building since its commencement, but never afterwards occupied any part of the Institution building. After six months all the Siamese boys went back to Siam and never returned to the School, and nothing came of it.

In 1875 the Government erected the two story extension and the large three-story wing at the end of the Building at Brass Bassa Road. The intention was that it should be occupied by the sons of Malay Chiefs, in accordance with the original scheme of Sir Stamford Raffles. This was the third time the proposal was brought forward, and for the third time it failed to succeed, and the building after being used for some years for the Library and Museum was given over in 1887 to the Institution for class rooms. Whether the scheme to educate the better class of Malays and Siamese did not succeed in any of these instances because it had inherent impossibilities, or whether there was not sufficient care in arranging the details, or a want of proper supervision in the school, the result remained that it failed each time.

As has been seen, the Institution began unsuccessfully, and now, nearly eighty years afterwards, it is possible to judge of what has been done, and what advantage has been taken of the opportunities it has had to promote education in the place, which, after all, was the real object of Sir Stamford Raffles.

When Mr. Bayley left in 1870 the number of boys was 410. The Brothers School, St. Joseph's, of which an account is given in another chapter, was then much smaller. The Anglo-Chinese School was commenced in 1886. The following were the numbers of the average enrolment of these three schools in the following years:—

	Raffles.	St. Joseph's.	Anglo-Chinese.
1870 ...	410	190	—
1880 ...	513	250	—
1887 ...	—	—	85
1890 ...	400	312	372
1900 ...	431	426	590

This is the last year for which the Annual Report of the Government Inspector of Schools is available when this is printed. Notwithstanding the very large increase in the population during the last thirty years, and consequently in the number of boys able to attend school, the Institution has not increased its numbers, while the other schools have grown largely. With the exception of the addition made at the sole cost of Government, the buildings have not been enlarged since 1841. The Anglo-Chinese School has had large additions made to it, and the Brothers School is again to be enlarged at once with large and airy class rooms and dormitories. In each case these schools were cramped for land, while the Institution has very large grounds available for the purpose. The Institution has the considerable endowment of $500 a month and the interest on some invested funds; the buildings are kept in repair at Government expense: it has a splendid situation and a fine play-ground,

while the other two schools have none: it has the scholarship funds already described, which the other Schools are without; and it has the prestige and position naturally attaching to it. In 1880 there were over 500 boys, and at that time the large school rooms in the addition and the three-storied wing were occupied by the Library and Museum, now they are used as class-rooms. It is therefore no question of room for classes. But it may be said that by teaching smaller numbers the education may be better, which is undoubtedly very desirable. This can be tested by the results of the examinations for the Government Scholarships. The Higher Scholarships were instituted by the Government, in 1885, in order to encourage education in the Colony, and in 1889 the name was changed to the Queen's Scholarship. There are two each year of the value of £250 each, a year, for not more than five years, a princely scholarship. There are also Government Local Scholarships which are given with the object of inducing boys to remain longer in school. Since 1897 the examinations for all these Scholarships have been conducted by the Cambridge Local Examination Syndicate by papers sent out from Cambridge and returned there for examination. The impartial character of the result is unquestionable. Until 1890 the Institution gained the Higher Scholarships. In 1891 the Brothers School took one, and in 1893 and 1894 the Institution took one, the Anglo-Chinese School one, and the Penang Free School two. In 1895 and 1896 only one scholarship was given each year on the score of Government retrenchment, but the two were resumed in 1897. There were thus twelve Scholarships in the seven years from 1895 to 1901 inclusive, of which the Institution took four, the Penang Free School having taken five, the Penang Brothers School two, and the Anglo-Chinese School, Singapore, one. As to the Local Scholarships, the Institution took them until 1892 (they were established in 1882) and in the last four years from 1898 to 1901 the Institution has taken five out of twenty. The annual Government Report of the Inspector of Schools shows that in 1899, the average cost of each pupil in average attendance at the Institution was $64.05: at the Brothers School $31.97: and at the Anglo-Chinese School $27.42. As the accounts of that year might have included some unusual expenses, the average of expenses for the last five years has been taken out, and it shews the three Schools respectively, $56.12, $25.42, and $24.26. With its advantages and its larger expenditure it is a question whether it should not by this time have grown to three or four times its present size, as well in numbers as in buildings. Where others have done so much, the Institution has left it to others to shew the way, and while they have advanced, finds itself just where it was thirty years ago.

The Raffles Girls' School was opened on the 4th March, 1844, in the Institution building with six boarders and five day scholars.

In 1847, the School was removed from the centre of the building to the wing next to Brass Bassa Road, suitable out-offices were erected, and the wall, which is still standing, was built across the back part of the compound to make a separation between the schools and play grounds of the Boys and Girls. The centre rooms of the building, which had been used for the Girls, were then used for the Singapore Library.

In 1871, to make room for expected boy pupils from Siam, the Girls' School was moved into a house, rented at $55 a month on the opposite side of Brass Bassa Road, where the Raffles Hotel is now built. In 1877, as an increased rent was asked for that house, the school was moved to the last house in Beach Road, the one built by Dr. d'Almeida in 1825. In 1881 the new Girls' School building on the Institution land behind the Boys' School was commenced: it cost $12,008, of which the Government paid $6,000. The School was moved into the new building on 23rd July, 1883. In 1888 a wing was added to the end towards the sea: it cost $2,628, of which the Government paid $1,250.

Sir Stamford Raffles intended the name "The Institution" to be used. It was afterwards spoken of, and printed in the Annual Report as "The Singapore Institution" until after 1867, when for some reason that does not appear, in the Annual Report for that year printed in 1868, it was called "The Raffles Institution." No Annual Reports are to be found between 1848 and 1854 and probably none were issued. The previous Reports for the four years 1845 to 1848 were all printed together in 1849.

CHAPTER XII.

1823—Resumed.

MR. CRAWFURD took charge of the Resident's Office, and on the 9th June Raffles gave over to him full charge of the Settlement. Sir Stamford sailed the same day and reached Bencoolen on 18th July. He never returned to Singapore. The usual circular letter which had been sent to inform neighbouring States that he had given over charge to Mr. Crawfurd was returned unanswered by Van der Capellan, the Governor-General of Java.

It may be useful here to note the periods when Sir Stamford Raffles was actually in Singapore. He arrived in the harbour to establish a settlement on 28th January, 1819, and left on the 7th February. He returned in the beginning of June, after having been to Acheen, and left again either in July or September. He arrived for the third and last time on the 10th October, 1822, and left on the 9th June, 1823.

Mr. John Crawfurd had belonged to the Bengal Medical Service. He passed three years in Penang as a civil surgeon, and the next six in Java as British Resident at the Court of the Sultan when it was occupied by the British under Raffles. In 1820 he published his History of the Indian Archipelago, and in the following year he went as Envoy from the Indian Government to the Court of Siam and Cochin-China where his missions were not very successful; but his visits proved advantageous afterwards in opening up communication and obtaining information about those countries which were then very little known. In Cochin-China the King would not grant him an audience or receive the letter from the Governor-General, and the only result was that the British should be allowed to trade on the same terms as the French. His work on the subject of this Embassy was published in 1830. In 1834 he published the Journey of his Embassy to Ava where he went as Ambassador in 1827. He was said to be no mean diplomatist. He also wrote some valuable articles in the *Singapore Chronicle* on scientific subjects and there are several papers of his in Logan's Journal. All his books were said to be very useful and extremely laborious works. A review of his Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Isles, published in 1856, is in Logan's Journal for the same year.

Crawfurd was famous both as an administrator and an author, but he was not a popular man, and succeeded two men of singular popularity. Raffles especially was a great favourite with all classes of the community, both European and native; his easy manners and courteous demeanour captivating all hearts; and Farquhar was very much liked. Mr Crawfurd's manner was against him and obscured the great qualities he evidently possessed. He was a typical Scotchman, and it was said of him that frugality, which is virtue in a poor but high spirited people, is apt to degenerate into parsimoniousness. He was very cautious, but managed the affairs of the settlement with energy and ability.

Abdulla speaks of him thus: "On looking at Mr. Crawfurd's disposition, he was impatient and of quick temper, but in what he was engaged he acted slowly and not immediately. Further, it could be perceived that he was a man of good parts, clever and profound. Yet it was equally true that he was much bent down by a love for the goods of this world. His hand was not an open one, though he had no small opinion of himself. Further, his impatience prevented him from listening to long complaints, and he did not care about investigating the circumstances of the case. As sure as there was a plaint he would cut it short in the middle. On this account I have heard that most people murmured and were dissatisfied, feeling that they could not accept his decision with good will, but by force only."

Mr. Crawfurd and Raffles (to use Sir Stamford's own words) ran too much on the same parallel not to be now and then jostling each other; and they were not always pulling easily together. There was much rivalry in authorship, probably, and they criticised each other pretty freely in the English reviews.

When Raffles came from Bencoolen to Singapore, in 1822, he was accompanied by an assistant, a civilian of the Bencoolen establishment; this was Mr. Edward Presgrave who had been the Judge and Magistrate in Bencoolen. Mr. Presgrave and Mr. Bonham became assistants to Mr. Crawfurd. Mr. Bonham was a very young man in those days; he had come out to Bencoolen when a boy of fifteen, and was afterwards Police Magistrate here for a long time, and eventually Governor in 1837. Mr. Crawfurd's portrait is hung in the Town Hall. He is represented in a sitting posture.

Mr. Crawfurd was in charge of the Settlement from 9th June, 1823 to 14th August, 1826, when he was succeeded by Mr. Prince. He then was appointed Civil Commissioner on the part of the British Government at Rangoon and in the following year went to Burmah as Ambassador. The *Glasgow Evening Post* of 11th September, 1830, contained a long account of a dinner given to Mr. John Crawfurd, by the Lord Provost and upwards of one hundred Glasgow merchants and others. It published a list of the forty-two toasts, among which one was "The free port of Singapore, and may its rising prosperity add another proof of the advantages to commerce which result from freedom." In 1833 he was a candidate for the new Parliament after the Reform Bill, as the representative of Glasgow, his principal reasons for obtaining support being his warm advocacy for the commercial interests of England upon matters connected with India; but he was not successful. Mr. Crawfurd continued to take a warm interest in the affairs of the Settlement to the very end of his life, and in his last year, on 31st January, 1868, when the Straits Settlements Association was formed in London, he was the first President. Mr. William Napier was Chairman, and Mr. James Guthrie, Deputy-Chairman. A clear proof that the best of the old Singaporeans did not neglect the interests of the place after they had left it. He died in 1868 at the age of eighty-five years.

In May, Raffles had asked the opinions of the Magistrates about the desirability of gambling licenses, and they unanimously represented their great and growing evils. So the system was abolished, and

public gaming prohibited. It was alleged, in support of the gambling farm, that, by putting it under regulations, the quantity of vice was diminished, but Raffles said that independently of the want of authority in any Government to countenance evil for the sake of good, he could not admit that the effects of any regulation whatever, established on such a principle, could be put in competition with the solid advantages which must accrue from the administration of a Government acting on strict moral principles, discountenancing vice, and exercising its best efforts to repress it. He utterly repudiated the principle that it was necessary to relax the rules of government and morality in order to induce the immigration of Chinese and other traders. And Mr. Braddell remarks that Sir Stamford, convinced of the natural advantages of Singapore, and foreseeing its future prosperity, anxiously endeavoured to protect it from the inconvenience which must arise from sacrificing principle to expediency.

On the other hand Mr. Crawfurd took an entirely different view of the subject, and addressed the Magistrates asking for their advice and co-operation for his plan of legalizing gambling. The non-officials unanimously protested against the principle of legalizing vice in any shape, as likely to be detrimental to the best interests of the Settlement. Mr. Crawfurd, however, persisted, and on the 23rd August he wrote to the Magistrates as follows:—

"Gentlemen, I have the honour to inform you, that in consequence of an extensive conspiracy being discovered amongst the native police to defeat the regulations for the extirpation of gaming, the repeated and earnest representations of the principal Chinese inhabitants in regard to the existing system, and the object itself being found at present of difficult attainment, it has been deemed necessary, pending a reference to the Supreme Government, to license gaming, under the system of restraint and regulation which is detailed in the advertisement, a copy of which is herewith transmitted. You will have the goodness, therefore, to suspend all proceedings in regard to the regulation against gaming, until the pleasure of the Honourable the Governor-General in Council shall be received."

And on the 18th September he wrote to the Secretary to Government at Bengal explaining his reasons, as follows;—"Sir,—In a despatch of the 15th of July, I had the honour to bring to the notice of Government the circumstances relating to gaming at this Settlement. Since that period, a conspiracy amongst the native police has been discovered to defeat the regulations for its suppression, and three convictions have in consequence taken place. The penalties attached to a breach of the regulation are at the same time so extremely heavy and severe and, as it appears to me, so much at variance with the habits and manners of the inhabitants, that I have felt myself by no means warranted in carrying them into effect before they receive the confirmation of the Supreme Government.

"2. In the meantime, the principal natives and Chinese made repeated applications for the suspension of the regulation, stating a fact, the accuracy of which could not be questioned, that many of the lower classes had quitted the Settlement on account of being deprived of a customary amusement.

"3. Urged by these reasons, and feeling the impossibility, under the existing circumstances of the Settlement, of suppressing gaming, I have adopted as a temporary alternative, the plan of licensing it to a certain extent and placing it under a system of control and restriction, on the following conditions:—The number of gaming houses and of the houses of play are limited; no gaming is permitted but for ready money; no person gaming is permitted to wear arms; no gaming is permitted in private houses or in the street, the latter practice hitherto being very frequent; and finally the gaming licenses are to cease in forty-eight hours after the receipt of orders to that effect from the Supreme Government."

In a paper he wrote two years afterwards, Mr. Crawfurd explained his views as follows:—"The arguments for restoring the gaming farm are given at length in the papers submitted to Mr. Fullerton. The attempts made to put down the practice of gaming appear to me little better than charlatanerie in such societies as those of our eastern settlements, where the mass of the inhabitants is habitually addicted to play, and where it is viewed only as a harmless amusement. It is said to be disgraceful to gain a revenue by gaming. Not surely more so than making a revenue by drunkenness, for both as far as regards gaming and the consumption of wine and spirits, it is impracticable to distinguish between vicious and harmless indulgence. At all events it is consistent with every principle of wise legislation, that that which cannot be prevented ought to be regulated. The gaming farm of Singapore is divided into twelve licenses. The houses are all in one street and contiguous to each other, so as to be under the immediate eye of the police. This is the farm in which the greatest augmentation of revenue has taken place, and owing, as I conceive, entirely to the minute subdivision of it. The increase amounts to very little less than 300 per cent. I ought to mention that during two years and a half not a single quarrel or accident has taken place in the gaming houses."

On the 1st December, 1823, Raffles wrote from Bencoolen to Calcutta protesting against Mr. Crawfurd's action regarding gambling, and asking the Governor-General in Council to uphold the principle which he had felt it his duty to lay down and had been concurred in and approved by high authority. He said it involved no less the character of the place than the interests of those who resided in it. In a previous despatch written in Singapore on 22nd April, 1823, the following passage occurs, it is now copied from a manuscript note made by Mr. Braddell, in which he had himself copied out the whole passage, no doubt because it expressed Sir Stamford's views on the subject and so was sufficiently important to be quoted at length:—

"On the establishment of the Settlement I thought it my duty to declare that the vice of gaming was strictly prohibited, but licences having been subsequently granted by the Resident, I regret to say that they soon degenerated into the farming system as practised in the Dutch Settlements with all its attendant evils. Under these circumstances I could not do more on my arrival than attempt the modification of the existing system, leaving the future consideration of the subject until the end of the present official year, when my own experience would be enlarged, and something like an efficient Police

established. That period having now arrived, a decision has become necessary, and on the representation made by the Magistrates I have not hesitated to abolish the farm altogether from the 1st May, notwithstanding the opposition to the measure which I have met with on the part of the Resident. That to give a license for gaming does give a countenance to the vice cannot I think be denied; that it does so abstractedly is evident from no one ever arguing that a license may be given to robbers and pirates; and that it is considered a justification in the apprehension of those who practise the vice is equally evident from the shameless audacity with which they bring their gambling disputes into open court. It is alleged in support of the Gaming Farm that by placing it under regulation, the quantity of vice is diminished, but independent of the want of authority of any human government to countenance evil for the sake of good, I cannot admit that the effects of any regulation whatever established on such a principle are to be put in competition with the solid advantages which must accrue from the administration of a government acting on strict moral principles, discountenancing vice, and exercising its best effects to suppress it."

Then follows a note of a despatch from the Governor-General to the Resident dated 11th September, 1823, in which it said: "With respect to gaming, it has been already intimated to the Lieutenant-Governor (Raffles) in reply to his letter of 22nd April last, that the sentiments of the Government coincided with his in regard to the propriety of abolishing the farm. The decision had been founded on the persuasion that the sanction of licensing public gaming houses tended to encourage and increase the vice, and that government seriously injured its respect in the eyes of the people, and brought the reproach of countenancing vice for sake of profit. Also that Raffles had stated that measures adopted by him at Bencoolen and Java had been entirely successful and produced a marked impression on the habits of the people. The Governor-General was averse to penal enactments for private gaming where there was no fraud; and if not mischievous it was probably nugatory. But he considered it to be proper that public gaming and the establishment of professed gaming houses should be prevented, and, consequently, that the farm should not be reinstated. If, however, on further experience Mr. Crawfurd was satisfied that relinquishing the gaming farm would not be advantageous and its restoration not injurious to the morals of the people, or the respect to the British Government, the Governor-General would be prepared to re-consider the question."

The following were the annual revenues received from the Opium and Gambling Farms in the following years:—

	Opium.	Gambling.
1820 ...	$ 7,345 ...	$ 5,275
1821 ...	9,420 ...	7,335
1822 ...	14,200 ...	9,500
1823 ...	22,830 ...	15,076
1824 ...	24,000 ...	25,630
1825 ...	24,030 ...	33,657
1826 ...	24,600 ...	30,390

When in 1827 the Grand Jury presented the Gambling Farm as an immoral nuisance the remark was made by the Recorder (as Mr. W. H. Read thinks) or by Dr. Montgomerie (as Mr. James Guthrie thought) that "I did not think there were thirteen such idiots in the Island." Sir Stamford Raffles who was *tant soit peu cafard* (by no means a hypocrite) and had to propitiate Sir Robert Inglis, Mr. Wilberforce and others, (Exeter Hall), set his face against the Farm. Mr. Crawfurd who had a thorough knowledge of the Chinese and Native characters, and had no prejudices to contend with, was strongly in favour of it. It was finally abolished by the Court of Directors in 1829 when it brought in $2,922 a month, being $100 above the sum then paid for the opium farm. The consequence was corruption of the police, and surreptitious gambling worse than ever, even up to the present day.

The question of the gambling farm was for years a subject of continual discussion in the newspapers, and a bitter war waged between those who advocated a farm as a moral duty and those who discountenanced it on sentimental scruples. Mr. W. H. Read as *Delta* took up the former and Dr. Little as *Zero* opposed it. The question was thrashed out at great length in the *Free Press* from June to September, 1860; and in March, 1885, when the originals of these papers appeared in the Anecdotal History in the same paper, *Delta* wrote to say that he was still of the same mind, because a farm was the only way to *control* what all admitted to be a vice, and Dr. Little as *Zeta* replied that he was still alive and kicking, and his opinion (*suppression*) remained unchanged.

It will have been seen from Sir Stamford's letter quoted above that he spoke of an efficient police being established. Gambling may be controlled through a farm because it is then necessarily conducted in public and the farmers (like the Opium and Spirit farmers) protect their own interests in preventing private gaming; while it cannot be suppressed by an inefficient police, who are exposed to unlimited corruption. In the Protected Native States now there are gambling farms, and always have been. The great preponderance of opinion among those who had the means of acquainting themselves with the practical side of the subject has, probably, always been in favour of Mr. Crawfurd's view and not of that of Raffles.

In October Mr. Crawfurd wrote to Bengal saying that he was going to spend $900 on a new gaol, as the old one was only a temporary building, too small and insecure; it was a wooden building near the end of the east bank of the river, close to where the stone landing steps are now. He also proposed to spend $1,200 on a dredging machine to clear away the accummulation of sand at the mouth of the river, which he said had arisen owing to the injudicious manner in which some of the wharves and warehouses had been built, the effect of which had been to obstruct the natural course of the stream, and that if some scheme was not carried out, the navigation would be entirely obstructed. He also intended to spend $1,000 on a water-course and reservoir, as the wells and a small reservoir which had been constructed had fallen so much into decay that twelve of the East India Company's vessels which had touched at Singapore in the month of

September had experienced serious inconvenience for want of proper arrangements to supply water, and the advantages of the port depended, he said, very much upon its ability and convenience as a place of refreshment.

In February the native chiefs had asked permission to hoist the British flag in Johore to protect them against the risk of an attempt by their rivals at Rhio to occupy Johore. In August, a confidential order came from Bengal to strike the flag there, and Mr. Crawfurd told the native chiefs to do so, and thought it had been done. In November the Rhio chiefs, assisted by the Dutch authorities at that place, actually attempted to occupy Johore, and messengers were sent from there to Mr. Crawfurd, who now learnt that the flag had not been struck, and the native chiefs refused to do so, in spite of his remonstrances and explanations that no clause of any treaty bound the British to maintain the authority of the Sultan and Tumungong beyond the limits of the island of Singapore, but his directions were at last complied with. The native chiefs appealed to the Governor-General, which, of course, came to nothing. The Dutch had offered the most obstinate resistance to the Settlement at Singapore, and had it not been for the influence secured at home by Sir Stamford Raffles, who lost no opportunity of making friends for Singapore in official and mercantile circles, the place would probably have been soon given up. The opposition of the Dutch remained unabated until 1824, when the treaty of London of 17th March, the exchange of Bencoolen for Malacca, and other arrangements, ended the dispute.

Mr. Braddell made a note that on the 18th November the Resident was alarmed at the proceedings of the Dutch, and the following letter written by Mr. Crawfurd to the Secretary of the Government at Calcutta on that day explains the matter:—

Political Department.

Sir,—The Commissioners of the Dutch Government, whose arrival at Malacca I had the honor to report in a former despatch, passed this place about ten days ago on their way to Rhio.

At Malacca the Commissioners have nearly taken off all port charges and reduced the duties on native vessels to one per cent., an impost, however, still sufficient to prove irksome to the native traders and therefore equal to a direct encouragement to this port. The duty of 25 per cent. imposed on British woollens and cottons at Batavia is by the present arrangement extended to Malacca.

The Dutch Commissioners, while at Malacca, invited the rival brother of the Sultan who is connected with us, to come round to Rhio from Tringanu, where he had been residing for several years, and sent a ship of war for his accommodation. This invitation was accepted of, and about three weeks ago the native prince in question arrived at Rhio, where he was put in possession of what are called the regalia, and raised to the Throne of Johore.

The two native chiefs connected with us sent me a messenger yesterday, who had arrived from Johore itself, now a fishing village upon a large river on the Peninsula, 20 miles distant from this place. This person informed me that the newly created Sultan of Johore, in concert with the Dutch, had sent over a party of his own people, accompanied by two Europeans, to hoist his own and the Netherland flag and take possession of Johore as the legitimate prince.

The natives chiefs in connection with us have upon this occasion come forward to claim our active assistance, on the faith of promises alleged to have been made to them. I have declined on the part of Government to interfere

in this transaction in any respect whatever, and recommended to the parties to rest satisfied in the meantime with the ample allowance which they derive from the bounty of the British Government.

The Netherland Government has resolved upon forming an establishment on the large island of Lingin which is a portion of the Johore territory. This will be detrimental to the interests of this place, only in as far as it may obstruct a growing trade in tin from a small island on the Coast of Lingin and dependent upon it, called Singkep. When Singapore was taken possession of on our part, the produce of Singkep in this metal was very inconsiderable, but in consequence of the high prices given at this port, it has since increased so much as at present to be estimated at little less than 5,000 piculs annually.

The activity of the Netherland Government has also been directed to other quarters in our vicinity. They have within the last 12 months formed a Settlement upon the Island of Billiton, which has claims to be considered as a British possession in consequence of a cession from the Sultan of Palembang in the year 1812, sanctioned by the silence of the convention of the Netherland Government of 1814, by which Banca, a cession of the same treaty, was given in exchange for Cochin. I submit this fact with the more confidence, as it chanced to come within the range of my own personal knowledge that the Island of Billiton was actually viewed as a British possession by the British Commissioners who conducted the discussion of the Dutch claims in London, in the year 1820.

The Batavian Government have from all accounts also obtained a cession of the Carimata Islands, which lie between Billiton and Borneo, and where it is said they contemplate forming a Settlement. Should this be effected they will be in an attitude in some respects to control every navigable channel leading from the Straits of Malacca and the China Sea, to the Java and Amboyna Seas and the Straits of Sunda.

It seems probable that one object at least of the policy in question, is so far to control the native trade as to give it a direction towards their own ports, and force it out of its present channels. In furtherance of this principle they have indeed already imposed heavy and almost prohibitory duties on all native vessels belonging to their own Settlements which shall trade or even touch at any foreign European ports.

Well authenticated accounts have been received at this place, that the Dutch Government in the month of September last, undertook an expedition for the conquest of Sangau. This is a Malay State situated on the Island of Borneo, about 300 miles up the great river of Pontianak, and in the heart of the country which has of the late years produced so much gold. The expedition consists of 3 gun-boats and 400 troops, principally Europeans, and it will require a voyage of two months to take it to its destination, as the ascent of the river is against a rapid stream and very difficult.

It may be worth remarking that Sangau is but one out of eight Malay States of considerable size, scarcely known by name to Europeans, all situated on the same river, which appears to be navigable for native vessels for little less than 1,000 miles.

I have received accounts from Sangora, the first Siamese province bordering on the Malay countries. The person who furnishes me with this information was in the presence of the Rajah of Sangora, on or about the 20th of October, and declares that although rumours were abroad of an intended invasion of Siam by the British, he had not heard a word of any meditated attack on Prince of Wales Island, or even of any preparation making by the Siamese which appeared to have that object in view.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) J. CRAWFURD,

Resident.

Singapore, 18th November, 1823.

The following correspondence found in Mr. Braddell's notes contains a good deal of information on many matters, with Mr. Crawfurd's reasons for the steps he took. The regulations for the sale of the various farms are all to be found in 8 Logan's Journal pages 339

to 347, but would take up too much room here. They show the conditions under which the licences were issued for the manufacture of gunpowder, the pawnbrokers' shops, gaming houses and cockpits, and the sale of spirits and opium.

Territorial Department.

To

HOLT MACKENZIE, ESQ.,

Secretary to the Government, Fort William.

Sir,—I have the honor to lay before the Honorable the Governor-General in Council a sketch of the available revenue of this Settlement, with a short estimated comparison of our probable future resources and disbursement.

2. It may be necessary to premise that the principal sources of revenue in the eastern islands are an excise or tax on the consumption of opium, spirituous liquors, pork and fish. To these may be added taxes on gaming, pawnbrokers' shops, &c., &c.

3. These taxes are commonly rendered a monopoly, and under the name of *Farms* disposed of to one person, who again sublets his privilege, according as he judges best for his own convenience and advantage. In this manner each particular branch of the revenue is sold at Prince of Wales Island to one individual, and even in the large Island of Java, where there are several millions of inhabitants, there are not in all above five or six farms for each distinct subject of revenue.

4. Having been for some years accustomed to the consideration of questions of the nature and viewing the vicious principle of establishing monopolies as equally prejudicial to the Government and the public, I have ventured in the arrangement of the revenues of this Settlement upon some considerable changes, which I trust will meet the approbation of the Supreme Government.

5. Instead of a monopoly in favor of an individual, I have decided upon establishing a certain number of licenses for each branch of revenue, on an estimate of the wants and consumption of the place, and these have been disposed of by public outcry to the highest bidder, substantial security being taken for prompt monthly payment. There is nothing new in this arrangement, being the same with the licenses in England for the retail of wine and spirits, substituting the public sale for the discretion vested in the Magistrates. It will not be necessary in this place to describe the specific conditions of the licenses so disposed of. As an illustration of the general principle and as an example of the whole I have the honor to append to this letter the conditions of the arrack license.

6. The licenses disposed of on these principles are those for opium, Asiatic spirits, pawnbrokers, and the manufacture and retail vend of native gunpowder.

7. The advantage of substituting licenses for the former farms or monopolies, will I hope appear evident from a comparison of the sale of the two principal licenses, those of opium and spirituous liquors, at the present and preceding sales, where there is shewn an advantage in favor of the license system for the first of 83 per cent. and for the second of 125 per cent.

8. The detailed results of the present and preceding sales are as follows:—

	The preceding sale	Present sale.
Opium, Spanish dollars	1,615	$ 2,960
Arrack ,,	682	,, 1,540
Pork ,,	302	,, 302
Gunpowder ,,	...	,, 217
Pawnbrokers ,,	...	,, 175
Gaming ,,	778	,, ...
Spanish dollars...	3,377	$ 5,194

9. From this statement it will be observed that two small additional licenses have been created, that one has been abolished, and that another remains without alteration. The monthly increase upon the whole is $1,817 per mensem, or exclusive of the abolished farm 8778. I may further remark on this point,

that on the supposition of the abolished license being restored and its selling upon terms equally advantageous with other licenses, which was to be reckoned upon, the actual monthly revenues arising from these farms would have amounted to $6,718.

10. On the subject of the abolished license, viz., that for gaming and the two new ones established, viz., those for pawnbrokers and for the manufacture and vend of native gunpowder, as well as that for the vend of pork, I respectfully submit the following explanations.

11. The license for gaming houses was abolished at the end of April last, under impressions and opinions which have already been submitted to the Supreme Government by the Lieutenant-Governor of Fort Marlbro'. Differing wholly on this question with Sir S. Raffles, it will be the more necessary that I offer a full explanation, a matter which I am enabled to accomplish with the more satisfaction, as I have already frankly explained my sentiments and dissent to himself in person.

12. The gaming licenses have been abolished by Sir S. Raffles under a belief that to license gaming was to encourage the vice, and that the revenue which government received from this source must necessarily be obtained at the expense of the morals of the people, and therefore unworthy of the character of the Government. If the actual circumstances of the case really warranted this inference, I should be heartily prepared to join the Lieutenant-Government of Fort Marlbro' in recommending the permanent abolition of the gaming license, but after a long and attentive consideration of this question I am inclined to come to a very different conclusion.

13. The passion for gaming prevades all ranks of the two principal classes of our population, the Chinese and the Malays, to a most unusual and extraordinary extent, and I am clearly of opinion that in the relation which we stand to them, and the slender opportunities which we possess of reforming their manners and habits, the propensity, as far as our influence is concerned, is incurable.

14. If our population, even with the habits I have ascribed to it, were of a stationary nature there might be fair hopes, with time and pains, to improve it, but the fact is, that by far the greater proportion of the people who are found here are not permanent inhabitants of the place, but individuals who make a temporary convenience of it for a few weeks, for a few months, or at most for a few years. To attempt the reformation of a people so circumstanced appears to me to be utterly hopeless.

15. It is necessary, besides, to observe that the practice of gaming, especially in reference to the Chinese, is not a vice of the same character which Europeans are accustomed to contemplate it. It is in fact an amusement and recreation which the most industrious of them are accustomed to resort to.

16. Having few holidays and scarcely any amusements besides, they consider being debarred from gaming as a privation and a violence in some measure offered to their habits and manners.

17. It is true, indeed, that gaming is proscribed by their code of laws. The prohibition in this case however seems a dead letter, and perhaps scarcely more valid than that interdiction of foreign trade and emigration, to the disregard of which we owe at this very Settlement one of the principal branches of our trade and the most numerous and industrious class of our population.

18. The real effect which I am inclined to believe the prohibition of gaming must produce, while the propensity to indulge in play is so habitually strong, will be, that gaming instead of being publicly carried on will be pursued clandestinely, that instead of being subjected to a wholesome control, all restraint will be removed from it, that the price of conniving at the practice will always be a source of temptation and corruption to the inferior officers of the police, and that, finally, although perhaps less worthy of consideration, a large revenue will be very unnecessarily sacrificed for an imaginary benefit.

19. In support of the opinions now offered I may safely quote the results of the abolition of the gaming licenses, at Prince of Wales Island, which took place about 13 years ago on a representation from the Grand Jury, shortly after the establishment of the King's Court at that place. The gaming, notwithstanding the abolition, is admitted to have gone on undiminished, large fines have been weekly levied on account of illegal gaming, and about three years ago the whole police, including the European Constables, were discovered in a conspiracy to

defeat the laws against gaming and convicted of having been concerned for years in taking large bribes for conniving at illicit play, while in point of revenue a loss of not less than half-a-million dollars, has been experienced. A reference in consequence of the discovery of this abuse was made to the Hon'ble Court of Directors, and, as I understood from the best source, authority has recently been given to reconsider and re-establish the licenses.

20. If the statements and reasonings which I have now respectfully submitted be considered of any weight, I trust I shall have the authority of the Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council for restoring the licenses in question, if only with a view to objects of police, and so that the gaming may at least be made to defray a part of the charge of those establishments which the exercise of it, either openly or clandestinely, must always in a great measure create a necessity for supporting.

21. On the subject of the two new licenses, those for pawnbrokers and the manufacture and retail of native gunpowder, not much explanation I hope will be necessary. They were chiefly instituted as a measure of police. It is evident that both are of a nature that would render them serious nuisances if under no control. The manufacture of gunpowder requires a few more words. It was found that no less than five manufactories of this article existed and that they were carried on in the immediate precincts of the town, to the imminent danger of the place, as they were necessarily without restraint or inspection on the part of the public authorities.

22. With reference to the farm for the vend of pork, this is a recent branch of revenue, created as I understand for a temporary and specific purpose and which expires at the end of the year. I trust Government will favor me with an authority not to restore it, viewing it as I do, as an extremely injudicious tax, affecting one of the principal necessaries of life of the most numerous and industrious class of our population, and this too under aggravated circumstances, since the whole of the article is imported and from its nature at a very heavy expense. The inconsiderable revenue derived from it, it will be observed, is more than compensated by the two new licenses which are on the present occasion submitted for approval.

23. The quit-rents of lands disposed of on the principle laid down by the Supreme Government will constitute another item of revenue, On the first of January I am in hopes that four thousand Spanish dollars, or thereabout, will be realized from this scource, giving a monthly revenue of 333 dollars.

24. The rents of houses purchased by the government and of which an account has been rendered in the correspondence of the Lieutenant-Governor of Fort Marlbro', form at least a temporary source of revenue. Both with a view to re-imburse the Government, and as the best means of preserving the buildings themselves, I have considered it the most eligible plan to let them on short leases of six months to the highest bidder, as they are from time to time vacated by the present occupants. When the whole are let in this manner, it is estimated they will bring a monthly revenue of somewhat more than 1,000 Spanish dollars. At present two only have been vacated by the occupants and let, and these, besides affording offices for the Magistrates and Master Attendant, a boat office, and room for the military stores, bring a monthly rent of dollars 300.

25. Should government be pleased to give their sanction to the revenue measures which I now have had the honor to propose, the actual receipts will amount to 7,749 Spanish dollars a month. This revenue appears in no respect to press upon the industry of the place and from the nature of the principal branches of it may be expected to increase from year to year, to keep pace with the prosperity of the Settlement, and ultimately to meet our disbursements, of which at present it falls very considerably short.

26. To place this subject in one view before the government, I shall here beg leave to exhibit a short sketch of the ordinary expenses of the Settlement. They are as follows:—

Civil establishment	$3,923
Stipends to native princes	2,000
Military establishment	3,349
Total	9,272

27. By this statement it will appear that the actual deficiency is 3,445 dollars and that with the prospective improvement in the revenue, which I contemplate will be the result of the measures I have recommended, not more than 1,500 dollars.

I have, &c.,

(Signed) J. CRAWFURD,

Resident.

Singapore, 15th July, 1823.

The imports in Singapore in this year were £1,200,000, and the exports £950,000. The actual revenue of the Farms for the year ending 30th April, 1823, was $25,796, and the population then was 10,683.

The firm of Syme & Co., which continues under the same name to this day, was established in this year, by Mr. Hugh Syme. It was in this year also that Seah Eu Chin came to Singapore from Swatow. He worked his passage down by keeping the accounts of the junk he sailed in, and on reaching Singapore he took two shares in a boat that rowed and sailed to Klang and other places. After two years he stayed in Singapore as the agent for this and other boats, in Kling Street and afterwards in Circular Road. He was, it is said, the first to start gambier and pepper planting in Singapore. We are told that he tried planting tea, nutmegs and other things, and not succeeding as he expected, he gave them up and tried gambier. The price was then so low, that he was going to discontinue that also, but Mr. Church persuaded him to persevere, and he made a large fortune by it. At that time gambier was 75 cents, and pepper $1.50 a picul. In former years, during the time of Sir Richard McCausland, it was not unusual for the Court to advise Chinese suitors to refer their cases to Eu Chin. And years ago, when the Chinese Secret Societies were troublesome, he was the person who had most control over the headmen of them. In 1850 he headed the deputation of the Chinese which waited upon the Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, on his visit to Singapore, and Governor Butterworth wrote to him expressing his grateful acknowledgments for the assistance he had given in welcoming His Lordship. In December, 1853, the Governor gave him a certificate of naturalization, adding that it gave him much satisfaction to enrol the name of so talented and highly respectable a resident, since 1824 in Singapore, among the naturalized British in the Straits of Malacca. In 1837 he married the eldest sister of Mr. Tan Seng Poh, whose father was the *Captain China* of Perak. His wife died and a year after he married her younger sister, and the old lady is still alive. Their eldest son, Seah Cho Seah, died in 1885, at thirty-nine years of age, and his second son, Seah Leang Seah, has been one of the unofficial members of the Legislative Council. Eu Chin died in Singapore at the age of 79, in September, 1883. Mr. James Guthrie made this note to the original of these papers:—"Seah Eu Chin was book-keeper to Kim Swee, who did a large business on Boat Quay between Market Street and Bonham Street; and between 1832 and 1834 built the houses that he occupied, at the end of the Bridge. Eu Chin, if I am not mistaken, then purchased the property. He was one of the best educated Chinese in Singapore, and was always ready to make himself useful." In 1 Logan's Journal, page

35 and in Volume 2 page 283, are two papers by Eu Chin upon the remittances made by the Chinese to their parents, and on their numbers, tribes, and habits in Singapore.

On 20th November a committee of military officers assembled to consider the best site for cantonments, the place used near Stamford Road, on the north bank of the river under Government Hill, being wanted for other purposes. They were then removed to Rochore, but the ground was found to be too low. After that they were removed to the Sepoy Lines, where they continued until the European regiments took the place of the native troops, and occupied the barracks at Tanglin in 1868.

In December the Rev. Mr. Robinson of Bencoolen having published a work on Malayan orthography, Raffles sent six copies to the Supreme Government at Bengal and thirty copies to the Court of Directors in London.

CHAPTER XIII.

1824.

IN January Mr. Frederick James Bernard established a newspaper, *The Singapore Chronicle*. He had applied in the preceding July, to the Governor-General, through the Resident, for leave to do so, and on the 10th January the first number was sent to Bengal. It was, probably, published once a fortnight, because in January, 1831, it was increased in size to a paper of four pages, the whole sheet being 20 inches long by 25 inches wide, and the Editor wrote that the increasing importance of the Settlement (in 1831) as to its commerce, and the consequent progressive addition to its population, demanded from the Singapore Press a paper more worthy of the place than the former one, and published at shorter intervals. The principal contributor to the paper, for the first two years, was Mr. Crawfurd himself, the Resident. In 1884 it was not possible to find any copy of the paper before 1831, and there is not one, probably, in existence. In 1833 there is a note in the *Singapore Chronicle* that the Editor had been unable to make up a complete file of the paper for 1824, 1825 and 1826, so it is not likely that copies are in existence now, nearly eighty years later.

A short notice of the newspapers of years ago in the Straits may be of interest here. *The Prince of Wales Island Gazette* began in 1805, and ceased in August 1827, after twenty-two years. On the 22nd August, 1827, another paper, called *The Penang Register and Miscellany*, was started, and after a short life, expired in September, 1828; this had been a weekly publication. On 25th October, 1828, *The Government Gazette of Prince of Wales Island, Singapore, and Malacca* was started in Penang, published weekly, and it ceased in its turn in July, 1830. On 20th July, 1833, *The Prince of Wales Island Gazette* was started; and on the 7th April, 1838, *The Penang Gazette and Straits Chronicle* was established; these were both weekly papers.

Malacca had also had its newspapers, *The Malacca Observer*, published fortnightly, having commenced in September, 1826, and stopped in October, 1829; it was a small paper about the size of *Punch*, of four pages. After a long interval, *The Weekly Register* started as a weekly publication, and two volumes were published in 1839 and 1840.

The *Singapore Chronicle* continued the only paper in the place until October, 1835, when the *Singapore Free Press* started, and proved too much for the vitality of the *Chronicle*, which ceased, after attempting to get support by lowering its subscription, on Saturday, the 30th September, 1837, and the press and type were shipped to Penang to start the *Penang Gazette and Straits Chronicle* there. The *Free Press* was then the only paper until 1845, when the *The Straits Times and Singapore Journal of Commerce* published its first number on Tuesday,

the 15th July, as a weekly paper of eight pages. In 1824 the newspapers had to be submitted to Government before publication, under what was called the "Gagging Act." As long as Mr. Crawfurd edited the *Chronicle*, this gave no inconvenience, of course; but afterwards the paper used to have large blank spaces in it, where paragraphs or articles had been taken out, and their places supplied by a few stars, to show that it was not a mistake in the printing. That Act was abolished in 1835, and the new paper was consequently called *The Free Press*.

In January, 1824, the first census was taken, and the population then was 10,683, of which there were 74 Europeans, 16 Armenians, 15 Arabs, 4,580 Malays, 3,317 Chinese, 756 Natives of India, and 1,925 Bugis, &c.

In a report Mr. Crawfurd made in January he said that those natives who lived in boats occupied themselves with fishing and piracy, and lived on sago brought from Sumatra. The cost of clearing land for gambier and pepper, for which the soil was good, was $35 an acre. The Chinese were of two classes, Macao and Hokien, the latter the most respectable and the best settlers; all the merchants and most of the good agriculturists were Hokien. The Klings were numerous and respectable as traders. The Bengalees few, and only as menials. The Bugis were numerous and distinguished from other islanders by industry and good conduct, but all traders, not agriculturists. The Malays of Malacca were useful settlers; those of Johore and other native states more a nuisance than a benefit. Except the fishing Malays, all the natives appreciated the advantage of a good land tenure under a European Government, and the Chinese particularly.

In Mr. Crawfurd's opinion the principle to be followed in order to attract agriculturists, was to give a good and permanent tenure, simple and with few formalities on transfer; a good plan either to make grants, an estate for years, or leases for fifty or sixty years renewable on fine, or say at once, a thousand years. Title not to convey real property rights as in England, such as immunity from personal debts, &c., but to be merely chattels.

As there was no power to lay a tax upon Europeans, Mr. Crawfurd proposed that power should be given for the East India Company to assess rates for general municipal purposes, police, roads, lighting, cleansing, nuisances, &c.

The Resident asked permission to forward a gold cup, with a letter dated 23rd December, 1823, presented to Colonel Farquhar, the late Resident, by the Chinese inhabitants of Singapore.

On the 18th January there was a very high tide, rising two feet above the usual highest spring tides. It overflowed into the shops of the Chinese, and into A. L. Johnston & Co.'s godown, which was the nearest to the sea in Battery Road. Sampans were going along the streets at Boat Quay, as they were the only means for people to leave the houses. All Mr. Johnston's out-houses were thrown down by the water washing away the foundations. His house was in a compound, where the building of the Chartered Bank is now. There was a fence along the front in what is now called Battery Road, and steps on the river side, where he used to get into his boats.

In January the Resident reported the discovery of antimony in Borneo, to the north of Sambas, and also that it was found at Bulang, twenty miles from Singapore. In the next year 30 to 40 tons were imported for trial.

The Resident in a judicial report, of 9th January, stated that he was engaged in administering Chinese and Malay law. "The case with respect to Europeans is very different; there exists no means whatever in civil cases of affording the natives any redress against them, nor in criminal cases any remedy short of sending them for trial before the Supreme Court of Calcutta. It is unnecessary to dwell upon the great inconvenience of such a state of things, &c."

In a report of land tenures the Resident gave a list of grants already issued by Raffles from No. 1 to 576, and location tickets from 1 to 158.

On the 6th February Mr. John Crawfurd gave a dinner to all the Europeans, it being the anniversary of hoisting the flag in the island. "The dinner was at 7-30 p.m. and there were about fifty persons present including the ladies. There was plenty to eat but it was so much later than usual that few felt inclined to partake and some took nothing at all. There was a double row of tables. It was a stupid sort of affair altogether. They drank "The Prosperity of Singapore" and of Sir Thomas Raffles, besides all the usual loyal toasts. They rose from the table a little after ten, the Resident's frugal store of wine being apparently exhausted." This account of the first "official dinner" of Singapore is quoted from a diary of Mr. Walter Scott Duncan, which was in the possession of the late Mr. Gilbert Angus twenty years ago. Duncan was the son of the Sheriff substitute of Shetland, and came out to Singapore in 1823, in a vessel which brought out the wife and young daughter of Mr. C. R. Read of A. L. Johnston & Co., and Duncan became a clerk in that firm. He remained here a few months and then went to Rhio, where the firm had an agency, and remained there for some time. He afterwards returned to Singapore where he was a ship-chandler, and finally bought a plantation at Siglap, next to Dr. Little's, which he called Mount Thule, near the 7th mile on Changie Road, where he died in 1857.

At this time dinner was at 4 or 4.30 p.m. and people used to go out for a walk or a drive afterwards, or sometimes danced to the music of two or three fiddlers. At 9.30 there was a supper, and parties always broke up about ten o'clock. The streets were lighted for the first time on the evening of the 1st April, but there were very few lamps and they had only a single glass in front, so the light was little use. As if to show this, Mr. Purvis's godown was broken into that same night and robbed of goods worth $500.

On the 23rd February Mr. Spottiswoode and Mr. and Mrs. Connolly arrived from Padang in the brig *Guide*. They had left Madras in July, 1823, and had been selling the cargo at different places along the West Coast of Sumatra when there was any prospect of doing business. They had not been very successful and had still 300 packages of goods they had been unable to get rid of. They had been expected in Singapore for several months, as it was their intention to settle here, which they did. Mr. Duncan remarked in his diary that

"they will add another firm to the already too great number established."

In February the Resident intended to stop the natives carrying their krisses and a peon was sent to proclaim it in Campong Glam. The man was afraid to do it, and went and told the Sultan, who was very indignant and told the peon that if he attempted to do it he would order him to be krissed on the spot. Mr. Crawfurd allowed the matter to stand over, in which the Europeans thought he showed weakness and want of decision. The Sultan very strongly insisted that it would be contrary to the stipulations at the time of our taking possession of the Island. A few days afterwards Mr. Crawfurd told the Sultan that the Tumongong had no objection, but the Sultan said he was a silly fellow, afraid to speak his own mind and did whatever the Resident wished. An armed guard of Sepoys had accompanied the Resident in case of any disturbance, and the police peons privately carried pistols. The regulation was afterwards carried out without difficulty. One necessary result of the Malays carrying krisses was frequent amoks.

On the 21st February, at three o'clock in the morning, occurred the first fire there is any notice of. It took place in the Dhobies' houses, and the Sepoys went with two engines and buckets. It was a moonlight night, and the fire was put out without any serious damage. About twenty houses were burnt.

On the 22nd February Syed Mahommed died. "He was a much respected Arab merchant, whose death is greatly lamented both by natives and Europeans. He was a man of great honesty, and fair and open in his transactions with all classes. He is supposed to have left considerable property."

On the 17th April the American brig *Leander* arrived from Batavia and brought the news of the loss of the *Fame* off Bencoolen, with all Raffles's collection; but the story was that she had sunk in Bencoolen roads only a few hours before the time Sir Stamford had fixed for embarkation, and so suddenly that the people on board had barely time to save their lives. The *Fame* had been of course burned at sea.

On the King's birthday, 23rd April, a salute was fired by the artillery on the Plain, and another at noon. "There was a dinner on the Goverment Hill at seven o'clock, which was so ill attended and stupid it scarce merits notice."

In those days the flagstaff was eagerly watched, and the signal for a ship to the eastward infused new life into all, as letters from Europe usually arrived *via* Batavia. A voyage from England took four or five months, and an answer within nine months was considered very punctual. It is worth noting that Duncan paid eighty guineas for his passage money from London to Singapore by the Cape and Batavia.

In May the farms were let for one year, and fetched $60,672, against $25,796 in 1823. This year the Opium farm fetched $23,100, Spirits $10,980, Gaming $26,112, and Pawnbrokers $480. By order of the Supreme Government the fines levied in the Court were to be applied to the improvement of the town.

The Dutch Resident at Rhio wrote to the Tumongong asking for a copy of the genealogy of the Royal Family of Johore. The Resident wrote to Bengal, on 10th May:—"The circumstance of carrying on

a secret correspondence with a stipendiary of the British Government, living under its immediate protection, appearing to be a breach of that rule of forbearance with respect to the mutual claims of both governments in the Eastern Archipelago, I recommended the Tumongong not to reply to the Dutch Resident's letter."

The Sultan and Tumongong sent in a long memorial, complaining of the British flag and protection having been removed from Johore. The following is the Resident's report to the Supreme Goverment on the document. It is at full length in Mr. Braddell's Notes, so it is evident he thought it of enough value to be preserved. It is of considerable length, but is of much interest, as it shows how the English had been treating the Malay chiefs, and how they had risen by degrees to appreciate the importance of the place in which they had allowed the "Factory" to be established. As the place grew, their sense of their own consequence, and of the advantage they might take of it, increased. The letter is undoubtedly a very able one, and the future of Singapore depended upon the question it discussed. It will be seen from the treaty, set out in the next chapter, and made by Mr. Crawfurd as soon as he received an answer to this letter from the Supreme Government in Calcutta, that all his suggestions were carried out. His remark that Sir Stamford Raffles could probably have bought the whole island outright for a small sum, was no doubt correct, but on the whole, as events have turned out, through the gradual concurrence of the chiefs, and their consequent appreciation of the behaviour of the English towards them, it was to the advantage of the place that Raffles acted as he did. This is the letter:

"Sir,—I have had the honor to transmit by this opportunity to the Persian Secretary, a joint letter from the native chiefs with whom we are connected at this place, and a separate one from the Tumongong, with translations of both. On the subject of these communications it becomes necessary that I should offer some explanation. The first matter contained is the joint letter—that which refers to the fact of the British flag having been hoisted at Johore,—is probably not known to the Government, unless by rumour. The circumstances attending this transaction are shortly as follows:—

"In the month of February. 1823, the native chiefs connected with us, expressed to the local authority their apprehension that their rivals at Rhio intended to occupy Johore, and they solicited permission to hoist the British flag there to secure them against this risk. Their request was acceded to, and a flag supplied to them, which their own followers erected. In the month of August I received a confidential order to strike the British flag at Johore, in the possible event of its having been erected. On the receipt of these instructions, the necessary directions were communicated to the native chiefs for striking the flag, and I entertained at the time no doubt but that they had been strictly complied with, having been assured that they were.

"In the month of November, however, the apprehended occupation of Johore on the part of the rival chiefs at Rhio, assisted by the Dutch authorities at the settlement, was actually made. Messengers were dispatched from Johore to communicate this information to me, and I now not only learnt that the flag had not been struck, but that

even a demand was set up for a right to our assistance in driving away the people of Rhio. It was in vain that I gave the most peremptory orders to strike the British flag, and that I explained that no clause of any treaty bound the British Government to maintain the authority of the Sultan and Tumongong in any place beyond the limits of the island of Singapore. My directions were disregarded, until I found myself compelled to make a threat of sending a force to remove the flag, when they were at length complied with.

"The object of the present address of the native chiefs to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General, appears to be to complain of our withdrawing our protection by striking the flag at Johore, and to claim the fulfilment of some supposed treaty or promise which binds us to assert and maintain their authority by force of arms. It is scarcely necessary for me to state that no such engagement exists, but that, on the contrary, the second article of the treaty made in February, 1819, expressly provides that we are not bound to interfere in the internal political concerns of their government, nor to aid them by force of arms in asserting their authority, while every other engagement with them is altogether silent on this subject.

"I have been at much pains in explaining this matter to the native chiefs, but my efforts have not been attended with all the success I could have desired, for the subject is most repugnant to their wishes, and to certain ambitious views which they have been led to entertain. It will, therefore, be extremely desirable and satisfactory that the principles of the political connexion which subsists between them and our Government should be made known to them for their guidance from the highest authority.

"The second matter of the joint letter of the native chiefs refers to the question of slavery. The claim made here is that the Malayan law, which admits the existence of slavery, should not be altered or infringed. I presume to consider this as a demand utterly inadmissable. Singapore, however anomalous its situation in some respects, exists only through British protection, and is therefore virtually a British possession for the time. Slavery, therefore, in any form in which it is expressly contrary to law cannot be tolerated.

"The only individuals who can be considered as slaves in this island, according to our laws, are such persons as were in a state of slavery before the place was made over to the British Government and the British flag hoisted. This would include several of the slaves of the Tumongong, as this chief with many of his followers were actually on the island when we received possession of it. It would, however, perhaps exclude all the followers of the Sultan, as he was not present at the period in question, and did not come over with his retainers until some time thereafter.

"The difficulty is greatly enhanced by the impossibility of determining who is and who is not a slave. The chiefs insist that every person belonging to them is a slave, and in no respect master of his own property or actions, and they by no means confine this monstrous pretension to their own retainers at Singapore, but make the same over every native of the numerous islands and straits in our immediate vicinity, nominally or otherwise dependent upon them, who comes to

sojourn or reside at this settlement. The Tumongong at least declares, at the same time, that he has no slaves in the sense in which we understand the term—that is, persons who can be bought or sold for money. It is true, indeed, that these chiefs are not in the practice of selling their people for money, but it is equally certain that their retainers cannot rid themselves of their allegiance, or rather of the condition of villinage in which they exist, without the payment of a fine, and this too only as a matter of especial favor.

"From the circumstances of this settlement, the nature of our relations with the native chiefs, and the serious although unavoidable inconvenience of their living amongst us or in our immediate vicinity, the question of slavery is frequently agitated, and unless settled and defined from the highest authority is likely to become the subject of considerable vexations and embarrassment. The temptations to the followers of the native chiefs to quit them are very great. The reward of labour and the comfort of the free labouring classes which they see before them, are all sufficient inducements to the men. The female portion have the additional one arising from the disproportion of the sexes which exists among the different classes of the inhabitants. Amongst the followers of the Sultan and Tumongong the proportion of women to men is two to one. Amongst the free settlers of every other description, this proportion is even more than inversed, the men being more than double the number of women, and in the case of the Chinese the disproportion is so great that there are at least eight men to every woman.

"The least degree of ill-treatment, and a considerable share of it has come to our knowledge, is sufficient under the circumstances I have stated, to induce the followers of the native chiefs to quit them. Whenever such an event takes place, their persons are demanded, remonstrances follow, and some dissatisfaction has been expressed in many cases where no claim of servitude could be made, and where it would have been a flagrant injustice to have remanded the parties.

"The easy remedy for the inconvenience now complained of appears to me to be that the Resident should open a register for the admission of the names of all persons who are *bona fide* slaves of the native chiefs, or who, being of mature age, acknowledge themselves to be so in the presence of impartial witnesses. In the same register might be inscribed the names of all the followers of the native chiefs who are their debtors, a class that from the poverty and improvidence of this race of people is very numerous. The amount of the debt should be inserted, and the parties not at liberty to quit the service of the chiefs until they have either discharged the full amount of the debt, or served such a reasonable length of time as might justly be considered equivalent to its liquidation.

"I have often proposed this plan to the native chiefs, and although they apparently acquiesced at first, they have not failed in the event to evade it, no doubt receiving it with jealousy as an irksome restraint upon their authority.

"Should the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General be pleased to approve of the suggestion now offered of forming a Registry, it might be carried into effect without any difficulty, by an expression of his approbation in the reply to the letter of the native chiefs.

"The breach of engagement apparently referred to in the concluding part of the letter of the native chiefs, has reference only to the subject of slavery. I am not aware of the existence of any treaty or engagement by which the right of perpetuating slavery while they live under the protection of the British flag is guaranteed to them, and I rest most fully satisfied that the concession of such a right, or of any other which implied a violation of the law of the realm, could not have been in the contemplation of any British authority. By the convention concluded in June, 1823, the only concessions made to the institutions of the Malays are in regard to the ceremonies of religion, marriage, &c., the rules of inheritance, and even these are to be respected where they shall not be contrary to reason, humanity, &c.

"The subject of the separate letter of the Tumongong, refers to a general and indefinite engagement to assist him in removing and establishing himself at his present residence. A similar engagement for the construction of a mosque was entered into with the Sultan, and a specific verbal promise of $3,000 made to him by Sir T. S. Raffles in my presence, during an interview which took place for this and other purposes. At this interview, however, the Tumongong although invited did not personally attend, owing to a temporary indisposition. His confidential advisers, however, attended for him, but made no claim whatever in my presence, and it was not until a month after the departure of Sir T. S. Raffles, that this chief urged a claim of similar amount to that of the Sultan. He has already received on account of himself or his followers, either for the removal or the construction of a new dwelling, $3,000. Yet I have most respectfully to recommend that his present demand, although not extremely reasonable, be also complied with, that even a possible suspicion of ill-faith may not attach to the Government from anything which may be supposed to have taken place, even through misapprehension.

"The demand made by the same chief for a residence in the town of Singapore has placed me in the same awkward situation as his pecuniary one. The matter was never hinted to me, either verbally or in writing, from the source of my instructions on other points, and it was with a good deal of surprise that I first heard the demand. The residence of the Tumongong and his numerous and disorderly followers was a nuisance of the first magnitude. Three thousand dollars had actually been paid for his removal. Three thousand more are demanded for the same object, and yet he wished to preserve a temporary residence in the very same spot, and to occupy all the ground which he had ever occupied. This would have been to have perpetuated every nuisance, for abating which so large an expense had been incurred. The matter would probably have been aggravated, when the followers of the Tumongong were living in his enclosure removed from the control of their chief.

"The inconveniences which arise from the present unsettled nature of our arrangements with the native chiefs, lead me to suggest for the consideration of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General the expediency of entering into new engagements with them, in which the relations in which they are henceforth to stand with the European Government may be laid down with precision, and a termination put to the hopes

which they have been led to entertain of aggrandising themselves abroad at our expense, or embarrassing our local administration.

"I beg for a moment to bring to the recollection of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General the situation of this island and of the other countries in its neighbourhood constituting the nominal principality of Johore, when we formed our settlement in the year 1819. This principality extends on the continent from Malacca to the extremity of the peninsula on both coasts. It had several settlements on the island of Sumatra, and embraced all the islands in the mouth of the Straits of Malacca with all those in China seas, as far as the Natunas in the latitude of 4° N. and longitude 109° E. These countries are all sterile, thinly inhabited here and there on the coast only, and commonly by a race of pirates or fishermen, whose condition in society, ignorant of agriculture and without attachment to the soil, rises very little beyond the savage state; neither is there any good evidence of there ever having existed a better or more improved order of society.

"The condition of the island of Singapore itself may be adduced as an example of the whole. There was not an acre of its surface cultivated and not a dozen cleared of forest. The inhabitants, amounting to a few hundreds, commonly lived only in their boats, and finally the place had, not groundlessly, the reputation of being one of the principal piratical stations in these seas. The father of the present Sultan, being a person of some strength of mind, addicted himself to commercial pursuits and enjoyed more consideration than his predecessors, and consequently had a more extensive influence. He had no acknowledged successor, however, in his government. The individuals recognized both by ourselves and the Dutch were illegitimate children, and being both of them destitute of energy, made no attempt to assume his authority. The principal officers of the Government of Johore from early times were the Bandahara or treasurer, and Tumongong or first minister of justice. These offices appear to have been a long time hereditary in the families of the present occupants, who were indeed virtually independent chiefs, the first of them residing at and exercising sovereignty at Pahang, and the other, the individual with whom the British Government is now connected, doing the same thing at Singapore.

"The present Sultan when he connected himself with us was not only destitute of all authority but living in a state of complete indigence. It is unnecessary, therefore, to dwell on the comfort and respectability which this chief has derived since he placed himself under our protection. The condition of the Tumongong has not been ameliorated to the same extent, but I am not aware of any honest emolument which he has forfeited by his change of circumstances, and it may be added, although he is perhaps not entirely convinced of the beneficial nature of the change, that he has been rescued from a course of life of not the most respectable description. He is, at all events, unquestionably at present living in a greater state of affluence, security, and comfort than it was possible for him to have enjoyed without our protection.

"I have no hesitation in submitting it to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General as my firm opinion, that men born and educated with such habits and prejudices as belong to men in the state of

society which I have just described, ought in no respect to be associated with us in the Government of a settlement, nine-tenths of the inhabitants of which it may be fairly asserted have an utter repugnance and perhaps even contempt for their Government and Institutions. It appears to me that any participation whatever in the administration of the place on their part would be the certain source of trouble and embarrassment, nor am I able to conceive even any contingent advantage which can be expected to result from such a connexion.

"The principal stipulation of any future engagement with the native chiefs ought, as it appears to me, to be the unequivocal cession of the island of Singapore in full sovereignty and property for which the equivalent will be the payment of a sum of ready money and a pension for life. The payment in ready money need not be large, and in it may be included the pecuniary demands at present made by the native chiefs. The pensions should not exceed the present amount, which is $2,000 to both chiefs.

"It should be another stipulation that the British Government should not afford personal protection to the chiefs, except when they reside at Singapore; leaving them, however, the unrestrained right, without forfeiture of their pensions, of residing at whatever other part of their territory they may think proper, with the single condition of their not entering into any political arrangements tending to involve the British Government or engaging in any enterprise tending to disturb the public tranquility.

"The minor arrangements for defining the situation and duties of the native chiefs when residing in the island, were the point of sovereignty once established, would evidently be a matter of no difficulty. They would then be viewed as independent princes occasionally residing amongst us as visitors, and as such entitled to be treated with such marks of respect and such forms of courtesy, as would gratify their feelings without proving injurious to the good government of the Settlement.

"However desirable such an arrangement might be, I am bound to state to the Government that I anticipate considerable difficulty in carrying it into effect. There will not be wanting the persons who will throw obstacles in the way of the negotiation amongst the retainers and parasites with whom they are surrounded. It is further necessary to mention that the chiefs themselves have been unaccountably led to entertain unfounded hopes of aggrandisement and support through our means. They are at the same time not without some desire to participate in our authority, although the singular indolence and incapacity both of themselves and of their followers render them utterly unfit for any useful employment.

"In the formation of the settlement an opinion seems to have been prevalent that the support of the native chiefs was indispensable to its success, although considering their character, their indigence, and their general destitution of useful influence, it is not easy to trace it to any substantial foundation. The first treaty with them conceded to them one-half of the duties on native vessels. The commanders of these vessels were then ordered to wait upon them, when presents were expected, and this continued until it was greatly abused. An exclusive

right to all the lime on the island held valuable for exportation, seems afterwards to have been yielded to them, and a proposition is on record for levying a fine on all the Chinese returning to their native country for their exclusive benefit. These facts are evidences of the opinion to which I have alluded.

"It does not appear to me that the influence of the native chiefs has in any respect been necessary or even beneficial in the formation, maintenance, or progress of this settlement, the prosperity of which has rested solely and exclusively on the character and resources of the British Government. If I may presume to offer an opinion, the easy and obvious course to have pursued in first forming our establishment, would have been to have given at once a valuable pecuniary consideration for the complete sovereignty of the island, a stipulation which would have left us in every respect free and unencumbered, and conveyed a title of such validity as would not afterwards have been cancelled by any art of the native chiefs, wherever residing, or under whatever influence acting. In this early stage, the sum which would have sufficed for such an object would certainly not have equalled one-half of what has already been disbursed to the native chiefs, and which has not fallen short of $60,000. It will perhaps be considered that the sooner we revert to this principle, the less exceptionable will be our title and the more easy and unfettered our future relations with the native chiefs.

"Should the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General be pleased to authorize me to negotiate for an engagement with the Sultan and Tumongong of Johore on the principles which I have had the honour to suggest, or on any other less exceptionable which the wisdom of Government may be pleased to point out, it will be my endeavour to smooth every obstacle which may be opposed to its successful termination.

JOHN CRAWFURD.

Singapore, 10th January, 1824.

On the 10th August a difficulty in dealing with recalcitrant Europeans arose, and Mr. Bonham, the assistant to the Resident, wrote to one individual as follows:—"Sir,—The Resident directs me to inform you that he has given the most serious consideration to the whole line of conduct lately pursued by you, and that considering the incompetency of the local rules in existence at this Settlement to afford security against so marked a spirit of insubordination as you have displayed, he has determined upon sending you to Calcutta, by an early opportunity, with a view of placing you at the disposal of the Governor-General in Council, and in a situation where you will be amenable to the authority of regular law. The Resident directs me further to state to you that this measure has been most reluctantly forced upon him by a consideration of the various outrages committed by you on the persons or property of private individuals—British as well as native—the insults and contempts offered by you to the local rules for the administration of justice and towards the persons whose duty it is to administer them, your sedulous perseverance in those proceedings after ample time and opportunity have been afforded you for making atonement or offering reparation, and finally by the fact of your being, contrary to law, in the East Indies, that is, without a

license from the Court of Directors, and without the necessary certificate from the Chief Secretary to Government. The Resident directs me in conclusion to say that he considers it fair to inform you that he will strongly recommend to the Government not to permit your return to Singapore, until a regular administration of justice shall have been established within the Settlement."

This was Mr. J. Morgan, one of the merchants, who put himself in opposition to all law and control, and fired a morning and evening gun from his schooner in the river, and put the master of a vessel, consigned to his house, in confinement. The merchant was at last ordered to be put in the main guard and sent to Bengal, but through the intercession of his friends, he was released on making an apology. Mr. Crawfurd wrote to Calcutta on the subject in this way :—"In one respect especially the inadequacy of the jurisdiction of this Court has been most lamentably felt. This refers to the case of British subjects, who are at present amenable to no authority at this place, and the ill-disposed among whom have it always in their power to set the authority of Government at defiance, and to render themselves a bane to the peaceable inhabitants. I shall not at present enlarge upon this unpleasant topic, as I humbly trust it will shortly be in the power of Government to put an end to this very serious evil, equally prejudicial to the national character and to the prosperity and respectability of the Settlement."

In July a Portuguese Priest arrived and held Chapel in Dr. Jozé d'Almeida's house. About this time there was a small Roman Catholic community, and they applied to the Bishop of Siam and a priest came to Singapore. In 1823 or 1824 a small Chapel was built, where the St. Joseph's Boys School buildings are now, and the congregation soon increased by new arrivals of Christians. Chinese were converted, and in 1832 the Chapel was too small, as there were some six or seven hundred Chinese. In 1844 the present Church was commenced; in 1845 the Church at Bukit Timah; and in 1852 that at Serangoon. These matters are also referred to at length in another chapter.

Mr. Crawfurd at this time wrote about the necessity of a proper judicial system, which was the commencement of the introduction of the Supreme Court. Part of his letter to Bengal on 23rd August is as follows :—

"A third difference will arise from the want of a professional lawyer of high character and respectable qualifications, which can only be secured under the circumstances of this Settlement in the person of a judge nominated by the Crown. Independently of the impracticability of administering English law anywhere without a judge so qualified, the magnitude and intricacy of the business, which, from the growing commerce of this Settlement, is likely to be brought under the cognizance of a Court of Justice, render such a provision absolutely necessary. The Charter of Justice for Prince of Wales Island has been in operation for 16 years and I am led to believe has given satisfaction and answered every purpose of substantial justice. It will therefore afford a safe precedent for any enactment in respect to this island. The union of the executive and judicial authority, however, under that Charter, appears decidedly objectionable, and would be much more so at this place, where the executive

administration is entrusted to a subordinate officer of government. For this reason, I would respectfully suggest that the judicial authority should be separate and distinct from the executive, as the surest means of rendering it independent and respectable."

The Resident then went on to propose that in mercantile cases the judge should have the assistance of a jury, and, as it would require two or three years to get a King's Court, a draft regulation for establishing a Civil Court and a Court for Small Debts was sent up for sanction. The first to have a respectable Solicitor as Registrar. The Court to consist of the Resident, the two Assistants and two inhabitants. The Small Debts Court to be under the two Assistants and to proceed summarily. A code of police regulations was also sent up for revision, nearly as complete as the draft Acts for the same purpose afterwards prepared. A short time after, the Resident received the following law opinion on this subject which was written either by the Recorder of Penang or the Advocate-General of Bengal: "With respect to the natives he (the Resident) should make them pay their debts by selling their property and by occasional incarceration; with respect to Europeans, and particularly Englishmen, I should recommend the Resident to assume only the authority of sending them from the island, when by getting into debt or general misconduct they impeded the objects of government."

On the 4th November some riots occurred among the Chinese, the first heard of, and several were killed and wounded. Ten tons of copper cents, intended for Bencoolen, were landed at Singapore, in all $11,840 worth. About this time, the mercantile community subscribed $1,255 for a proportion of the expense of draining the town, to be paid by each person in proportion to the degree of advantage he derived from it.

It was in this year that the name of Singapore was first heard in the House of Commons; Mr. Canning stated there that Singapore, after six years, would produce spices sufficient for the consumption of Great Britain and her Colonies. The result did not equal his anticipation, at least in the way he expected.

From a report of the Resident in this year, it appears there were twelve European firms in Singapore in the beginning of the year, either agents of, or connected with, good London or Calcutta houses, some with branches in Batavia, and not one that could be called an adventurer. He said that the only land that was of any value was that suited for godowns and dwelling houses, the best nearest the river, where the value of the best lots, 50 feet frontage and 150 feet deep from river was $3,000 and $38 yearly quit rent. Lots of 1,200 square yards, for dwelling houses, worth $400 and $28 quit rent. And he gives the names of a few of the owners of land at this time, dividing them into:—(1) Merchants Resident; (2) Merchants Non-Resident; (3) Government Officers; and (4) Missionaries. The names are as follows. They are here arranged alphabetically.

1.—Merchants Resident.

Captain Jozé d'Almeida.	W. G. Mackenzie.
J. Clark.	F. Maclaine.

Andrew Farquhar.
— Fletcher
Alexander Guthrie.
Captain Harrington.
Alexander Hay.
Andrew Hay.
Alexander Laurie Johnston.
T. King.
Captain Howard.
J. A. Maxwell.
Alexander Morgan.
David S. Napier.
— Pearl.
John Purvis.
Claude Queiros.
Christopher Rideout Read.
Charles Scott.

2.—Merchants Non-Resident.

Barretto & Co. of Calcutta.
Carnegy of Penang.
G. D. H. Larpent of Calcutta.
John Palmer of Calcutta.

3.—Government Officers.

F. G. Bernard, Magistrate.
Samuel George Bonham, Assistant Resident.
Captain C. E. Davis, Bengal Native Infantry.
Hon. J. J. Erskine, Member of Council, Penang.
Colonel Farquhar, late Resident.
Captain W. Flint, R.N., Master Attendant.
Lieut P. Jackson, Executive Engineer and Surveyor.
Captain Methven.
Dr Montgomerie, Assistant Surgeon.
Captain Murray, Commanding Officer.
Mr Ryan, Store-keeper.
Captain Salmond, Harbour Master of Bencoolen.

4.—Missionaries.

Rev. Robert Morrison, D.D.
Rev. S. Milton.
Rev. G. H. Thomson.

CHAPTER XIV.

1824—*Continued.*

THE TWO TREATIES OF 1824.

A DESPATCH from Bengal of the 16th August contained the Advocate-General's opinion upon the convention with the Sultan and Tumongong of 7th June, 1823, saying that it was not an express declaration but a near approach to it, and that it was desirable to have a more direct and unequivocal abrogation of the native authority; probably as much had been done as the circumstances admitted, and now Singapore might be considered a British Settlement; but nothing could be satisfactory until the attention of the English authorities had been called to the matter, and an Act of Parliament passed.

On the 5th March the Governor-General wrote in answer to the despatch from Mr. Crawfurd of 10th January printed in the preceding chapter, that he agreed with him that it was desirable to obtain an immediate cession of Singapore, which ought to have been done at first, and now that it must be done there would be greater difficulties every day. The second agreement of Sir Stamford Raffles on 7th June had improved matters, but still left sovereignty, tenure, and political rights in a bad state. Authority was therefore given to Crawfurd to negotiate as proposed by him on the basis of the form of treaty sent privately, with authority to offer most liberal terms pecuniarily as an equivalent for the desired advantage.

Mr. Braddell says of this, "Ultimately on the 2nd August, 1824, Mr. Crawfurd concluded a Treaty by which the chiefs alienated for ever all right and title to Singapore, and assumed the position of private individuals while residing within the island. This favorable result was not arrived at without much trouble and the exhibition of great talent and patience. Both chiefs finding they had a strong hold on the English Government, were determined to make the best use of it. The bad arrangement on this head had been brought forward against Raffles as showing a want of foresight on his part, but the real explanation of that, as well as of many other consequences of an inconvenient nature, will be found in the fact that, pending the reference to Europe, his hands were tied, and a rapidly advancing Settlement was confined within the cramping limits of first arrangements, without having the advantage of improving and extending these arrangements to meet advancing requirements." The following is the form of the Treaty under which Singapore has been held to the present day. In November, 1861, it was ruled in the Supreme Court that the right of the British Government over the waters within ten miles of Singapore must be limited by a distance of three miles from any coast either of mainland or island within a circle of ten miles of which Singapore is the centre.

A TREATY of FRIENDSHIP and ALLIANCE between the HONOURABLE THE ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY on the one side, and their HIGHNESSES the SULTAN and TUMONGONG of JOHORE on the other, concluded on the Second day of August, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Twenty-four (1824), corresponding with the Sixth day of the month of Zulhaji, in the year of the Hejira One Thousand Two Hundred and Thirty-nine (1239) by the above Sultan of Johore, HIS HIGHNESS SULTAN HUSSAIN MAHOMED SHAH, and the above TUMONGONG of JOHORE, HIS HIGHNESS DATU TUMONGONG ABDUL RAHMAN SRI MAHARAJAH on their own behalf, and by JOHN CRAWFURD, Esq., British Resident of Singapore, vested with full powers thereto, by the Right Honourable WILLIAM PITT, LORD AMHERST, Governor-General of and for Fort William in Bengal, on behalf of the said HONOURABLE ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY.

ARTICLE 1.

Peace, friendship, and good understanding shall subsist for ever between the Honourable the English East India Company and their Highnesses the Sultan and Tumongong of Johore and their respective heirs and successors.

ARTICLE 2.

Their Highnesses the Sultan Hussain Mahomed Shah and Datu Tumongong Abdul Rahman Sri Maharajah hereby cede in full sovereignty and property to the Honourable the English East India Company, their heirs and successors for ever, the Island of Singapore, situated in the Straits of Malacca, together with the adjacent seas, straits, and islets, to the extent of ten geographical miles, from the coast of the said main Island of Singapore.

ARTICLE 3.

The Honourable the English East India Company hereby engages, in consideration of the cession specified in the last Article, to pay to His Highness the Sultan Hussain Mahomed Shah, the sum of Spanish Dollars thirty-three thousand two hundred (33,200), together with a stipend, during his natural life, of one thousand three hundred (1,300) Spanish Dollars per mensem, and to His Highness the Datu Tumongong Abdul Rahman Sri Maharajah, the sum of twenty-six thousand eight hundred (26,800) Spanish Dollars, with a monthly stipend of seven hundred (700) Spanish Dollars during his natural life.

ARTICLE 4.

His Highness the Sultan Hussain Mahomed Shah hereby acknowledges to have received from the Honourable the English East India Company in fulfilment of the stipulations of the two last Articles, the sum of thirty-three thousand two hundred (33,200) Spanish Dollars, together with the first monthly instalment of the above-mentioned stipend, of Spanish Dollars one thousand three hundred (1,300), and His Highness the Datu Tumongong Abdul Rahman Sri Maharajah also hereby acknowledges to have received from the Honourable the English East India Company, in fulfilment of the stipulations of the two last Articles, the sum of twenty-six thousand eight hundred Spanish Dollars (26,800), with one month's instalment of the above stipend of seven hundred Spanish Dollars.

ARTICLE 5.

The Honourable the English East India Company engages to receive and treat their Highnesses the Sultan Hussain Mahomed Shah, and Datu Tumongong Abdul Rahman Sri Maharajah, with all the honours, respect, and courtesy belonging to their rank and station, whenever they may reside at, or visit the Island of Singapore.

ARTICLE 6.

The Honourable the English East India Company hereby engages in the event of their Highnesses the Sultan and Tumongong, their heirs or successors, preferring to reside permanently in any portion of their own States, and to remove for that purpose from Singapore, to pay unto them, that is to say, to His Highness the Sultan Hussain Mahomed Shah, his heir or successor, the sum of twenty thousand (20,000) Spanish Dollars, and to His Highness the Datu Tumongong Abdul Rahman Sir Maharajah, his heir or successor, the sum of fifteen thousand (15,000) Spanish Dollars.

ARTICLE 7.

Their Highnesses the Sultan Hussian Mahomed Shah and the Datu Tumongong Abdul Rahman Sri Maharajah, in consideration of the payment specified in the last Article, hereby relinquish for themselves, their heirs, and successors, to the Honourable the English East India Company their heirs and successors for ever, all right and title to every description of immoveable property, whether in lands, houses, gardens, orchards, or timber trees, of which their said Highnesses may be possessed within the Island of Singapore or its dependencies at the time they may think proper to withdraw from the said island for the purpose of permanently residing within their own States, but it is reciprocally and clearly understood that the provisions of this Article shall not extend to any description of property which may be held by any follower or retainer of their Highnesses beyond the precincts of the ground at present allotted for the actual residence of their said Highnesses.

ARTICLE 8.

Their Highnesses the Sultan Hussain Mahomed Shah, and the Datu Tumongong Abdul Rahman Sri Maharajah hereby engage that, as long as they shall continue to reside within the Island of Singapore, or to draw their respective monthly stipends from the Honourable the English East India Company, as provided for in the present Treaty, they shall enter into no alliance and maintain no correspondence with any foreign power or potentate whatsoever, without the knowledge and consent of the said Honourable the English East India Company, their heirs and successors.

ARTICLE 9.

The Honourable the English East India Company hereby engages, that, in the event of their Highnesses the Sultan Hussain Mahomed Shah, and the Datu Tumongong Abdul Rahman Sri Maharajah removing from the Island of Singapore, as contemplated in the 6th Article, and being distressed within their own territories on such removal, to afford them, either at Singapore or Prince of Wales' Island, a personal asylum and protection.

ARTICLE 10.

The contracting parties hereby stipulate and agree, that neither party shall be bound to interfere in the internal concerns of the other's government, or in any political dissensions or wars which may arise within their respective territories, nor to support each other by force of arms against any third party whatever.

ARTICLE 11.

The contracting parties hereby engage to use every means within their power respectively, for the suppression of robbery and piracy within the Straits of Malacca, as well as the other narrow seas, straits, and rivers bordering upon, or within their respective territories, in as far as the same shall be connected with the dominions and immediate interests of their said Highnesses.

ARTICLE 12.

Their Highnesses the Sultan Hussain Mahomed Shah, and the Datu Tumongong Abdul Rahman Sri Maharajah hereby engage to maintain a free and unshackled trade everywhere within their dominions, and to admit the trade and traffic of the British nation into all the ports and harbours of the kingdom of Johore and its dependencies on the terms of the most favoured nation.

ARTICLE 13.

The Honourable the English East India Company hereby engages, as long as their Highnesses the Sultan Hussain Mahomed Shah and the Datu Tumongong Abdul Rahman Sri Maharajah shall continue to reside on the Island of Singapore, not to permit any retainer or follower of their said Highnesses who shall desert from their actual service, to dwell or remain in the Island of Singapore or its dependencies. But it is hereby clearly understood, that all such retainers and followers shall be natural born subjects of such parts of their Highnesses' dominions only in which their authority is at present substantially established, and that their names, at the period of entering the service of their

Highnesses, shall have been duly and voluntarily inscribed in a register, to be kept for that purpose by the chief local authority for the time being.

ARTICLE 14.

It is hereby mutually stipulated for and agreed, that the conditions of all former Conventions, Treaties, or Agreements entered into between the Honourable the English East India Company and their Highnesses the Sultan and Tumongong of Johore, shall be considered as abrogated and annulled by the present Treaty, and they are hereby abrogated and annulled accordingly, always, however, with the exception of such prior conditions as have conferred on the Honourable the English East India Company any right or title to the occupation or possession of the Island of Singapore and its dependencies, as abovementioned.

Done and concluded at Singapore, the day and year as above written.

SULTAN HUSSAIN MAHOMED SHAH.
J. CRAWFURD.
DATU TUMONGONG ABDUL RAHMAN SRI MAHARAJAH.

By another treaty made with the Tumongong on 19th December, 1862, Articles 6 and 7 of the above treaty were annulled as far as related to the Tumongong. He gave up the right to the $15,000, and received a title in fee simple for lands at Telloh Blangah, while he gave the Government the piece of land on which Mount Faber flagstaff had been erected, with a right of way to it, and a carriage road along the shore, and some other pieces of ground.

The two following despatches to the Government at Calcutta were written by Mr. Crawfurd:—

SINGAPORE, *3rd August*, 1824.

Sir.—In obedience to the instructions contained in your despatch of the 5th of March, and which arrived at this place on the 11th of May, I beg leave to report for the information of the Right Honorable the Governor-General that I lost no time in opening a negociation with the Sultan and Tumongong for the cession of this island. The result has been the treaty which is herewith transmitted, and which I respectfully submit for the approval and ratification of the Right Honorable the Governor-General.

Upon the different provisions of this convention, I beg to lay before the government the following short comment. The heading and first articles scarcely demand any particular remark. The names of the native princes are given at full length and their legitimate titles of Sultan and Tumongong of Johore, under which alone they can be supposed to have power to yield to us the sovereignty of the island, are given to them to the exclusion of more limited designation.

The 2nd, 3rd and 4th articles of the treaty convey to the Honorable East India Company as complete a cession of the sovereignty and property of the Island of Singapore and places adjacent to it, as I could find words to express it in. In framing these conditions I have received the Sultan as possessing the right of paramount dominion, and the Tumongong as not only virtually exercising the powers of government, but being, like other Asiatic Sovereigns, *de facto* the real proprietor of the soil, a principle the more satisfactorily established in the present instance, since the whole ceded territory when it came into our occupation was unreclaimed, in a state of nature and strictly destitute of permanent inhabitants. Government will have the goodness to notice that the cession made is not confined to the main island of Singapore alone, but extends to the Seas, Straits and Islets (the latter probably not less than 50 in number), within ten geographical miles of its coasts, not however including any portion of the continent. Our limits will in this manner embrace the Old Straits of Singapore and the important passage of the Rabbit and Coney, the main channel through the Straits of Malacca, and the only convenient one from thence into the China Seas. These extended bounds appear to me to be absolutely necessary towards the military protection of the Settlement, towards our internal security, and towards our safety from the piratical hordes that surround us, against whose incursions and depredations there would be no indemnity if we were

not in the occupation of the numerous islets which lie upon the immediate coast of the principal Settlement. Accompanying this despatch, I beg to lay before government an outline Chart of the British Settlement as it will exist after the ratification of the present treaty.

The amount value stipulated to be paid by the East India Company for the cession of Singapore and its Dependencies, it will be seen by the third article of the treaty, is nominally sixty thousand Spanish dollars, in ready money, with a pension for life to the native princes of two thousand Spanish dollars per mensem. The real amount of ready money to be paid, however, is considerably short of this sum and is in fact only forty thousand, the difference of twenty thousand being the balance between the sum of eight thousand paid under the original treaty and the higher salary paid under the convention of June, 1823, from the period of its signature. This engagement was never ratified, for which reason I have naturally considered the sums heretofore paid on account of it as part and portion of the purchase money now given for the island. Besides this sum of 40,000 Spanish dollars, some contingent expences not exceeding in all 3,500 Spanish dollars and which will be particularized in a separate despatch, will be incurred.

The monthly stipends to be paid to the two native princes are the same as under the convention of 1823, viz., two thousand dollars between them. They had been accustomed indeed to the receipt of this large sum during the last twelve months, their expences and establishments had been measured accordingly and there was therefore no possibility of reducing it. Indeed great efforts were made to render this pension hereditary and perpetual, and the steady resistance made to this demand, which had no foundation in any former treaty or promise, formed for a long time the principal obstacle to the success of the negociation.

The 6th and 7th articles leave to their Highnesses the option of quitting the island of Singapore for the purpose of residing permanently within their own dominions. The sum to be paid to them in this case will amount to 35,000 Spanish dollars, and could we disencumber ourselves of them at such a price, I am of opinion that the advantage would be cheaply purchased. The object indeed which I had in view in naming so large a sum was to hold out some inducement to their removal, although, at the same time, considering the repose and security which they at present enjoy, and which the dispositions evinced by them in the progress of this negociation show clearly that they little wish to relinquish, I cannot look to the event as a very probable one. The benefits of this article are purposely made to extend to the heirs and successors of the princes, and with them of course there can be no difficulty in carrying its intentions into effect. One evident advantage to our administration will in the meanwhile attend this stipulation, that it will have a tendency to abate any temporary dissatisfaction which the princes and their followers might otherwise feel disposed to entertain while living under our immediate protection, as the option of retiring to their own states without loss or inconvenience will always be within their power.

While on this particular subject I have great satisfaction in being enabled to state for the information of government, that since the receipt of the letters addressed to the Sultan and Tumongong by order of the Right Honorable the Governor-General, a marked and very favorable change has taken place in their conduct. That of the Tumongong in particular, the most influential and intelligent individual of the two, has been highly respectable and steady throughout the whole of the present negociation, and I owe in a great measure to his support such success as I may venture to anticipate as the result of my own efforts.

The 8th, 9th and 10th articles make provision for the political relations which are henceforth to subsist between the native princes and ourselves, while they reside within our territories and are our pensionaries. The stipulation that they shall hold no correspondence with any foreign nation without our especial consent seems equally fair and indispensable. To this article indeed they were far from offering any objection, for their evident desire throughout was to engage themselves in a close alliance with us, and to render us, if possible, a party offensive as well as defensive to their quarrels. This was a point to be cautiously guarded against, and I have endeavoured to make the necessary provision for

such a purpose in the 9th and 10th articles, which secure to the native princes, without putting us to political inconvenience, a personal asylum in case of need and effectually protect us, at the same time, from the necessity of interfering in their unprofitable quarrels among themselves or their neighbours, as well as from the more serious evil of being committed with European powers through their imprudence.

The 11th article provides for suppression of robbery and piracy. In this matter it is not much that the native princes in connexion with us have in their power, but it is always something at least that they should be bound down to the good conduct of their own immediate dependents, amongst whom there are to be found some depredators of considerable notoriety and the majority always more disposed to plunder than to labour when an opportunity offers.

The 12th article provides against the pernicious practice on the part of the native princes of establishing petty monopolies, towards which a strong propensity always exists. A free intercourse with our immediate vicinity, the whole of which is under their sway, is indispensable to a cheap supply of crude and raw produce, and the necessity of this to the prosperity of the Settlement seemed especially to call for the present stipulation, independent of its justice and propriety on general principles.

In explanation of the 13th article I may observe that possessing the sovereignty and property of the island, the followers and retainers of the princes will of necessity be as completely amenable to such laws as may be established by the sovereign power as any other class of the inhabitants. This right however will require to be exercised with delicacy and discretion. Something similar to the jurisdiction which is conceded to Ambassadors over their families in the international policy of European states, may in general be allowed to the native princes by courtesy, without at the same time permitting their residences to become a sanctuary for criminals of any order or description.

The only concession made upon a subject upon which the native princes were extremely urgent and importunate, the desertion of their retainers, is contained in the same article of the treaty. The class of persons comprehended in this provision are strictly subjects of the native princes, and aliens with respect to us, so that I am in hopes that the stipulation in regard to it, is of a strictly legal character.

I have had the honor, in a former despatch, of bringing to the notice of the Supreme Government the question of slavery as connected with the native princes. I have not permitted the present treaty to be polluted even by the mention of the subject. I must do the chiefs the justice indeed to say that they did not urge it. Under these favorable circumstances, when the present convention is ratified, slavery may be said to be banished from the island, where its illegality, whether our sovereignty, the condition of our Asiatic Colonists, or of the British settlers be considered, will be as complete as on the soil of Great Britain itself. I have the more satisfaction in making this report, since the practice of introducing slaves had at one time become too common and called for frequent punishment. I have now respectfully to solicit the permission of government to publish a formal denunciation against the practise in question, with an explanation of the state of the law as regards the question of slavery in general.

The 14th and last article annuls all former treaties and conventions, and I have only thought it prudent, chiefly in reference to our connexion with European powers, to make an exception for such rights of occupation as were conferred upon us by the engagements in question.

I have throughout the whole negociation, which is now being brought to a conclusion, carefully warned the native princes and the individuals who are in their confidence that no stipulation of the present treaty could be binding until the whole was duly ratified by the Right Honorable the Governor-General. The whole, therefore, is completely open to alteration and amendment, either in substance or expression, without any compromise of the character of the agent employed in carrying it into effect. I humbly trust, however, from the pains which have been taken both with the English copy and its Malayan version, that no serious revision will be necessary, and that the important objects contempled by the Right Honor-

able the Governor-General in Council, in opening the negociation, will be found expressed in the convention with adequate precision and comprehensiveness.

J. CRAWFURD,
Resident.

Sir,—I have the honor herewith to transmit a copy in English and Malay of the treaty just concluded with the Sultan and Tumongong of Johore, to which the seals of these chiefs are affixed. Much pains have been taken with the Malayan version of the treaty, and I am in hopes it will be found to express with accuracy and sufficient propriety the stipulations of the convention.

I have respectfully to propose, that should the treaty be ratified by the Right Honorable the Governor-General in Council, three copies of it should be engrossed upon parchment in half margin, leaving a column for the Malayan version, in the manner followed with the copy now submitted. Should these be transmitted with the Governor-General's ratification, the Malay will be added at this place, and one copy will be returned by the first opportunity to Bengal to be deposited among the Records of Government, while the other two will be presented as a mark of attention to their Highnesses the Sultan and Tumongong.

Singapore, 1st October, 1824. J. CRAWFURD,
Resident.

THE TREATY WITH HOLLAND.

This year was also made memorable in the history of the Straits by the famous treaty between Great Britain and Holland of the 17th March, 1824. It was signed in London by Canning for the former, and Baron Fagel for the Netherlands. When Java and its dependencies were delivered over to the Dutch by the British, after the peace of 1814, and the congress of Vienna, (the English having defeated the French who had taken possession of Java, in the name of Napoleon) the first act of the Dutch, who had been thus restored to their former possessions, was, with proverbial ingratitude, to impose restrictions on British commerce in the Archipelago. The aggressions of the Dutch on our commerce in the East were very injurious, and this treaty was the consequence of the equivocal situation of affairs. The spirit of the treaty of 1824 was that the manufactures of each nation should not be liable to more than double the rate of duty charged on those of the country to which the port belonged, but this condition was not fulfilled by the Dutch and led to constant disputes.

The Dutch ceded to England all their petty establishments in India, and England gave up Fort Marlborough (Bencoolen) and all possessions in Sumatra, with an agreement that no British Settlement should be formed there or treaty concluded with any chief in the island. The Dutch ceded Malacca, which the English took charge of again, having left the Dutch there since 1818; and the Dutch agreed to abstain in a similar manner from all political intercourse with the Malay Peninsula. The Dutch also (very generously!) withdrew the objections which had been made to the occupation of Singapore by the British. But the British (and this was the part of the agreement which has led to frequent question and been the cause of loss not only to ourselves but to native countries) engaged that no British establishment should be made on the Carimon Islands, Battam, Bintang, (opposite Singapore harbour) Lingga, or any of the other islands south of the Straits of Singapore, nor any treaty concluded by British authority with the chief of those islands. To read this literally, Australia is an

island south of Singapore, but the Dutch endeavoured in the most futile way to apply the terms of the treaty to Borneo. Sarawak is a native state under a British subject as native Rajah, appointed by the people, the North Borneo Company is a corporation of private individuals, but in each of these instances the Dutch have raised objections founded on this clause of the Treaty. The Dutch received other advantages under the treaty, and England, no doubt, sacrificed large interests by her concessions in yielding Sumatra. Bencoolen was, as Sir Stamford described it, an almost inaccessible and rocky shore, but other parts of Sumatra afford opportunities for much commerce, and the success of the pepper and tobacco plantations in the north show how much might be done if it was under British rule, and the country in a tranquil state.

The Treaty contained other provisions regarding the suppression of piracy, and for license for all the inhabitants of the territories affected to dispose of their property, as they pleased, for the term of six years, and for the payment of £100,000 to the Dutch to settle all accounts and reclamations arising out of the restoration of Java. The fortifications were all to remain intact, and the actual cession to take place on the lst of March, 1825.

To the Treaty was attached a note by the British Plenipotentiary respecting (among other matters) the treaty that had been concluded in 1819 by Sir Stamford Raffles, in the interval between his first and second visits to Singapore, with the King of Acheen, and expressing a hope that no measures hostile to him would be adopted by the Dutch, or against any other Native Chiefs with whom the Bencoolen Government had made treaties. The Dutch Plenipotentiaries in their note said that the individuals interested in the existing order of things might cherish the hope that the Dutch would respect their acquired rights and their welfare. About fifty years after these words were written followed the present interminable Acheen War.

A few words more as to the result of the Treaty. The little sentence "islands south of the Straits of Singapore" politically closed up to England, as we have said, part of Borneo. But it also excluded the tin countries of Banca, the islands of Billiton, Bali, and nearly all the Celebes, in addition to Acheen and all Sumatra. In giving Bencoolen for Malacca, England perhaps has been in the end the gainer, and the unexampled progress of government, population and trade in the Malay Peninsula, is in marked comparison with the state of Sumatra, but the only advantage to her, from an impolitic treaty, as it was then thought in the Straits, was the greater consolidation of India, and the more complete command of the Straits of Malacca, of which the strategic importance is now being fully recognised.

The encroachments by the Dutch on British trade, which this treaty was intended to prevent, drew to a head in 1837, and on the 12th of August in that year the matter came before the House of Commons, on a petition from merchants connected with Singapore. Lord Palmerston, who on several occasions took up our cause very warmly, concurred in the statements of grievances alleged in the

petition, and in effect stated pretty plainly that it was a matter of national importance, and that unless Holland intended to carry out the fulfilment of a treaty solemnly confirmed and ratified, it would have to be ultimately referred to Parliament and the question of peace or war with Holland would depend upon it.

Colonel Low in 1850 wrote of the treaty as turning the people of Sumatra and the island unceremoniously over to the Dutch influence, and saying that the statesmen who originated such an act of political and mercantile suicide must have been ignorant of the value of the regions which were to be affected by the treaty, or quite unmindful of the results of British generosity. It was not thought enough to perform an act of generosity by restoring Java to the Dutch in 1816, but also to exhibit an uncalled for liberality in 1824 at the expense of British trade. And he asked what right any nation in the 19th century could possibly have to barter away thus extensive countries, with their independent populations, without their consent. In which opinion, it may be, some, in this century, may probably concur.

A curious commentary on Colonel Low's remark is a passage in the book of G. F. Davidson, spoken of elsewhere.

He was present at Bencoolen when that place was handed over to the Dutch in 1825, and he says:—"The transfer to the Dutch was a severe blow and great disappointment to all the natives, both high and low. At a meeting of chiefs held at the Government House, at which the English and Dutch authorities were both present for the purpose of completing the transfer, the Senior Raja rose to address the assembly. He was an old man with whose power and will for mischief in former days the British had good cause to be acquainted. Spoken in Malay his words sounded stronger than when they are translated. He spoke to the following effect:—'Against this transfer of my country I protest, who is there possessed of authority to hand me and my countrymen like so many cattle over to the Dutch. If the English are tired of us let them go away, but I deny their power us over. When the English first came here they asked for and got a piece of land to build godowns and dwelling houses on; that piece of land is still shown by its stone wall, and is all they ever got from us. We were never conquered, and I now tell the English and Dutch gentlemen here assembled that had I the power, as I have the will, I would resist this transfer to the knife. I am however a poor man, and have no soldiers to cope with yours, and must submit.'"

No doubt it was considered an advantage that the two powers, whose system of government are so essentially different, should not have conterminous boundaries, or exist on the same island. The result would, it might well be thought, be a comparison in favour of the English which would bring the natives into their territory, to the obvious disadvantage of the other nation. And it is probable that (as in the cession of Java to the Dutch after the short occupation of the British) it was a point of English policy to uphold Holland, who without her colonies would have, practically, ceased to exist as a European power. The story is often told that Java was restored

to the Dutch because a letter from Sir Stamford Raffles was mislaid, and never opened in the Foreign Office until some time afterwards, when the matter was all settled. But it appears more probable that Lord Castlereagh looked at the question from the view of an English politician, regarding it solely as one of European importance, and the letter in question was taken as not read, for, as Mr. Boulger says, Lord Castlereagh's administration was a *war* admimistration, and he neither knew nor cared about the commerce of the country.

One result of the treaty was that it gave occasion for public attention being pointedly drawn to the restoration of Java to the Dutch in 1816, in an article which appeared in the *Monthly Scottish Magazine* of October, 1836, published in Glasgow. It attracted much attention and was reprinted in full in the *Free Press* of 30th March, 1837. The writer, after discussing the whole question at length, wound up by saying that Great Britain could not be considered as acting beyond the necessities of the case, were she even to resort to the extreme measure of repossessing herself of Java. This, it was known afterwards, was written by Mr. John Crawfurd, who was then in Scotland. It refers to the story of Raffles' unopened letter concerning Java. The following is a short passage from the paper:—"The Island of Java was captured by the English in 1811, and held by them till 1816, when it was again ceded to Holland in consequence of arrangements entered into at the Congress of Vienna in the preceding year. It may seem strange that this country should have consented to give up a possession of so much value, and so capable of promoting our commercial objects. Some explanation seems indeed necessary, why settlements of less importance should have been retained, while that fertile and populous island, the resources of which were or ought to have been, known to British statesmen was thus heedlessly gifted away. It has been stated in apology, that in those stirring times (Anno 1815) and among the military "*diplomates*" who were assembled at Vienna, no foreign station was looked upon as valuable, excepting such as possessed importance as a military position. Twenty years of war had fairly convinced the assembled leaders of the Holy Alliance that European nations were willing, in all time to come, to play at their bidding the same deadly game which had just been finished. And under such a delusion what wonder is it if Java, possessing no military value, should have been overlooked? It has also been said that the then British Secretary for Foreign Affairs amid the many avocations with which he was occupied, had mislaid or left unread important documents which had been transmitted by Sir Stamford Raffles from Batavia, and which placed the value of the island of Java in a proper point of view, and that the error which he had committed was found out when it was too late to remedy it."

The good work of Sir Stamford Raffles in Java was as remarkable as his sagacious foresight with regard to Singapore. Many Dutch writers have spoken of him with admiration and respect. This is not the place to enlarge upon it and it is to be found well told in Mr. Boulger's book.

But it is not altogether foreign to the object of this book to recapitulate very briefly from that work some of the good he did.

When he took charge of the government under such very exceptional circumstances, the natives had been so oppressed that in one province the population, which had exceeded eighty thousand in 1750, had been reduced to eight thousand in 1811. Other rich provinces had been brought to poverty and insurrection by oppression and misrule, and large cultivated tracts had become wildernesses. The inhabitants of whole districts had migrated into the native provinces. The forced cultivation of coffee had produced the most dreadful sufferings. There had been an insurrection in 1800 caused by oppression. It was said that in a few years the lives of at least ten thousand natives had been destroyed by forced labour on public roads made for purely military purposes and useless for agriculture. The Government had no silver in the Treasury, and the currency was depreciated paper forced into circulation under severe penalties. The whole situation, as Mr. Boulger remarks, bristled with difficulties.

Raffles introduced justice and trial by jury; and a very radical reform in the revenue by which means it was raised to nearly four millions sterling. The land returns in the Eastern districts, as appears from a paper by Mr. John Crawfurd (then a civil commissioner in Java under Raffles) rose from 818,218 guilders in 1808 under Daendels, the highest ever reached up to that time, to 5,368,085 in 1814 under Raffles. The transit dues, which made trade almost impossible, were reduced from the average of 47 per cent. to a level of 10 per cent. A law was made forbidding slavery; an end was put to the practice of compulsory labour, proper wages being paid for labour on the roads and in the postal service; the toll-gates which frequently raised the price of articles sent inland by seventy per cent. were totally abolished; the people obtained legal protection and the right to follow and enjoy the fruits of their own industry without paying the excessive exactions of an embarrassed Government; and before Raffles left and Java was restored to the Dutch, unconditionally and without price to Holland, the exporation of coffee amounted to an annual output of fifty million pounds, with a free population, while under the Dutch system it had been limited to ten million pounds. All this in four years and a half. No wonder the natives three years afterwards crowded the ships in Batavia Roads where the Dutch refused to give Raffles leave to land, as has been said in the first chapter.

Mr. Boulger says that in the native courts of Java there still survive memories of that Governor Raffles who made himself equally loved and feared, and that the tradition is not altogether sentimental or devoid of practical value: and then Mr. Boulger adds the following, which we take leave to reprint in full, because it is very interesting to those in Singapore, many of whom no doubt think that if Java were in the rapid march of events in these days to fall into the power of another European nation (as it did into that of England in 1811) the Dutch might look in vain for such generosity a second time, and would not have the opportunity to treat their benefactors with ingratitude:—"Should events in Europe place the Netherlands in the possession of a stronger continental power, as was the case in the beginning of the century, the recollection of Raffles's wise

and benevolent rule will serve to direct Dutch colonial opinion, so that it may seek that sure haven of British protection, freedom of trade and of institutions, which it found in the days of Minto and Raffles, rather than again become subject to a military despotism. This is no random or hasty thought. Not so many years ago there was a spasm of fear in Holland and throughout her colonies that they might be absorbed in the German Empire; and I have high authority for saying that when that apprehension reached the colonies, the Governor of the Dutch East Indies declared that as soon as the Black Eagle was hoisted at the Hague he would run up the Union Jack at Batavia. It is to Raffles that we should owe what I will venture to call the moral reversion to Java by the free action of its inhabitants, whenever violence or ambition shall snap the link with Holland."

On 1st October, 1824, Mr. Crawfurd wrote the following despatch to the Secretary to Government at Calcutta on the subject of the treaty:—

Sir,—An authentic copy of the Treaty concluded in London in the month of March last with the Government of the Netherlands, having been received at this place, through the medium of the Dutch Official newspaper, I beg respectfully to lay before the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council such observations as are suggested by it, principally in its bearings on the local arrangements recently made with the native chiefs at this place.

By the 10th article of the treaty with the Netherland Government which touches the Town and Fort of Malacca, "His Netherland Majesty engages for himself and his subjects never to form any establishment in any part of the Peninsula of Malacca or to conclude any treaty with any native Prince, chief, or state therein." On the authority of this article, the designations of Sultan and Tumongong of Johore given in the local arrangement to the native chiefs appears to be unquestionable and appropriate.

By the 12th article of that treaty, His Britannic Majesty engages that no British establishment shall be made on the Carimon Isles, or the islands of Battam, Bintang, Lingin, or on any of the other islands south of the Straits of Singapore, nor any treaty concluded, by British authority, with the chiefs of those islands. The cession made to us by the native Princes of the main island of Singapore and the islets adjacent to it, to the extent of ten geographical miles from its coast, is in no respect impugned by the condition in question, as by the most liberal interpretation, the whole cession is strictly north of the southern limits of the Straits of Singapore.

I beg respectfully to state for the information of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council, a few doubts which it is probable may arise in the interpretation of the 10th and 12th articles of the treaty with the Netherland Government. By the former the Town and Fort of Malacca and its dependencies are ceded to the British Government. At the period of the conclusion of the treaty, the Settlement of Rhio, situated upon the island of Bintang, was strictly and in all respect a dependancy of Malacca as in every period of its connexion with the Dutch Government. By this article, therefore, it would become a British possession, but this is again precluded by the 12th article, which provides expressly against any British Settlement being formed on the island of Bintang or any treaty concluded by the British authority with its chief. Under these circumstances the only question is whether the Settlement of Rhio is to be retained or relinquished by the Dutch authorities.

It does not upon the whole appear to me that the occupation of Rhio could be beneficial to the British Government, yet its retention on the part of the Netherland Government, and our exclusion from entering into political relations with the chiefs of all the islands lying south to the Straits of Singapore and between the Peninsula and Sumatra, may prove a matter of some inconvenience to us, as it in fact virtually amounts to a dismemberment of the principality of Johore, and must thus be productive of some embarrassment and confusion. This may be easily illustrated by an example. The Carimon islands

and the Malayan Settlement of Bulang are two of the principal possessions of the Tumongong of Johore or Singapore, and his claim to them is not only allowed by the rival chiefs, but more satisfactorily ascertained by the voluntary and cheerful alliance yielded to him by the inhabitants. By the present treaty, however, he must either forego all claims to these possessions, or removing to them, renounce his connexion with the British Government.

J. CRAWFURD,
Resident.

CHAPTER XV.

1825.

IN February, 1825, it was proposed to build a new market to cost $4,316.60, as the market was too small. In April, 80 Madras convicts and 120 Bengal convicts arrived from Bencoolen. Lines were built for 600 to 700 at the cost of $13,199, but leaving room for extending the buildings for 1,200 to 2,000. Lieutenant Chester of the 23rd Bengal Native Infantry was appointed Superintendent, with $150 staff salary, and provision was made for an overseer at $50, a native doctor at $12, a writer at $7, and one peon for every 25 convicts at $6 a month. There is a note in some statistics regarding Penang that the occupation of Singapore caused a loss to the revenue at Penang between 1821 and 26th July, 1825, of $152,734.

In the months of March and April in this year Malacca was re-occupied by the English.

In the *Singapore Chronicle* there was a paper by Mr. Crawfurd on Agriculture in Singapore, which is reprinted in 3 Logan's Journal, page 508; experience has since shewn that his condemnation of the soil was well founded, coffee, cotton, sugar, and nutmegs having all failed to prove successful. Mr. Crawfurd said that the soil and climate were perfectly adapted for the cocoanut, orange, mangoe, durian and pineapple, as it was rather climate than soil that is required for such productions; and it appeared singular, and yet unexplained in vegetable physiology, that while the poorest wilds are sufficient for the growth, not only of the luxuriant plants which afford the rich fruits in question, but also for that of the most stupendous trees in the forest; the richest are indispensable to the successful culture of the lowly plants which afford the principal necessaries of life.

A despatch from the Court of Directors in London of 6th April, said that they had been much gratified by the information afforded of the flourishing condition of the commerce of Singapore, the value of which in imports and exports had amounted in 1822 to $8,568,172; and were happy to perceive that the establishments of the Settlement had been revised with a view to greater efficiency without any additional expense being entailed on Government.

It has been said before that in 1820 the expenses of Singapore for one year were less than those of Bencoolen for a month, and one most remarkable thing about Raffles's management was the extremely small number of civilians as compared with both Bencoolen and Penang. The expenditure at Bencoolen was £100,000 a year, and the return in pepper was altogether inadequate. As to Penang, the Governor and Council sent out from England to constitute the Presidency there in 1805 consisted of twenty-six Englishmen, whose salaries amounted to an aggregate of £43,500 a year, from the Governor with £9,000 to the school-master at £225. In Singapore there were only some three or four

officials, whose monthly salaries including the clerks and peons amounted to a little under $4,000 a month.

In June Mr. Crawfurd sent to Calcutta a general report on the Eastern Seas from which the following notes are taken:—The Dutch charge 35 per cent. on all English cotton and woollen goods imported into Batavia, the only port at which Europeans can trade; and all the native ports over which the Dutch influence extends have the same regulations. The only effect of the treaty of 1824 had been to raise the duty on the export of coffee in Dutch ships to 2½ guilders, which made it half of the foreign duty, instead of reducing it. The trade which was increasing had been injured by these restrictions. Under English rule the Javanese had been becoming accustomed to a cheap and regular supply of English goods. The trade continued good until 1823, when the imports amounted to 7,000 cases of piece goods, valued at $2,100,000. The import duties had been then gradually raised from 6 to 12 per cent. and in 1823 to 25 per cent. from European, and 35 per cent. from foreign ports. The high duties checked the trade and now in 1825 the imports were only 3,000 cases. The Batavia customs duties rose from 432,109 guilders in 1817, and 996,556 in 1818, to 2,622,241 in 1823. They fell in 1824 to 2,399,943 though duties were raised retrospectively in that year.

The report also said that the Dutch regulations destroyed the trade from India to the native ports under their influence. Pontianak in 1812 took British goods to the value of $311,275. The place was then under native rule and the duties levied were 3 per cent. The trade increased until 1817 when the Dutch interfered with their regulations, and in 1824 the trade was extinct. The treaty of 1824 which stipulated that the Dutch native ports should not charge more on English than on Dutch imports was disregarded. The Dutch got over the difficulty by boldly calling the ports Dutch, though notoriously governed by native rulers and having no further power than the presence of a few soldiers.

The report said that the French had great influence in Cochin-China under the late king, but the present king who ascended in 1819 was not favourable to them. In 1822 there were eight Frenchmen in the public service, but now all were gone, the two last, Messrs. Vannier and Chaigneau, having passed through Singapore in April, 1825, on their way home.

Mr. Chaigneau having returned to France from Cochin China in 1821, was sent out again by King Louis XVIII. as Consul for France, with a number of presents, such as a large gilt clock, pistols, pictures of battles, and a very large mirror. The King for whom they had been intended, and who had treated him and the missionaries very well, died before Mr. Chaigneau's arrival. His successor took the presents, but refused to recognise him, and he was forced to leave the country. The French missionaries, however, insisted on remaining, and the persecutions then commenced and missionaries and converts were put to death. This continued until February, 1859, when a priest was beheaded near where the present Cathedral now stands in the town of Saigon, the evening before the French Expedition took the citadel.

In the same report the Resident said that the Sultan of Brunei had offered him Labuan, which place was formerly occupied by the English, and that the Dutch within the last two years had made two

unsuccessful attempts to establish themselves at Brunei. They offered protection, but the Sultan answered that he was able to protect himself, and if not he would give due notice.

On the 2nd August, exactly one year after the date of the treaty, Mr. Crawfurd started in the ship *Malabar* for a trip round the island, to take formal possession. The Bengal Government had instructed him to do this.

An account of the "voyage," as it was then called, was published in the *Singapore Chronicle*, and re-printed in Mr. Moor's Notices of the Indian Archipelago, where it is still to be found, although the *Chronicle* is not. The vessel was 380 tons, and they left at 6 a.m. going round to the eastward, arriving off Johore Hill the next morning at 10 o'clock. Mr. Crawfurd landed and went up the hill. While they were on shore, a heavy squall split the vessel's topsails, and they were unable to get off to the ship, and did not get on board till after dark, and well drenched. The next morning they got as far as Pulo Obin, and hoisted the British flag there, and fired a salute of 21 guns. The next day they got a little further, and went ashore on the mainland. The account says:—"Bukit Timah, although not above seven or eight miles from the town has never been visited by a European, seldom by a native; and such is the character of the intervening country, that it would be almost as easy a task to make a voyage to Calcutta as to travel to it." Two days afterwards they got out of the Straits to the west, and it says, "We thus took four days passing through the Straits, and our voyage upon the whole may be considered as rather expeditious. This was the only route of the first European navigators, and it seems singular that the present more obvious, safer and shorter passage should not have been earlier followed. Pursuing the old passage, four or five days at least are lost, and although there be always, except at the western extremity, from five to thirteen fathoms water, the navigation, from the occasional narrowness of the Strait, and the occurrence, now and then, of sunken rocks, is by no means free from danger. It is certainly never likely to be frequented again by the general navigator, but might occasionally be made available in time of war to avoid a superior enemy in the main channel, a view of its utility which an Englishman is little disposed to look to."

The account says that no huts were to be seen in the Straits, except some lately occupied by Singapore wood-cutters on Pulo Obin. The vessels then went to the Carimons and they visited the tin mines. Then they landed on the Rabbit and Coney Islands and took possession under a salute of 21 guns. They beat into the harbour at midnight, and landed at day-break after a trip of ten days, which is done now in a steamer in the course of eight or ten hours.

In September Mr. Crawfurd (who, as has been said, formerly held high office under Sir Stamford Raffles in Java, as Resident at Soerabaya and Samarang) reported to Bengal the unsatisfactory state of affairs in Netherlands India. Insurrections in Java, Borneo, Sumatra and Celebes. All the troops had been called in to defend Batavia. The open country as far as Soerabaya was in the hands of the insurgents. "I do not hesitate to report that the very existence of the Netherlands authority in India appears to me to be in imminent danger."

On 23rd September the Resident proposed to employ the Rev. Mr. Thomson, a missionary, to translate a good code of Malay laws. Raffles had formed a Committee at Bencoolen on 31st October, 1823, to report on native laws.

A company was started in Singapore this year to put on a steam vessel between Batavia and Penang, calling at Singapore. The Resident promised to assist and offered to subscribe $2,000 on the part of Government. It did not come to anything.

In February Sir Stamford Raffles, while in England, wrote a long letter to the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society on the continuance of its operations which had been under his care at Bencoolen, and were now changed owing to the return of Sumatra to the Dutch. He said that much good had been done in Bencoolen, and advised an agent being appointed to proceed to Singapore. As soon as Singapore became a settlement, Raffles had connected the Society with the place, and wrote to his cousin the Rev. Dr. Raffles, asking him if he knew of any layman who would come to Singapore as Agent to the Society, on a salary of £100 a year and all travelling expenses. Soon afterwards an Auxiliary Society was formed, which continued for many years, the Protestant clergymen generally forming the most active members of the Committee. The depot was in a small building of two stories at the corner of Brass Bassa Road and North Bridge Road where the Raffles Girls' School stands now. The care taker and books occupied the ground floor, and the upper floor was used for holding mission services and meetings of the committee. About 1882, on the suggestion of the local Society, the London Society established an Agent of their own.

Mr. Crawfurd in his book on the Embassy to Siam (1830) at page 357, made some remarks on the trade of Singapore and gave some statistics, as follows:—"It appears that in the years 1825 and 1826, which were so calamitous to the general commerce of the world, the value of the trade of Singapore, before so rapidly progressive, suffered some slight diminution; but on inspecting the returns, however, it appears that the real quantity of goods had considerably increased, and that the diminution in amount arose from depreciation.

	Imports.	Exports.	Total.
1824	$ 6,914,436	$ 6,604,601	$ 13,519,037
1825	6,289,396	5,837,370	12,126,766
1826	6,863,581	6,422,845	13,286,426

1822	Pepper exported	2,327,000 lb.
1823	„	4,672,500 „
1824	„	3,104,400 „
1825	„	5,272,850 „

1823	Tin exported	1,100 tons
1824	„	1,000 „
1825	„	740 „
1826	„	1,230 „

He said that the first direct arrival from Singapore to England was in 1821. In 1822 four ships cleared out with cargoes for Europe; in 1823, nine; 1824, twelve; 1825, fifteen; and in 1826, fourteen ships. The greater part of these were for London and Liverpool; some for Stockholm, Hamburg and Bordeaux.

Among the names of the land-holders in 1824, which is printed on page 70, was that of J. d'Almeida. Dr. Jozé d'Almeida had been a surgeon on board a Portuguese man-of-war, and, while he was passing through Singapore, was struck by the advantages of its position and prospects. It is said that before he decided to settle here he made some voyages between Macao and Calcutta in a Portuguese barque called the *Andromeda* of which he was the super-cargo and generally called the captain. Whether this was so or not, there is no doubt that he left money with Mr. F. J. Bernard to secure a piece of land and build a house for him. Mr. Bernard acquired the land at Kampong Glam, now numbered Lot 207, and the house then built on it was the last compound house on the Beach towards Kampong Glam, on the next plot but two from Middle Road. It was at one time from 1878 rented for the use of the Raffles Girls' School, and was purchased by the King of Siam. When the house was finished, Mr. Bernard and his family lived in it until December, 1825, when Dr. d'Almeida and his family came from Macao. There were some political disturbances there at the time and it was said that the Doctor had to leave very hurriedly in consequence. The same old house is now used by Chinese stone masons, with a number of sheds in front of it in the compound.

Dr. d'Almeida's dispensary was then in the Square where the back of Guthrie & Co.'s godowns is now, the rest of the building was occupied by four or five Chinese shops. The origin of the commencement of his mercantile business shows how unexpectedly some of the well established firms began. In consequence of the north-east monsoon, which vessels in those days did not try to face, two large vessels were detained in the harbour; one was a Portuguese, the other a Spanish vessel, bound for Macao and Manila, respectively. As they could not proceed on their voyage for four or five months, they determined to sell the greater part of their cargoes here to meet their expenses, and they consulted Dr. d'Almeida about it, and he consented to act as the agent of the vessels. He helped to sell the cargoes, mostly at auction, and finding it successful, determined to start in business, which was the commencement of the firm of Jozé d'Almeida & Sons, as it was afterwards known, which was established in 1825, and at the time of his death in Singapore in 1850, was one of the largest and most important firms in the place. The market was suitable for many articles of Portuguese industry and production, and during the first China War the firm did a very large business in raw silk and other Chinese merchandise.

In its day the Doctor's residence in Beach Road was a famous house in Singapore, the centre of Singapore social life. Very large parties were given in the old times by Dr. d'Almeida, and, after him, by Mr. José and his wife, whose house was always the rendezvous of all social amusement. All those who were thrown into personal contact with the d'Almeida family were not likely to forget



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DR. JOSE D'ALMEIDA.
[*Photograph from an old oil painting.*]

their great kindness and hospitality and what they did to make Singapore, when it was a very much smaller place than it is now, a pleasant home for those who were resident here.

Mr. Earl, in his book on "The Eastern Seas and Singapore," published in London in 1837, speaks of him in the warmest terms, and dedicated the book to him. He says in one place, "Although the mercantile transactions carried on by Dr. d'Almeida were too extensive to permit him to devote much time to medical practice, yet they did not prevent him from employing the experience, which he had acquired during his service as a Surgeon in the Portuguese navy, in alleviating the sufferings of his fellow-creatures. Scarcely a native chief or nakodah, visits the Settlement without at least once paying his respects to Dr. d'Almeida, who had proved himself to be their sincere friend and benefactor."

One of Dr. d'Almeida's great friends was Mr. John Henry Velge. He was born in Malacca on 19th December, 1796, and lived to a great age. He remembered the blowing-up of the Malacca fort in 1807. He had been a sailor, and had married in Samarang. He sailed in his own ship, and, leaving the sea, settled down in Singapore, and towards the end of his life in Malacca, where he died on the 14th April, 1891, at the age of 95 years. His friends hoped, and half-expected, that he would see out a century, as he was a wonderfully active old gentleman. In the old days, he had a large house on the Beach, one of the biggest houses (years afterwards it was Emmerson's Hotel) and at Malacca he built, and lived in, the large house at Banda Elier which has since been bought by Government, and is now used as the Library and Rest House. In these two houses, at Singapore and Malacca, Mr. & Mrs. Velge, like the Doctor and his wife, used to show great hospitality. Both houses were admirably adapted for dances, which were quite a feature in the social life of both places.

Dr. d'Almeida and his family were admirable musicians, and his musical evening concerts were frequented by all who delighted in listening to the rendering of some of the best composers. His name coupled with that of Doctor Montgomerie, will always be connected with the discovery of gutta-percha, and he was constantly endeavouring to find out some new products for our markets. As an agriculturist he was indefatigable, but more enterprising than successful. Sugar, coffee, cocoa-nuts, cotton, all had his attention, and a great deal of his money. Before roads were opened out into the interior he began to plant at Tanjong Katong by laying out a plantation of cotton, and he introduced cotton seeds from the South Sea Islands, and tried North American, Brazilian, Egyptian, and Bourbon cotton. But the cotton failed, and the cleared ground was planted with cocoanuts and is now known as the Confederate Estate. He had a large plantation called Bandula about 4¾ miles from town on the right hand side of Serangoon Road, afterwards owned by Mr. Robert Jamie. He tried cochineal, vanila, cloves and gamboge trees from Siam. His experience as a traveller had made him acquainted with various trees and different kinds of fruit, which he planted here, and he also introduced teal and quail from India and China. Open-handed, generous and hospitable, he was a general favourite, whilst his

unostentatious, but extensive, charity and benevolence endeared him to the lower classes.

On his visit to Europe in 1842 he was knighted by the Queen of Portugal and was appointed Consul-General in the Straits, and received several honorary titles and distinctions; and shortly before his death he was made a member of the Queen's Council in Portugal, a dignity with corresponds with that of our Privy Councillors. Spain also conferred on him the Order of Knighthood of Charles III.

Dr. d'Almeida was married more than once, and had a very large family of nineteen or twenty children. His eldest son Joaquim d'Almeida was married on 5th February, 1838, in the Roman Catholic Church in Calcutta to Rose Maria, the youngest daughter of Captain W. Barrington. He died in London about 1870. His younger brother José was born in Macao on 19th July, 1812, and came to Singapore with his brother Joaquim in November, 1825, to stay with Mr Bernard until his father arrived here on Christmas Day in that year. Their sister Carlotta came down with her father. She had been born in Macao in 1819, and never afterwards left Singapore. She died at 373, Victoria Street, on the 11th September, 1901, at 82 years of age. She was married to Mr. Maximiliano Miranda, a resident of Singapore, whom she survived nearly sixteen years.

There are still two sons of Dr. d'Almeida alive in Singapore, Mr. Edward and Mr. William d'Almeida, and one daughter, Mrs. Pereira, who married Mr. Francisco Evaristo Pereira, a well-known legal practitioner in former years in Singapore. These are the only surviving children of the Doctor. The eldest daughter, Marianne, was married to Mr. Thomas Owen Crane, three of whose daughters, afterwards Mrs. Thomas Dunman, Mrs. H. W. Wood, and Mrs. W. W. Shaw, were all very well-known and among the most highly respected residents in Singapore for many years. Mr. T. O. Crane had fourteen children, and thirteen are still alive. They were all born in Singapore, and speak well for the healthiness of the place. The history of many of the families best known in Singapore in former days was therefore largely mixed up with the family of Dr. d'Almeida.

Dr. d'Almeida died at Singapore and it was written at the time that nearly every European in the community attended his funeral, the Governor being one of the pall-bearers, and the attendance of the Chinese and native merchants was very large. His tomb which is now falling into decay, with the inscription almost illegible, is at the top of the hill in the old cemetery nearly in the centre of the block appropriated to the Roman Catholic Community, there are tombs of some of his children surrounding it, and not far away to the right is the tomb of Mr. Coleman, who was a Roman Catholic. The inscription on Dr. Almeida's tombstone is as follows; it is worth printing as it was deciphered with some difficulty, and is a record of one of the most prominent of the old Singapore pioneers:—

"Sacred to the memory of
Sir Jozé d'Almeida Carvalho E. Silva,
Knight, Commander of the Portuguese Orders
Of Christ and Conception, and

Knight of the Order of Charles the III. of Spain,
Member of the Privy Council of the Most Gracious Majesty
Queen Dona Maria II.,
Portuguese Consul-General in the Straits;
Born at St. Pedro Do Sul in Portugal
On the XXVII November, 1784, and
After a residence of XXV years in Singapore,
Departed this life on the XVII day of October, 1850,
In the LXVI year of this age.
The Lord is nigh unto all those that call upon him:
To all that call upon him in truth." Ps. 145, v. 18.

The firm was afterwards called Jozé d'Almeida & Son, when son Joaquim joined; and in January, 1837, it was Jozé d'Almeida & Sons, as the younger brother joined it, and it continued so until 1865. It was not unknown for bills in Calcutta to be drawn upon Sir Jozé d'Almeida & Sons after his Spanish decoration, but it was not usually done. Mr. Joaquim was a very good man of business, but inclined to be too speculative, while Mr. José was said to be too careful, and the two together, years after the old man's death, brought the old business to an end. There were many funny stories told of the way the two brothers used to play at cross purposes. One instance may be mentioned. Mr. José came into town early one morning and found a letter, just arrived, that told of an earthquake in Manila. His firm had a large stock of corrugated iron on hand, and he decided to go out and buy up the stock in other people's hands so as to made a "corner" in the article. So he went out without saying anything about it in the office, putting the letter carefully in his pocket, and bought up all he could on the quiet. He was away from office for some time, and while he was out another smart merchant who had also heard of the earthquake and of Mr. José's proceedings, went round to the office, and finding that Mr. Joaquim had just come in, asked him if he had a small quantity of corrugated iron to sell. Joaquim said that they had had a large stock of it for some time and could not dispose of it, but if he would make an offer to clear out the whole lot he would be glad to sell it cheap, which he did. Mr. José returned soon afterwards to find that he had been buying at higher prices than his brother had sold at, and his "corner" broken up. Mr. G. H. Brown was too many for Mr. José on this occasion.

Young Mr. José d'Almeida a few years after his arrival here in 1825, went to Bali in a sailing ship (there were no steamers then) to load rice; and from Bali he proceeded to Whampoa, the port of Canton, where Jardine Matheson & Co. sold the cargo of rice, Mr. d'Almeida acting as super-cargo of the vessel. From Canton he sailed for Bali, then back again to Canton, after which he set out for Macao, where he remained for four and a half months. Leaving Macao in a vessel named the *Mermaid*, he was caught in the tail of a typhoon, experiencing very violent weather. The vessel was blown all the way down to Manila, and when she arrived in harbour, she had lost all her boats and sails and masts. In fact Mr. d'Almeida in the course of that eventful voyage on more than one occasion

abandoned all hopes of ever reaching land, and the vessel was so badly damaged that she took no less than 45 days to repair. Travelling about in this way on behalf of his firm he finally reached Singapore, preparatory to a journey to Calcutta, where he resided for five months. On his return he settled down here for some time, but in 1843 he went on a voyage to Sydney, Adelaide, Melbourne and Hobart Town, and it was at Sydney that he met the late Mrs. d'Almeida. He returned to Singapore to obtain his father's sanction to the marriage, and was married on the 28th September, 1845, at Trinity Church, Sydney, by the Lord Bishop of Australia, to Augusta, the second daughter of the Rev. J. C. Grylls, M.A., the minister of Trinity Church, and his wife's sister was married at the same time to the minister of Penrith, as appears from the advertisement in the *Free Press*. He took up his abode in Singapore until 1857, when just before the mutiny he made a voyage to Europe, remaining there some twelve months, which was said to be the only leave he was known to have taken.

Mr. and Mrs. José, as they were usually known, were most hospitable people. He built the first house on Mount Victoria. It had a ball-room attached to it on one side. The road at the foot of the hill was called Almeida Road after him. They had many daughters, most of whom were married in Singapore, and two sons, but all his family have left the Settlement. After the firm was dissolved, business was carried on under other names by the two brothers and some others for a few years, but during the latter years of his life Mr. José was a broker, and in spite of his great age, was most hardworking and persevering to the last, until he lost his wife, when he quite broke down. No one could doubt that they had always been very much attached to one another. There was a pathetic coincidence in their deaths. Mrs. d'Almeida died at the age of 70 years on Saturday the 7th January, 1894, and was buried on Sunday afternoon. Exactly one week afterwards, Mr. José died at the age of 81 years, and was laid by her side at the same hour on the following Sunday. To the older residents it seemed like the snapping of one of the last links of the chain between the commencement of Singapore and its far different modern life, and by them the names of the d'Almeida family will always be held in affectionate remembrance.

Mr. Thomas Owen Crane came to Singapore in 1824 or 1825. He had left England on his way to India, but the vessel was wrecked off the coast of Spain. He managed, with a few others, to swim to a barren rock, where they remained for over a month, eating shell-fish, rats, and chewing shoe leather. They were reduced to such straits that some of the sailors wanted to cast lots, as has been done in similar extremities, but a vessel sighted them and they were rescued. The ship was bound to Singapore, and so Mr. Crane remained here, and started in business as Thomas O. Crane in 1825. About 1842 his brother William came up from Australia, and they carried on business together as Crane Brothers, as auctioneers and land agents. William returned to England about 1857, and Mr. Crane continued in business as Thomas O. Crane & Co. His name is frequently mentioned in the old papers; he was a Justice of the Peace, a member for many years of the Raffles

School Committee; was one of the Wardens of the first Freemason's Lodge and assisted in many useful undertakings.

He commenced planting in May, 1836, and at the end of that year had seventeen acres planted with cotton at Tanjong Katong. The undertaking was abandoned, because the crops failed, owing, as he considered, to the want of a regular season, together with the variableness of the weather, so that the crop instead of coming forward at one time of the year, continued scantily all the year round, and was thus damaged by rain, beside causing expense in gathering in small quantities. He had the soil analysed in Calcutta, and it was reported to be of the best kind for the plant in its native localities. He then planted cocoanuts, and had a large plantation at Tanjong Katong in 1850, of which he gave a number of particulars, as to the method of planting, care of the trees, crops, &c., which are to be found by those interested in cocoanut plantations, in an article by Mr. J. T. Thomson in 4 Logan's Journal at page 103. About 1850, Mr. Crane sent some coprah to a firm at Marseilles, which had asked him to prepare a small quantity as a trial, which he did. The cost was said to be too high, and nothing was done in the article for over twenty years, when it began to be a principal article of export.

Mr. Crane married, as has been said, one of the many daughters of Dr. d'Almeida, in 1826, and had a family of fourteen children, only one of whom, the eldest daughter, is dead. The eldest son, William, went to Japan in 1861 and has resided there continuously up to the present time. Mr. Crane retired from business about 1864. He had lived for very many years at his large house at Gaylang, the only house near there at that time, a little beyond the Police Station on the right hand side, where the family had been brought up. He remained in Singapore for thirty-five years, when he made a short visit to England; and left here for the last time in 1866, dying in London in the following year. The business was carried on under the name of Crane Brothers, by sometimes one, sometimes two, of his sons, until July, 1899, when his son Mr. Charles Crane retired to England and the business was closed after seventy-four years. Mr. Henry Crane is the only one of his sons now in Singapore; his daughters Mrs. Dunman, Mrs. H. W. Wood, and Mrs. W. W. Shaw have already been referred to.

The following letter of Sir Stamford Raffles to Mr. A. L. Johnston was printed in the *Free Press* in 1885.

London, *January 2nd*, 1825.

"My dear Sir,—I have received your kind letters of the 25th of April last, as well as one from the House of the 16th June. The latter I have answered in a separate letter. I have also to thank you for the *tripang*, specimen of Carimon tin, &c., which are in course of delivery.

"The wretched state of my health rendered it necessary that I should abstain as much as possible from public business for some months after my arrival, and had it been otherwise, the season of the year was unfavourable to any progress, London being quite deserted. I have, therefore, nothing very important to communicate to you as to what is actually done respecting Singapore. There is, as you may suppose, a lively interest taken in its future welfare, and you may be assured that I am not lukewarm on the subject.

"The necessity of a Court of Judicature is universally admitted, and the only question is the nature of the establishment required for the purpose. The idea of uniting the jurisdiction of Singapore with that of Pinang was early adopted, and the authorities at home have come to the conclusion that the civil as well as the judicial jurisdiction of Pinang might be advantageously extended to Singapore. With this view, I have reason to believe the Government of Pinang has been called upon to report on the practicability and advantages of the plan, and by this time it may probably have become matter of local discussion.

"Nothing, however, has yet been done of a decisive nature, and if I have done no other good, I believe I may have been the means of postponing a decision until the question can be viewed in all its bearings.

"By the Charter for the Recorder's Court at Pinang, a provision is made for the extension of its jurisdiction to any places in the vicinity of Pinang, which may hereafter become a Dependency on that Settlement, and nothing has appeared to the Court of Directors so easy as to make Singapore a Dependency on Pinang, and thus to provide a judicial jurisdiction at once. The idea also of making a respectable government at Pinang by uniting all the Eastern Settlements under one authority, affords a plea for continuing and extending an establishment of civil servants in that quarter whereby patronage ensues; and really, to a person resident in this country, and possessing only general information as to local interests in the East, there seems to be something much more simple in the plan of one government and jurisdiction for the Settlements to the eastward, than in the maintenance of several separate jurisdictions.

"My notion, as you must be aware, was to place all our stations to the eastward on the footing of commercial ports, and immediately dependent on the Supreme Government of India, and in furtherance of this plan I proposed that instead of Singapore giving way to Pinang, the latter should rather be placed on the same footing as Singapore and immediately subordinate to Bengal. Our recent treaty with the Dutch, whereby we have entirely shut ourselves out of Sumatra, and from the countries south of the Straits of Singapore, added to the political changes which may result from the present contest with the Burmans, as it may affect our Siamese neighbours, in some measure alters the state of the question, and I confess, when I reflect on the arbitrary proceedings which a local Resident may adopt, and the little interest which the Bengal Government is inclined to take in the local concerns of the place, that I am less tenacious of my former position than I once was, and that if a *due* and *permanent* provision could be made for the independence of Singapore as a *free* port, and for its Municipal regulation as a *free* town, there might be some advantages in connecting it with Pinang.

"Parliament will meet early in next month, and the subject will, no doubt, be discussed there, as well as in the Court of Proprietors. Nothing will be done in a hurry, and, therefore, it is possible letters from Singapore may arrive in time to assist our judgment. Under this possibility, I urgently request your opinion by the first conveyance that offers, and in the meantime, although I have thus given you confidentially the grounds on which I now feel inclined to come round to the opinion in favour of uniting Pinang and Singapore, I would wish you

to understand that, as far as I have yet gone in my communications with the public authorities, I have expressed myself decidedly against such a measure, declaring that it would be at once to put an extinguisher on the rising prosperity of the place.

"If anything is decided upon, before I hear from you on the subject, I think it will be on the principle of establishing Pinang, Malacca, and Singapore—all as free ports—and under such regulations for their internal police as shall secure the rights and liberties of Englishmen to the population—European as well as Native. These points laid down by Parliament, it matters little whether the Civil Government is under one authority or several; an appeal will always lie to Bengal, and it may be an advantage that the public in Europe are from time to time informed how you are going on. At present, everything centres and rests in Bengal, whence but little impartial information is derived.

"On the subject of the clause in the treaty which restricts Americans from visiting Singapore, nothing can be more ridiculous. I have conferred with the American Minister and our own authorities on the subject, and I hope I shall succeed in removing this bar to your commerce. The treaty will, I understand, expire in two or three years, when, of course, the objectionable clause, as far as it affects Singapore, will not be renewed, and the only question is whether it is now worth while stirring a point which will soon be renewed. There are so many national jealousies, that the *British* merchant may possibly conceive that his interests would be injured by such a concession to Americans, and this is an argument likely to be used by the East India Company. Nevertheless, I should think that with the present *Liberal* administration, such arguments would not be much attended to, and that no serious difficulty will exist in obtaining an Order in favour of the American Trade.

"I am sorry to observe your Resident has had recourse to so vicious and objectionable a mode of raising a revenue as the establishment of the Gaming Farms. I think it likely the subject will attract public attention here and become matter for discussion in the Court of Proprietors, if not in a higher Court. My sentiments on the subject are on record, and I see no reason to alter them, and whenever the fit time comes I shall be prepared to support them.

"Accept my best thanks for the information you have furnished respecting the trade, &c., of Singapore; every particular is interesting to me, and possibly may be valuable in the discussions which will take place as to the future management of the Settlement.

"It is only of late that I have had an opportunity of seeing Dr. Morrison. His time has been partly taken up in a matrimonial arrangement which he has concluded much to his satisfaction, and he proposes returning to China by one of the direct ships in April. Before that time, I hope we shall be able to do something effectual regarding the Institution. As yet I have not moved in it.

"With regard to my own affairs and views, I have only to state that my severe losses by the *Fame* are likely so far to interfere with my plans of retirement, which I once fondly indulged, that it is possible I may, against my inclination, be forced into public life in this country. My friends assure me that the Direction is open to me, and I have no

reason to expect difficulty in getting into Parliament; but the anxiety, fatigue and responsibility in which such a course would involve me, make me hesitate at present, and particularly while my health is so precarious. Were I to consult my personal happiness and comfort alone, I think it would be a wiser course to take a tour to the Continent for a year or two, and quietly retire into the country, where I might enjoy peace and tranquillity with the advantage of good society in men and books, and a visit to London for a few months in the year only. The only arrangement of a permanent nature which I have yet made, has been the purchase of the lease of a house in Grosvenor Street for thirty years, which looks a little like the tiding of my mind being to that quarter as a permanent residence for the rest of my life.

"With regard to the state of our account, I have written to the House all that appears necessary, and will only add in this place my earnest desire that you will complete the remittances as soon as you can, as I am anxious to invest my little property as early as possible. Until this is done, I hardly know how to make up my mind whether I must again accept employment or not.

"As to general news, it is hardly worth while sending you any in this form, as you will have abundant and perhaps later intelligence from the public prints.

"The overflow of capital in this country has occasioned a degree of gambling that some steady people think will end in something like the South Sea Bubble. Independent of the foreign loans, which are to an enormous extent, there is an association for almost every possible speculation that can be conceived, and vast sums of money have been made by the rise in the value of shares. Among those which have been proved most advantageous are the Mexican mines. At the present moment, public attention is principally attracted to the *Locomotive* Steam Engines, which are to propel carriages without horses from one part of the country to the other at the rate of ten to twelve miles an hour! A considerable opposition is expected on the part of the holders of canal shares.

"I have lately seen an article in what is called the *Helter Skelter Magazine* published at Calcutta, and which is attributed to Crawfurd. It is written in such bad taste, and with so much ill-humour, that I can hardly believe it to be his; for the rest it is amusing enough.

"Remember me kindly to all friends, and believe me

Yours very sincerely,
T. S. Raffles.

A note by Mr. Crawfurd said that the annual charge of the Civil Establishment in 1825 was about $50,000. The Military consisted of about 150 Sepoys and Native Artillery, with no Europeans except the Officers; and the expense was less than $35,000 a year.

CHAPTER XVI.

1826—1827.

1826.

IN January Mr. Crawfurd, in imitation of a similar scheme at Penang, asked leave from Calcutta to establish a lottery, the profits to be applied to town improvement. He and Lieutenant Jackson had prepared a chart of the Archipelago in Chinese and Bugis characters. He asked to have it lithographed at Calcutta and sold to natives, whom he described as very desirous to have it. He recommended that three Beacons should be lit up at night; one at Tree Island, one at St. John's, and one at Singapore town. Mr. Crawfurd also asked to be allowed to draw the allowance of Governor-General's Agent, as he was doing the duty formerly done by Raffles, who was now in England. The Resident's salary was $750, table allowance $500, and house rent allowance $150, total $1,400. The salary of Raffles as Lieutenant-Governor of Bencoolen had been Rs. 2,735, allowances Rs. 3,841, Governor-General's Agent Rs. 1,000, total Rs. 7,576 (say $2,900) a month.

Upon the expectation that the Recorder's Court at Penang would be extended to Singapore, the Resident recommended the following gentlemen, then on the Magistrates' list, to be included in a Commission of the Peace:—

Civil Servants.

Samuel George Bonham	John Patullo
Samuel Garling	Edward Presgrave

Merchants.

Charles Chester	John Argyll Maxwell
Thomas Davis	William Paton
James Innes	William Scott
Alexander Laurie Johnston	John Spottiswoode
Alexander Kyd Lindsay	Hugh Syme
William Gordon Mackenzie	William Vincent

Medical Officers.	*Officials.*
John Crawfurd (Resident)	Captain Edward Davies, B.M.I
William Montgomerie, M.D.	Captain William Flint, R.N.

From 1st February Lieutenant Jackson was appointed Surveyor, to survey lands, register grants, transfers, &c., on a salary of Rs. 300. The fees were $1 each for register and transfer, and 25 cents an acre for making survey, with a minimum charge of $1 for four acres.

In August the importation of military arms was advertised as illegal. The imports of arms and ammunition in the four years, 1823 to 1826, amounted to $276,411.

On the 14th August Mr. Prince was in orders at Singapore as a Senior Member of Council and Resident Councillor at Singapore, and Mr. Crawfurd went to England. Raffles in a letter to Bengal, speaking of Mr. Prince wrote:—

"After a service of thirty-five years during the largest portion of which time he maintained himself without any charge to Government." This is explained by the fact that Civil Servants at Bencoolen were allowed to trade. It appears that Mr. Prince had a river there to himself and no one else was allowed to trade or interfere. In fact for some, but it does not appear exactly for what services to the Company, further than keeping up the influence of the name, Mr. Prince had the monopoly of buying and selling in a district. The remark is not personal to Mr. Prince, it seems to have been the custom of the service. Mr. Prince only remained a little over a year, as Mr. Murchison took his place as Resident Councillor on 29th November, 1827, and his name does not appear prominently in any way. Mr. Presgrave was acting Resident until Mr. Prince took up the appointment, which he does not seem to have done for some months after August, 1826.

There was inconvenience at this time from want of suitable public offices, those in use being in merchants' godowns not built for offices, and the Resident, Treasurer and Accountant held office in their own private houses. When Raffles was in Singapore, he had used the upper floor of Captain Flint's house as an office.

In this year the three places, Penang, Malacca and Singapore, were incorporated as one Settlement consisting of the three Stations under the Government of Penang; with this difference: that whereas before the incorporation the three members of Council resided at Penang, two of the Councillors were now sent to the other stations, one to Singapore and one to Malacca under the title of Resident Councillors. At the same time Penang, which up to this period had been a customs port, was declared to be a free port, as was also Malacca, so that all three places were placed on an equal footing as regards all absence of customs duties. This form of government remained in operation until 1829, when the Court of Directors sent out positive orders to reduce the establishment, as the expenses at Penang were not considered to be justified. Mr. Robert Fullerton was appointed in this year, 1826, the first Governor of the Incorporated Settlements of Prince of Wales Island, Singapore, and Malacca, as he was officially styled. He had been a Madras civilian, and a member of the Council of that Presidency in 1819. His abilities, it has been said, should have placed him in a much wider field of action than that which the Straits afforded. He returned to Europe in 1829 and died in London on 6th June, 1831.

Mr. Presgrave, the Acting Resident, in a report on land said that the tenure was a lease for years subject to a small annual quit-rent. The Governor-General had proposed 99 years, but this was objected to by the inhabitants and 999 years had been allowed. On the 26th August, 1826, the register contained only lists of lands granted by Raffles. Mr. Crawfurd had disapproved of Raffles's grants as informal and sent up his own draft to Calcutta. The Advocate-General objected to Mr. Crawfurd's form, and made out a draft of his

own, which was sent down. The Governor-General confirmed Raffles's grants, and directed fresh papers to be issued. The total number was 500, of which the quit-rent amounted to about $3,000. Mr. Crawfurd had given numerous location tickets, no list of which was kept, to clear unreserved lands. All the land was granted under conditions to clear or cultivate.

There was a minute by Governor Fullerton on 29th August that the Civil Servants were expected to pass examinations in the Chinese and Siamese languages.

On the 21st November a Penang Government Notification was issued abolishing port duties. In December the Penang Government called on the Resident Councillor at Singapore for his opinion as to assessing property. The Resident on the 14th January following stated that houses in Singapore were already assessed $322.90 monthly, and he amended it to $400.37. He objected to any tax on lands, as the produce was of trifling value.

In May the Dutch schooner *Anna* left Singapore for Batavia. Seven Malays or Javanese (one of whom was found afterwards to have been a fisherman in Singapore who left without paying his debts) went on board as passengers, saying they were pilgrims returning from Mecca. They rose on the crew after leaving Singapore, nearly killing the Captain and driving the crew on deck into the rigging, but some passengers on board and the rest of the crew killed them or drove them into the sea, where it is supposed they were drowned. This seems to be the first recorded instance of a piratical attempt on a European vessel sailing out of Singapore. In the 5th number of the *Singapore Chronicle* was an article on Malay piracy which was known to be written by Mr. John Crawfurd.

By the Letters Patent of 27th November, 1826, the Court of Judicature of Prince of Wales' Island, Singapore and Malacca was established. At the end of the year a subscription was raised for the purpose of erecting a monument to Raffles "as a testimony of gratitude from the inhabitants for the great and important benefits he conferred upon Singapore." Over three thousand dollars were subscribed, and Messrs. A. L. Johnston & Co. were appointed the Treasurers, but the scheme was not carried out, and eventually as has been already explained, the money was spent in repairing Raffles Institution. The resolutions passed at a meeting on the 30th January, 1827, were to the effect that a monument should be erected on some conspicous and suitable spot within the precincts of Singapore, with an inscription in English, Latin, Chinese and Malay. The plan and estimate to be prepared by Mr. Coleman, the Architect.

In the *Navy League Journal* for May, 1901, is a note of what was thought to be the record voyage of one of the East India Company's ships, the *Thomas Coutts*. In this year, she entered Bombay Harbour on June 2nd, 1826, after a passage of eighty-two days from England. Sailed from Bombay for China, August 2nd. Arrived at Singapore on the 26th. Sailed from Singapore for Macao, August 28th. Arrived there, September 11th. On her return voyage she sailed from China, November 23rd. Passed Java Head on December 10th. Arrived at St. Helena, January 22nd, 1827. Sailed on January 24th, and arrived in the Downs on March 2nd, 1827, having made

the quickest voyage out and home on record—ten days within the year. She carried fourteen long guns on each side on the main deck and four on the quarter deck. It is added that the old *Vindictive*, a 50-gun frigate, taking Rear-Admiral Sir Thomas Cochrane out to China in 1842, made the passage from Plymouth to Hongkong in eighty days; all studding-sail booms being carried away and the main-trysail mast on the foreyard as a boom. This was considered a fast passage.

1827.

It is in this year that we find the first trace of the subsequent Municipalities in the Settlements. A regulation was made, under Mr. Fullerton, on the 1st January, 1827, which was sanctioned by the Court of Directors and Board of Control, for the appointment of a body designated "The Committee of Assessors," framed for the purpose of providing the means of clearing, watching, and keeping in repair the streets of the town of Penang. The committee were to be chosen annually from the land-holders and house-holders of the island.

On the 27th February Mr. Prince, the Resident Councillor, sent round a circular inviting the inhabitants to make drains opposite their own premises. Great damage had been done by heavy rains, and to obviate future inconvenience it was proposed that drains should be made to carry off the water, and, in order to have the levels uniform, to allow the work to be done by Government officers at a fixed rate of $27.75 per 100 feet. A committee composed of Messrs. Bonham, Johnstone, Maxwell, Syme, and Scott was appointed when the work was completed, to assess the cost among the various proprietors. They reported in August that 5,088 feet of open, and 113 feet of covered drains had been completed.

Dr. Montgomerie was now superintending the Botanical Experimental Garden on the Government Hill, and wrote a report upon its state on the 1st February, which is at page 62 of Volume 9 of Logan's Journal. He had turned his attention solely to spices, nutmegs, and cloves, which promised well, and he proposed that Government should employ convicts in clearing ground and cultivating the spices until the trees began to bear, when the land might be divided up among the industrious Chinese. Dr. Montgomerie was in hopes, as Bencoolen had been given up, and Penang could only supply a small part of an article so much in demand, that it might be made a permanent source of profit in Singapore, but it never led to any result as the trees did not prosper in the island.

In March, the Resident Councillor sent round a circular to all the Europeans, saying that he was directed by the Governor in Council to call upon them to state the date of their arrival and their occupation and the license under which they resided. The circular was signed by the Europeans, a list of whose names may be found in Mr. Braddell's Notes in Mr. Logan's Journal, Vol. 9. The same question had been raised in Penang, and in 1796 the Government there had called upon all the Europeans to produce their authority for residence, and got some very amusing answers in reply, some of the merchants keeping

up a warm correspondence about it, after having purchased land and property to a considerable extent, and having been encouraged to settle there. One of them wrote that he had stayed there in the hazardous attempt to cultivate a vile jungle and in the full assurance that he had been *induced* to come and settle, and by that means he and others had formed the most flourishing settlement in the world. Under the Act of Parliament, of 1813, (53 Geo. 3, c. 155) continuing the East India Company's exclusive privileges, by Sections XXXIII. to XL., any person desiring to go to or remain in India had to obtain a certificate or license from the Board of Commissioners in London, the supreme authority for the management of the affairs of India, under whom was the Board of Directors. There was power for a Governor to give a special license in particular instances, the reasons for which had to be entered upon the minutes of the Council, which held good until the matter had been laid before the Court of Directors and notice was given to the applicant that it was revoked. These rules had not been enforced, either in Penang or Singapore, and nothing at all came of it, as was to be expected; and, as far as is known now, no one in Singapore even answered the circular, but among some old papers is a copy of the following letter to Mr. W. R. George by John Anderson, the Secretary to Government, dated Singapore, 10th May, 1827: "Sir, I am directed to acquaint you that the Honourable the Governor has been pleased to permit you to reside at this settlement, pending a reference to the Honourable Court of Directors, and subject to all the Regulations of Government. If the Honourable Court's sanction should eventually be withheld, you will of course be prepared to return to Europe on the shortest notice." Two years afterwards on the 30th September, 1829, the Court of Directors, in a long letter, approved of the Government having made known to Europeans that they were here liable to removal at the pleasure of the East India Company; but said at the same time that under the peculiar circumstances of the place, the resort of Europeans to follow creditable occupations had not been discouraged, and they might be allowed to remain as long as they conducted themselves, in the opinion of Government, with propriety.

The Court of Judicature of Prince of Wales Island, Singapore, and Malacca was opened on the 6th March by a Notification of Government, the Resident's Court was closed, and suits for sums above $32 were removed and entered in H. M. Court. The Resident Councillor had reported to Government the great inconvenience arising from the want of a resident Judge at Singapore. Sir John Thomas Claridge, Kt., took up his office as Recorder in August; and he and Lady Claridge arrived at Singapore on the 4th September from Penang. This was the first visit of H. M. Court. They left again for Malacca four days afterwards, where they landed under a salute of 13 guns, as the *Malacca Observer* records. Until the Transfer, and for a short time afterwards, the Judges were always received with salutes from the shore at the various Settlements. Sir John Claridge in this year gave the opinion that the Resident Councillor could sit as Judge at each place in the absence of the Recorder, and gave a long letter of

instructions to the Resident Councillor as to the way of conducting business, but he afterwards withdrew his opinion, and said that it could not be so as there was only one Court.

Mr. Prince sent round a circular to the natives, pointing out the great advantages of education, and calling on them to cooperate in getting up schools. The population in this year was 13,732.

On the 12th March the Supreme Government took exception to an article which had appeared in the *Singapore Chronicle* of the 15th February, which they said was written in a very objectionable style,—"The Governor in Council cannot avoid expressing his regret that the present editor should have deviated so widely from the discreet and prudent line of conduct invariably pursued by his predecessor; that he should have entered into the petty disputes of Calcutta editors and making common cause with them, who appear to have justly incurred the censure of the Supreme Government; instead of confining himself to the republication of interesting intelligence on passing events and to objects of direct local interest, calculated to promote the commerce and prosperity of the Settlement at which he resides, the unceasing attention to which has hitherto distinguished the *Singapore Chronicle* and peculiarly entitled it to the support of the Government."

On the 30th March a gunboat armed with lelahs and muskets was fitted with native sails and went out to cruise near Singapore against pirates. On the 10th April, with a view to assessment, a return was sent round to be filled up as to carts, carriages and ponies. The Bengal troops were relieved by troops from Madras in April.

Governor Fullerton landed for the first time at Singapore on the 3rd May, and returned to Penang on the 21st June. The houses of Captain Flint and Mr. Napier were rented for his accommodation; the former at about $190 and the latter at $260 a month (Rupees 500 and 687).

In May a Court of Requests was established, and three Commissioners appointed, Messrs. Presgrave, Bonham, and Wingrove.

On the 4th May a number of spice plants arrived from Penang on Government account and were offered gratuitously to any persons who would engage to take care of them and bring them to perfection.

In May the police was re-organised; 3 constables, 5 jemedars and 24 peons. On the 28th June Mr. Prince visited Bukit Timah preparatory to having roads made. He went on foot accompanied by the contractor of the roads. They had a five hours' walk, first W.S.W. and latterly N. E. [? W. N. W.]. The distance cut through undulating hills, marshes and rills was fourteen miles; three fourths in gambier and pepper cultivation. A *balei* was built on the top of the hill. A contract could not be got for less than $440 a mile, while the amount sanctioned by government was only 500 rupees a mile ($190).

On the 6th June Captain (afterwards Major-General) Blundell sailed from Penang, to which garrison he was then attached, with half a company of European Artillery to reinforce the garrison at Singapore, when war with France was threatening on account of Portugal.

On the 11th June the lease was issued by the Land Office for 999 years of the ground where the Court House now stands. Mr. Maxwell,

the merchant, built the house which now forms part of the present building, and he leased the house to the Government for three years at 500 rupees a month. On 1st September, 1841, it was put up by public auction by Guthrie & Co. The house was described in the advertisement as having been erected during the years 1826 and 1827 under the superintendence of Mr. Coleman, the architect, and built of the best materials. It was contained in Grant No. 243, extending from High Street to the river, with a frontage on the river side of 240 feet, which at the expiry of the existing lease would afford a very superior situation for the erection of godowns or shops, as there was sufficient vacant ground without encroaching on the Court House or its out-offices. It contained 82,080 square feet, with an annual quit-rent of $85, and was let to the East India Company on a lease which would expire on 30th April, 1844, and afforded a *most favorable opportunity* for investing capital, &c, &c., (like Powell & Co.'s tempting notices at the present day). The Government bought it for $15,600. The original building was standing until the structure was altogether altered in 1901, but the large Court had been built on to the back of it, towards the river, in 1875. In the old days the Court was held in the centre room upstairs and the side rooms were used for the Resident Councillor's office and some of the officials: the land office being downstairs. For many years the Court was not held in the building, but in the one floor building at the side, which is now used as a store-room for the Government Printing Office, at which time the whole of the Court House was used for public offices. The large clock placed in the facade towards the Esplanade, and taken down in 1901 when the whole building was altered, was a gift to the first St Andrew's Church by Mr. Thomas Church, and when that building was pulled down, being unsafe, it was put in the Court House and not taken back when the present Cathedral was built.

A despatch of the Governor-General of the 12th July spoke of the necessity to endeavour to retrench the expenditure. A list of state papers was sent to the Court of Directors on 21st October. A lengthy report was sent by Mr. Presgrave on slavery in the place.

In September the Governor ordered three lots of land on the Esplanade to be sold for building land, to which the Resident Councillor objected, and Mr. Prince (who was spoken of as the general economical schemer) proposed that the military establishment in Singapore should be reduced to what it had been when under Bengal.

On a Sunday evening there was a severe thunderstorm in the harbour, and the East India Company's vessel *Buckinghamshire* was struck by lightning and her masts shivered and a seaman killed, while several others scarcely escaped. The storm reached as far as Malacca, and a large Dutch vessel on her way from Singapore was dismasted.

On the 18th November Mr. Prince left Singapore and Mr. Presgrave was deputy Resident Councillor in charge until the 29th when Mr. Murchison, the new Resident Councillor, arrived from Penang.

An Englishman named Mr. Charles Grey left Malacca on 2nd January and went across the Peninsula to Pahang. He fell, however, a sacrifice to his exertions, dying of jungle fever, contracted during the journey, twenty-five days after his return to Malacca. His account

of the journey is in Volume 6 of Logan's Journal, page 369. It is mentioned here because he was probably the first European to penetrate into the interior of the Peninsula.

In consequence of the great increase in the number of Chinese vagrants, the Resident Councillor recommended Government to give them an allowance of rice for one year and to send them into the interior to clear jungle.

It was hoped that the labours of the Commissioners in Europe which resulted in the London Treaty of March, 1824, would end all disputes with the Dutch, but unfortunately a fresh cause of offence broke out in connection with Singapore on the subject of the Carimon Islands, and it woke up again the old question of the two rival Sultans. The result of what had been done in 1819 was that Johore became split up into two governments; one under Sultan Hoosein in Singapore, and the other under his younger brother Sultan Abdulrahman in Rhio. This was not very fair to Johore, but so far as the English action went, it undoubtedly resulted in placing the Sultan and Tumongong of Johore in a much more comfortable and secure position than they had occupied before. The Tumongong considered the Carimon Islands as part of his territory, as they had undoubtedly belonged to Johore, and had been (or were still) made use of by the Malays on the mainland of Johore as convenient stations for piratical purposes, while the islands were not in any way connected with Rhio. It so happened at this time that some Chinese had found tin at the Carimons; it never amounted to much, for in four years the average output only came to 205 piculs a year. An Englishman having heard of the mines, obtained permission from Sultan Hoosein to work them. The Dutch Resident of Rhio looked upon the Carimons as part of the territory of Sultan Abdulrahman, and still affected to deny the rights of Hoosein, whom he still asserted was an illegitimate impostor (which was nonsense, as he was of exactly similar birth to Abdulrahman) and as a dependent on his younger brother Abdulrahman at Lingga for his daily bread (which was also nonsense, as he was receiving a handsome pension from Singapore).

On the 23rd July news from Rhio reached Sultan Hoosein at Singapore that Abdulrahman had made over the Carimons to the Dutch, and that the Dutch Resident wanted Hoosein to withdraw the Johore people. Sultan Hoosein appealed to the Resident of Singapore, who said he could not interfere, but wrote to Rhio protesting against the Dutch taking the Carimons without authority from Europe, as an infraction of Clause 6 of the Treaty of 1824. On the 17th September Hoosein told the Resident that he was informed the Raja Muda of Rhio had gone with twenty sail to take forcible possession of the Carimons, but that on their arrival Hoosein's followers had refused to allow them to land, so they went to the south-east of the island and hoisted a flag and returned to Rhio. Hoosein then wrote to his brother Abdulrahman remonstrating with him for trying to exclude him from his rights.*

There was then correspondence between the Residents of Singapore and Rhio, in which the Resident of Rhio referred to the letters written

*Crawford had foreseen this, see foot of p. 178

by the Singapore Chiefs in February, 1819, which are printed at page 50 of this book, as a proof of their refusal to allow the English Settlement at Singapore. He said he was bound to interfere, and he would send two Dutch ships-of-war to reinforce the large fleet sent by the Raja Muda from Rhio. The Singapore Resident in reply confined himself to saying that the Singapore Sultan was entirely independent, and the Government did not interfere with his movements beyond the limits of the island; a fact which though often repeated to the Dutch they would not credit, not being able to discriminate in the difference of circumstances between the English in Hindustan, where the policy of interference was a necessity, and those in the Straits where such a policy was earnestly deprecated. To which the Rhio Resident replied that the Dutch had no idea of establishing a factory at the Carimons, but as Abdulrahman, the Sultan of Lingga, was a vassal of the Netherlands Government, he was bound to protest and preserve to him all that remained after the arrangement (Treaty of London) by which he lost so much, and the Resident added he was much more inclined to view the Singapore Sultan as a pirate than Sultan Abdulrahman of Lingga!

It is amusing to find the assertion that the Sultan of Lingga (who had, by means of the Dutch, taken away half of the territory of Johore from the authority of his elder brother) had been prejudiced by the treaty of 1824 which secured Rhio to him; but it is still more amusing to find in a letter of the Resident of Rhio to Singapore in connection with this matter, dated 12th October, 1827, the following expression used by a Dutch official: "After the King of England had magnanimously restored Java to the Dutch!"

In October an expedition from Rhio, headed by a Dutch schooner, anchored off the stockade at the Carimons and opened fire. The Dutch Resident with two officers and fifty Dutch European troops landed and took the place It was said by them that two pirate boats had joined the defenders, but soon afterwards a peaceable trading boat returned to Singapore, which had been on its way from Singapore to Kampar, and the crew said they had been wantonly fired into by the Dutch and two of their number shot. The Carimons were thus taken and have remained in the hands of the Dutch ever since, but have not been turned to any useful purpose.

In Mr Braddell's notes there is a list of Public Servants and European inhabitants residing at Singapore in March, 1827. There is also another notification signed by forty-two of the Europeans, which helps to complete it, and the following is probably an accurate Directory at the time, as it even includes police constables and "punch-house" keepers:

Hon'ble John Price, Resident Councillor.
Edward Presgrave, Esq, Deputy Resident, Malay Translator.
S. G. Bonham, Esq., Assistant Resident, in Charge of the Police and Convicts.
Rev. R. Burn, Chaplain.
Captain W. Flint, R.N., Assistant Master Attendant and Postmaster.
Captain C. E. Davis, Garrison Staff.
Lieut. P. Jackson, Executive Officer.
W. Montgomerie, M.D., Residency Assistant Surgeon.
R. G. Perreau, Extra Covenanted Servant from Bencoolen.

Assistants in Resident's and Secretary's Office.

J. F. Burrows, W. Hewetson, J. D. Remedios.

Assistants in Accountant's and Pay Office.

R. Winter | T. H. Bell

Assistants in Police Office and Convicts Department.

W. Campbell | J. Salmon
W. Holloway.

Constables.

Henry Gilbert | Francis Cox
Robert Macquire.

Overseer of Convicts.

Hilton.

Assistants in Master Attendant's Office.

Edward Coles | John Leyden Siamee

Post Office.

Edward Coles.

Commissioners: Court of Requests.

Edward Presgrave | S. G. Bonham

Clerk—W. Holloway; *Bailiff*—Francis Cox.

Merchants and Agency Houses.

Almeida & Co.	Maxwell & Co.
Armstrong, Crane & Co.	Morgans, Hunter & Co.
Dalton, J.	Napier, Scott & Co.
Farquhar, A.	Purvis, J.
Guthrie & Clark	Spottiswoode & Connolly
A. L. Johnston & Co.	Syme & Co.
Mackenzie & Co.	Thomas & Co.

European Inhabitants.

D' Almeida, Jozé	Almeida & Co.
Armstrong, George	Armstrong, Crane & Co.
Bernard, F. J.	Agent to Lloyds, Notary Public.
Brown, J.	Employ of Mackenzie & Co.
Bruce, James R.	Employ of Armstrong & Co.
Clark.	Guthrie & Clark
Coleman, George D.	Civil Architect.
Connoly, John	Spottiswoode & Connolly
Crane, Thomas Owen	Armstrong, Crane & Co.
Dalton, John	Merchant.
De Silva, Martinus	Employ of Lieut. Jackson.
Douwe, P. E.	
Dunman, W.	
Ellis, John	Employ of A. L. Johnston & Co.

Farquhar, Andrew	Merchant.
Francis, J.	Tavern Keeper.
Frazer, J.	Employ of Maxwell & Co.
Freeze, Fred.	
George, W. R.	Employ of Thomas & Co.
Gorden, James	
Gummer, John (probably John Gemmill)	
Guthrie, Alexander	Guthrie & Clark.
Hallpike, Stephen	Shipwright.
Hansen, H. F.	
Hawthorn, Daniel	Ship-carpenter.
Hay, Andrew	A. L. Johnston & Co.
Holloway, C.	
Hunter, Robert	Morgans, Hunter & Co.
Johnston Alex. Laurie	A. L Johnston & Co.
Laby, Thomas	Punch-house Keeper.
Lardner, Thomas	Employ of Mr. Temperton.
Loch, John	Editor of *Singapore Chronicle*
Macdonald, William	Employ of Morgans, Hunter & Co.
Macintosh, J.	Employ of Spottiswoode & Connolly
Mackenzie, Graham	Mackenzie & Co.
Maia, F. de Silva Pinto	Roman Catholic Priest.
Martin, A.	Surgeon.
Matti, Miguel	Watchmaker.
Maxwell, J. D.	Maxwell & Co.
Merryweather, W.	Employ of Syme & Co.
Milton, Rev. S.	Missionary.
Moore, R.	Employ of Maxwell & Co.
Napier, W.	
Napier R.	
Page, W.	Employ of Morgans, Hunter & Co.
Patton, William, P.	Employ of Morgans, Hunter & Co.
Pelling, R. E.	Employ of Guthrie & Clark.
Purvis, John	Merchant.
Read, Christopher Rideout	A. L. Johnston & Co.
Ryan, C.	Employ of Napier, Scott & Co.
Shaw, W. D.	Mackenzie & Co.
Solomon, J.	
Spottiswoode, William	Spottiswoode Connolly
Sweeting, S.	Employ of Syme & Co.
Swinton.	Shipwright.
Syme, Hugh	Syme & Co.
Temperton, William	Shipwright.
Thomas, Charles	Thomas & Co.
Thomas, C. S.	Thomas & Co.
Thomas, Josiah	Thomas & Co.
Thomsen, Rev. C. H.	Missionary.
Westerburg.	Punch-house Keeper.
Wright, John	

Total—ninety-four Europeans.

CHAPTER XVII.

1828—1829.

1828.

IN June, 1828, the first Criminal Sessions were held in Singapore. There were twenty-seven indictments, of which six were for murder, one for manslaughter, ten for burglary and six for assaults. In the six murder cases two prisoners only were convicted, one Kling and one Chinese, and they were hanged on Monday, the 26th June, the first executions in Singapore. A Sessions was held in the next month at Malacca, but there were only three cases, comprising the whole accumulation of crime during the three years since the re-transfer by the Dutch in 1825. One Chinese convicted of murder hanged himself in his cell the night after the trial. The Judge had commuted his sentence to transportation to Bombay, as he had been two years in prison waiting for a trial, but the prisoner said in the Court that he preferred to be hanged and carried it out himself.

It was in this year that steamers began to be talked about. In 1826 a proposal was made in Bengal to establish a steam-vessel to run between India and the Straits, and a subscription list was sent round Singapore, Penang, and Malacca, but it all came to nothing. In 1828, Mr. Waghorn, who was the originator of the Overland Route, went to Calcutta from England and endeavoured to establish steam communication between England and India in seventy-two days *via* Cairo. The vessels were to carry letters and packages only, but no passengers, because he said they would incommode the seamen and retard the vessel's speed. The *Singapore Chronicle* was of opinion that it might prove not only agreeable but useful to have a steam-vessel in the Straits, but was of opinion that it would never pay, as the population of the Straits was too limited to support such a vessel.

The *Malacca Observer* and the *Singapore Chronicle* had an editorial combat over the question. The *Observer* asserted that a steamer might have the marvellous effect of increasing or doubling the commerce, which the *Chronicle* considered ridiculous. The *Observer* retaliated by saying that in 1770 it took more than a fortnight to go from London to Edinburgh by land, and that the proprietors of the waggon had to advertise some days before starting in order to obtain passengers; and that now (in 1828) not less than 2,000 coaches ran daily to London from all parts of the kingdom; and that tug-boats had been established on the Clyde, and that the increase of commerce in Glasgow was owing to their assistance; and communication might be made, in time, between England and the Straits in eighty days; besides which Singapore and Malacca could do a large business in the superabundance and cheapness of firewood. But the *Chronicle* said that steamers would lead to the resort of penned-up, bilious individuals to Singapore.

The *Chronicle* mentions that the Censor had struck out some paragraphs from the *Penang Register* of the 17th September, and the editor had printed them on a separate slip and sent it out with the

paper: which the *Chronicle* called a very bold step, as it certainly was; what the consequences were does not appear.

The population in this year was 15,834, exclusive of floating population, military and convicts.

On 17th June Mr. Murchison reported the great want of an interpreter in French, Spanish, and Portuguese, as so many foreign ships were constantly coming to Singapore. He said that Doctord Almeida was willing to accept the office for $100 a month.

In the same month the Governor wrote to China about interpreters, and the matter was referred to the Rev. Dr. Morrison there, who reported that he was not able to get trustworthy men, and if they could be got, three or four dialects would be required, and the Chinese could not speak English. He referred to the Anglo-Chinese College at Malacca which had been founded ten years before; the small result of which (Mr. Braddell remarks) must have been mortifying to the Doctor.

On the 3rd September Mr. Murchison pressed the adoption of the plan of gunboats with native rig being adopted against pirates, as previously contemplated; he did not recommend steamers as they were always out of order, and if engineers were shot they could not be replaced.

Governor Fullerton at this time proposed making Malacca the capital of the Straits Settlements. He said that it had been the ancient seat of European Government for more than 200 years, was a more healthy climate, more centrally situated, within two days sail of Singapore and Penang, had more resources for supplies to troops, and although the forts had been destroyed it was a more central station and depot for whatever force might be collected together for the defence of the whole. Being on the continent it commanded an interior, and owing to the shoal .water no ship could approach near enough to bring its guns to bear on the shore, it had an indigenous and attached population which the other two stations did not possess, and in a political point of view it was conveniently situated for maintaining such influence over all the Malay States as would prevent their falling under Siamese dominion, and was near enough to the south end of the Straits to watch the proceedings of the Dutch [the two Straits bugbears of those days]. It was said in 1848 by Mr. Blundell, afterwards Governor, that it could not be denied that there was force in the arguments, but that it had become so much the habit to decry Malacca and to pity the state into which it was supposed to have fallen, that the argument would at that time only excite a smile of ridicule, but that the policy of withdrawal from all interference with the neighbouring Malay States was extremely doubtful. A remark which the experience of the present time shows to have been very true.

1829.

In March, 1829, Lord William Bentinck, the Governor-General, came to the Straits. He landed at Malacca in the H. E. I. C. Steam-vessel *Enterprize*, on the 10th March, and left for Singapore the same evening. He came here to remodel the Government and reduce the

alleged overgrown civil and military establishments. He went into such sweeping measures that he proposed to abolish the Governor, but it was found that it was necessary for the chief authority to have that title, as the King's Charter of 1807 was so worded that the Court of Judicature in the Straits could not be held without it.

Mr. Fullerton returned to Europe, and was succeeded by Mr. Ibbetson, who resided at Penang, and was an energetic Governor. The salary for the Governor was Rs. 36,000 a year, (about $16,400), and of the Recorder (Judge) 37,893 sicca rupees, or about 40,419 rupees. These two salaries were contributed in equal shares by the three Settlements.

Mr. Murchison, the Resident Councillor, went to Batavia in anticipation of leave on the 21st April for four or five months, to reside in the interior of Java. He returned in September, Mr. Presgrave acting during his absence. On the 30th April the flagstaff on Goa Island was withdrawn. On the 30th June the establishment for the Botanical Gardens was discontinued and ten convicts were put on to keep the grounds in order. The reason for this is not to be found; it was probably part of the economical retrenchment mania that is mentioned elsewhere.

In June we find an account of a piracy, which is only one of a number that were continually occurring. A man was brought up at the Police Court charged with having been the commander of one of five prahus which had attacked a boat bound from Lingga to Singapore, the throats of twelve people on board being cut to prevent anything being known of it. But there was a young boy on board, whom they sold as a slave, for the sake of the money, and he recognised the prisoner five months afterwards. His story was corroborated by one of the pirate's crew, also a boy, who turned evidence against his master.

On the lst September the government allowance of $50 a month to the *Singapore Chronicle* newspaper was withdrawn. On the 4th September the Rev. Mr. Thomsen reported that there was a Cantonese school at Kampong Glam of twelve boys. Another at Pekin Street of eight boys. A Hokien school at Pekin Street of twenty-two boys, and an English school of 48 boys, The cost of three native masters was $26, of one English master $60, and rent $100. The English scholars paid $15, natives $4, and for extra subjects $10. There was a wooden bridge across the river at this time, near where Elgin Bridge is now. It was always being patched up, and was described as having a brokenbacked appearance, with a curious variety of undulations.

On the lst of October, 1829, a meeting was held at the house of Mr. E. Boustead, at seven o'clock in the evening, to consider the desirability of establishing a Billiard Club. This was the beginning of Singapore Clubs. Six persons attended, Mr. John Ellis, of A. L. Johnston & Co., was made Secretary, and a number of rules were passed. The admission fee was $50, and the subscription $4. No smoking was allowed in the Billiard Room, which was to be opened every day except Sunday, from six in the morning till ten at night. Any member not attending at a meeting was liable to be fined $2, and any one who was absent three consecutive times without giving

an explanation was to cease to be a member of the Club. Soon after it started, Mr. W. Merryweather, of Syme & Co., having been absent three times, was turned out; but he was re-admitted at the next meeting, so it had not much effect, as is generally the case with such rules. At the close of the year Mr. W. R. George was elected Secretary, and the subscription was raised to $6, and Mr. George Armstrong was appointed Treasurer. Soon after this Mr. George was fined for being absent, and in the minute book he has entered the remark: "I protest against the resolution condemning me to pay a fine for non-attendance, upon the plea that the members of the Club present did not consider sickness a sufficient excuse. Perhaps at the next meeting some member will produce his diploma, otherwise I must be permitted to doubt the medical knowledge of the Club in toto." The minute book, which is in Mr. George's writing, ceases in October, 1830, and what became of the Club afterwards is not known. The last minute approves of the purchase of one dozen tumblers and two water-goblets for the use of the members. The book has written on the cover "Journal of the Singapore Billiard Club."

Mr George lived in Singapore until his death in 1873. He retired from business during the later years of his life, but before that had been book-keeper in Wm. Spottiswoode & Co., for many years. He is the gentleman spoken of in Mr. Cameron's book at page 292 as "going out for a walk every morning at five o'clock and coming back to his tea at half-past six, which he had done during forty years of residence (in 1863) and had reaped his reward in still robust health, strong nerve, clear head, and a yet lively enjoyment of the good things of life." These morning walks were thought in the young days of Singapore to be a necessity for a healthy life, but there were then some who laughed at the habit, and experience has seemed to agree with them. Active exercise in the afternoon, at cricket, lawn-tennis, football and golf, has, probably, been found equally useful. There was a very oft-told story of Mr. George, which perhaps shows that it is more convenient. He was living during the latter years of his life at a boarding-house, the only one then in Singapore, kept by Mrs. Nugent in River Valley Road, and always started out for his walk directly he heard the five o'clock gun. He did so one morning and walked along Bukit Timah Road as usual. The sun did not get up as it usually did when he had walked about two miles, and he walked on until he thought something must have happened to the sun, and gave it up as a bad job and turned back. When he reached home he found it was half-past three. A gun had been fired off near the house in the middle of the night, and he had mistaken it for the five o'clock gun. His son Mr. John Chadwick Farquhar George, since dead, was for many years in the old Oriental Bank as Manager in Singapore and Ceylon.

Mr. Boustead's firm at this time was Boustead, Schwabe & Co., which was established first, as far as is known now, as Boustead & Co., about 1827, and became Boustead, Schwabe & Co., on 1st January 1834. Mr. Boustead had been to China, and returned and established himself here. Mr. Boustead came to Singapore as the Manager of a new firm of Robert Wise & Co., and occupied the godown and house on the river next that which was then occupied by Mr. Johnston

and A. L. Johnston & Co., through to Battery Road, and lived there until he started on his own account as Boustead & Co., and moved to near Elgin Bridge in what was called the seven-and-twenty pillar house. Mr. Sykes then managed Robert Wise & Co. for a few years, when the firm was closed in Singapore about 1837 or 1838, both Mr. Sykes and Mr. Wise joining Mr. Boustead. Mr. Boustead was editor of the *Singapore Chronicle* for some years, and when Mr. Carnegy (who came from Penang,) and Mr. W. S. Lorrain bought that paper, then Mr. Boustead, Mr. Coleman and Mr. William Napier started the *Singapore Free Press* in 1835, as is mentioned further on under that year.

In 1846 there were four partners in Boustead, Schwabe & Co., Mr. Edward Boustead in China, Benjamin Butler in Manila, Gustav Christian Schwabe in Liverpool, and Adam Sykes in Singapore. Mr. Joseph Wise, Robert Duff and Abraham A. De Wind were then clerks. In 1848 Mr. Schwabe left the firm, he died in Liverpool at a great age about 1896. The firm was then styled Boustead & Co., in 1849, and for three years Mr. Boustead was the sole partner. In 1850 he went home at the time of the Great Exhibition in London and never returned to Singapore. He died in London on 29th February, 1888, and the Boustead Institute was built from a charitable legacy under his will, and also £1,000 was given towards building St Andrew's House in Armenian Street. In 1852 Joseph Wise and William Wardrop Shaw, who had been clerks in the house for several years became partners with Mr. Boustead, but Mr. Wise left in 1853 and Mr. Robert Bain became a partner. He had been a partner in A. L. Johnston & Co. for several years. Mr. Bain left in 1855 and some years afterwards was a partner in Maclaine, Fraser & Co. In 1856 the firm consisted of Mr. Boustead, W. W. Shaw, and Archibald Buchanan Brown; Mr. George Lipscombe, Henry Frolich and James Young were then clerks. The firm continued so till 1867 when Mr. Brown left, and Messrs. Lipscombe and Jasper Young became partners, and the firm then consisted of Messrs. Boustead, Shaw, Lipscombe and Young, and continued so for many years.

There was a remarkable story of piracy in this year. It may be interesting to say that the Malay piratical prahus were from six to eight tons burden and from sixty to seventy feet long. They carried one or two small guns with four swivels or *rantakas* on each side, and a crew of twenty to thirty men. When they attacked ships they put up a strong bulwark of thick planks. They had, of course, spears and krisses and as many fire-arms as they could procure. A vessel, the name of which is not given, but is described as Captain Gravesome's vessel, left Penang or Malacca on a trading voyage in 1819 and was not heard of until 1829. In 1827, Mr. John Dalton, the merchant, left Singapore in a Bugis prahu, and was detained as a prisoner for a considerable time by the Sultan of Koti. The remains of Captain Gravesome's vessel were lying in the river Koti, and among the Sultan's slaves were six persons of her crew. She had carried a valuable cargo of opium and piece-goods, and two European passengers, a young lady of twenty and a boy of fifteen years of age. A pirate of Borneo advised the Captain to go to Koti, where he could get a good market for his cargo: and offered to pilot the vessel up to Koti.

The Captain unfortunately believed him, and the Sultan's consent being soon obtained on the promise of half the spoil, the pirate returned to the ship and commenced the massacre by stabbing Captain Gravesome in his cabin. The crew were then attacked and all murdered but six, who leapt overboard and hid themselves in the jungle. The young woman and the boy, who were severely wounded, were taken to the Sultan, whose mother interposed on their behalf and took care of them. The Sultan told Mr. Dalton they had died of small-pox, but others said they had been poisoned, as the Sultan did not feel himself safe as long as they lived. The six guns belonging to the ship were lying in front of the Sultan's house. It would be easy to make a very long chapter of the stories of pirates in the early days of Singapore. It seems almost incredible now that such practices should have been so common as to excite only a passing remark, while in these days any similar occurence would excite universal horror, and speedy retribution. If Mr. Dalton had not found himself in a tight corner at Koti, and got back safely to Singapore in 1829, this story would, like many others, never have been known.

1830.

At the Chinese New Year, on a Sunday in the beginning of February, a great fire broke out in a blacksmith's shop in Circular Road, burned down Philip Street and one side of Market Street, and nearly got to Commercial Square. The loss was said to be $350,000. It cleared away a lot of badly constructed houses, and led to a great improvement in the streets. The Magistrates on the 10th February published an advertisement tendering their warmest thanks to the Madras Native Infantry and all those who had "come forward so promptly and rendered efficient aid for three successive nights and days." And a notice appears that "In consequence of the late calamitous fire there has been a complete suspension of business during the week, nearly the whole of the commercial community having been engaged in searching almost every house in town as well as the China junks and native boats for stolen property." A quantity of property was carried out of the burning godowns and it had, of course, to be identified by the proper owners after the fire was over. A Chinese claimed a quantity of various boxes and bundles, which others said belonged to them; but the first pointed triumphantly to his chop which he was able to point out on the packages. At last, in the height of the discussion, a European said that he remembered seeing the same Chinaman going about with a chop, very busy among the packages, during the fire; and this being corroborated by others, the man was taken to the police station.

The fire was much extended by an explosion which was caused in rather a curious way. A Chinaman had some barrels of gunpowder in his shop, and not being able to carry them away he threw them down the well, thinking very sensibly that they would be safe there. But the fire dried up the water there was in the well, and the powder blew up. No one was hurt at all, but pieces of the burning houses were blown by the explosion across the road on to the houses opposite, which were very hot and caught into a blaze immediately. There were no

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Syme & Co., from 1856 to 1862, and was a member of the first Singapore Volunteer Corps. He was very tall and a remarkable athlete. He died at Manila on 13th November, 1901, where he had lived for many years and had been secretary of the Manila Club.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1831.

IN January, 1831, substantial and uniform houses and shops had been erected where the fire had occurred; and George Armstrong & Co. opened an Exchange Room, Reading and News Room, and Circulating Library on the 1st of January; a prospectus was issued, but no copy of it is now to be had. It was intended principally, apparently, for the use of Captains and Supercargoes of vessels.

The public complained that, although the town had been much improved by the new buildings, the Government did nothing to assist, and that Circular Road, which was then the most public thoroughfare, was in a shameful and dangerous state, and that South Bridge Road was overflowed knee-deep at high tides. When the road and wharf between Circular Road and the Canal were made, the lots were sold at prices that left a handsome surplus after paying expenses, although the purchasers were aware of the extraordinary outlay that would be required to build houses on a marsh which was overflowed in many places to a depth of seven feet. At Kampong Glam two hundred convicts in eight months, with an outlay of $500 for covered gutters, drained twenty-eight acres marsh land and intersected it with roads. It was sold at good prices, and in January one-fifth of it was covered with good upper-roomed houses, which were let readily. The writer of the letter from which these particulars are taken said that Government should have spent the money raised by the sale of the land in essentially benefiting the town, and especially in building a good substantial bridge, which he said would be the greatest boon that could be conferred upon it.

On a Sunday night in January, some thieves took off part of the roof of Guthrie & Clark's godown, and stole a quantity of piece-goods.

On the 7th January Doctor Alexander Martin died. He had come to the Settlement with Raffles. The notice of his death, which occurred in Singapore, describes him as Surgeon and Senior Sworn Clerk of the Court of Judicature; which sounds a curious combination in these days. He was succeeded by his brother Dr. M. J. Martin, who returned home in 1836, and was succeeded by his nephew Dr. Robert Little who retired in 1892 and died at Blackheath on 11th June, 1888.

There were between 400 and 500 acres of land under rice cultivation at this time, and it was proposed to have roads made by the convicts from Kampong Glam across the Kallang and Gaylang rivers (the two bridges being estimated to cost $500 each) so as to increase the cultivation. The roads are now main roads, with very substantial stone and iron bridges, but rice planting is a thing of the past. Mr. Fullerton had put on a tax or quit rent of one dollar per acre per month, which the *Chronicle* said completely prohibited the coolies who

came from China taking up any agricultural employment, as they found it impossible to make the jungle produce sufficient to meet such a heavy impost, and the gardens which had been prospering were neglected.

The place was in a very lawless state at this time, several murders being reported in one week, and no proper measures being available to trace the criminals or to secure life and property in the out-lying parts of the town. Very little was known of Singapore beyond the hills behind the town; the rest of the island was covered with jungle with a few isolated reclaimed spots. While a gang of Chinese convicts were working on a road, a number of Chinese ran out of the jungle and rescued ten of the convicts by carrying them off and knocking off their irons. The whole police force, eighteen strong, was mustered and recovered five of the convicts. It was said at the time that a Secret Society exceeding one thousand men, was established in the jungle, and that they had actually an armed fort there. There is a note of Mr. Braddell's that in July, 1830, there was activity in the Resident Councillor's office on the subject of Chinese Hoeys, or Secret Societies, and that a letter was written with a list of questions to the Superintendent of Police. This seems to have been the first mention of the Secret Societies in Singapore.

In April, on a Sunday morning at two o'clock, a remarkable robbery, or rather burglary, was perpetrated at the Singapore Institution. The Raffles Institution was then in an unfinished and decaying state, and was repaired a few years afterwards, with money that had been subscribed towards a statue for Sir Stamford Raffles. The Rev. Mr. Milton with his wife and family were occupying the only habitable room in the building. The following account was in the newspaper:—'The thieves, to the number of between 20 and 30, came, as usual, armed with spears and axes, and had their faces blackened; we believe some of them carried torches. Finding Mr. Milton resolutely bent on not opening the door of the room, at their summons, they broke it open with an axe, but were unable to effect an entrance, as he had posted himself near the door behind a chest of drawers, and prevented them from coming in with a long pole (such as is generally used in carrying water) with which he dealt not a few severe and well-directed blows amongst them. His only servant, a Chinese cook, who usually slept at the door inside the room, had posted himself at the other side, and assisted materially in repelling the gang with an iron spit, but on his receiving a cut on the forehead from a spear, he retreated. The thieves at length, betook themselves to throwing fragments of broken pavement found outside the door, and compelled Mr. Milton also to retreat. They then came in, and commenced smashing the chest of drawers and other pieces of furniture in search of money; but their principal object of search was an iron chest which lay at the farthest end of the room, and which it is thought had been seen by one of them previous to the attack, and he conjecturing, though very erroneously, that there was money in it, had concerted with others to rid Mr. Milton of it and its supposed contents.'

"The gang had just packed up some articles of clothing, and were carrying away the iron chest, when Mr. R. Wingrove, the Assistant Resident, who was living in a bungalow close to the Institution, having heard the noise, crossed Brass Bassa Road, and came promptly with his servants and one or two peons. The thieves on perceiving him dropped their burdens and betook themselves to flight, but they did not escape before Mr. Wingrove had fired a shot amongst them, which from their proximity must have done some execution; one of them, however, in retreating, made a thrust at Mr. Wingrove with a spear, which might have injured him seriously had not the blow been warded off by one of his servants. Another servant, with a bludgeon, knocked one of the thieves off his legs, but before a seizure could be made, a number of his companions ran up and carried him away. From the quantity of blood found sprinkled about the hall and in the room, it is pretty evident that Mr. Milton had done considerable damage to the thieves; he himself received but a slight injury on the hand from a stone. Mrs. Milton, who was of course much alarmed and had hidden herself with her two children, received also some slight injury from a similar missile. To behold the disordered state in which the dastardly ruffians left the room was truly pitiable for the unfortunate family. Most of the panes in two bookcases were broken; the table, chest of drawers, and other articles of furniture were broken to pieces, while books, glasses, and stones lay scattered about the room."

Shortly after the burglary at the Institution the night watch was started again. There had been some misunderstanding about it between the Government and the Merchants, and it had been abolished. The Magistrates in Quarter Sessions had levied an assessment of five per cent. to keep it up, for the sweeping reforms that had been made in the Government had abolished the Court, and some of the merchants agreed to carry on the subscription voluntarily. A meeting was called, but owing to some misunderstanding it fell through.

The Reverend Samuel Milton was one of the first Missionaries sent out by the London Missionary Society to the Straits and China. The following is a list of the first sixteen who were sent out, in the order of their appointment. It has been found in a long list of Missionaries including 65 names, which appeared in the *Free Press* on 13th March, 1845

Name.	Entered.	Retired.	Died.	Station.
Robert Morrison, D.D.	1807	—	1834	Canton
William Milne, D.D.	1813	—	1831	Malacca
W. H. Medhurst, D.D.	1817	—	—	Shanghai
John Slater	1817	1823	—	Batavia
John Nice	1818	—	1825	Penang
Samuel Milton	1818	1825	—	Singapore
Robert Fleming	1820	1823	—	Malacca
James Humphreys	1822	1830	—	do.
David Collie	1822	—	1828	do.
Samuel Kidd	1824	1832	—	do.
John Smith	1826	1829	—	do.
Jacob Tomlin	1826	1836	—	Singapore
Samuel Dyer	1827	—	1843	Penang

Name.	Entered.	Retired.	Died.	Station.
John Evans	1833	—	1841	Malacca
Samuel Wolfe	1835	—	1837	Singapore
Alex. Stronach	1837	—	—	do.

The list of American Missionaries sent to the Straits, appears in the same list as follows:—

Ira Tracy	1833	—	—	Singapore
J. T Dickenson	1837	1840	—	do.
M. B. Hope, M D.	1837	1838	—	do.
George W. Wood	1838	1840	—	do.
Robert W. Orr	1838	1841	—	do.
John A Mitchell	1838	—	—	do.

The Reverend Samuel Milton died in Singapore on 5th September, 1848. His widow lived in the place till an old age, and also died here.

At this time there were two signal flag-staffs, one on Government Hill as at present, and the other on St. John's Island. There was no town clock, and a proposal to have one ended in nothing. In 1830 ten junks had arrived in Singapore from China. In 1831 eighteen came, of which two had sailed from Seang Hai, which was described as being near Ningpo. It is better known now as Shanghai. They were of 500 and 175 tons respectively. The whole 18 junks were 3,713 tons, and the value of their cargoes was $200,200.

In May Mr. Hallpike started a boarding house in High Street. Mr. Stephen Hallpike had bought about half of the land belonging to Morgan & Co.'s estate, extending from the corner of High Street near the Court House to the bridge on the river side. The other half was bought by Kim Swee, and has been owned until now by the Eu Chin family. Mr. Hallpike continued his business, while his wife conducted the boarding house. He had a blacksmith's shop and shipyard at the back, and repaired carriages by which he made a good deal of money. He died at Singapore on the 27th June, 1844. at 61 years of age, and his widow married Mr. J. B. Gordon (who had been Hallpike's partner) in London in 1846.

In February an American vessel was loading pepper in Sumatra, and the master and four of his crew were on shore when she was attacked by Malays, all the officers and crew murdered, the vessel plundered, and seven or eight thousand dollars carried off. The Captain got assistance from some other American vessels and remained in the vessel. An American frigate went a year afterwards and burnt the houses, killing two hundred of the inhabitants. Pirate prahus in fleets of as many as twenty-two boats, were known to be not many miles from the outer harbour of Singapore.

On the 8th June Chong Long, one of the principal Chinese merchants of Singapore, gave a great dinner on his 44th birthday, which all the influential residents attended. There were a number of toasts, as usual in those days, including the health of Mr. Ibbetson the Resident, and the memory of Sir Stamford Raffles. It reads rather funnily now, that Chong Long made a speech at a late period of the evening proposing the health of the Duke of Wellington. Chong Long was the son of the Captain China of Malacca when it was under the Dutch. He lived in the

Square and sometimes gave entertainments in European style to the British inhabitants, and was a very intelligent and wealthy man. He went to China in 1838, and was murdered in a house in Macao by some ruffians who broke into it at night, in the middle of December. Mr. William Spottiswoode was his Executor. The Malacca-born Chinese, such as Chong Long, held more direct intercourse with Europeans than the other Chinese. Many were born of Malay mothers, but as they wore the dress of their fathers they were scarcely to be distinguished from the actual natives of China, and although less active and energetic than the latter, they were more enlightened and made better merchants. They acquired in some degree the general habits of Europeans and their mode of transacting business, which made them more agreeable to the latter. Many were independent merchants, and others were cashiers and under-clerks in European godowns. Chong Long was the most intelligent and perhaps the most wealthy of this class.

There was another Chinaman, said to be a wealthier man, whose name was Che Sang. He kept his money, as every one else did in those days, in iron chests, for there were no banks, and he always slept among them. He was said to be a great miser, but addicted to gambling; in fact it is said in Mr. Earl's book that he had acquired a considerable part of his fortune by it. One day he lost a considerable sum, which put him out terribly, so he cut off the first joint of one of his little fingers with an oath not to play anymore, but the remedy was not effectual, for he returned to it again.

There was a long account of the funeral of Che Sang, written by a missionary, in the *Friend of India*, of Calcutta, on 17th May, 1836. He was described as a miser, 73 years of age. He was born at Canton, and had gone to Rhio as a boy of fifteen, then to Penang where he was for ten years, then to Malacca for some years, and then to Singapore. He died there on 2nd April, and was buried on the 13th, the funeral going about through the commercial part of the town on the way to the Hokien burial ground, attended by ten to fifteen thousand persons. Che Sang used to boast that he had so much influence over the Chinese that any day he said the word, he could empty the place of all the Europeans—but he never tried.

Both Chong Long and Che San built houses at Campong Glam, but neither of them were ever occupied. The first was purchased and rebuilt by Mr. Carnie, and the latter by Mr. Ker. Mr. Carnie's was purchased and occupied by Mr James Fraser of Maclaine, Fraser & Co., in 1840, and Mr Ker's by Mr Christian Baumgarten.

The first public entertainment in Singapore was given in this year by Signor Masoni, a violinist; and in June, the Officers of the 29th Madras Native Infantry, who had just come, allowed their band to play once a week on the plain, which is now called the Esplanade. As long as the Native Regiments were stationed here, the band used to play, latterly twice a week; the chains were taken down opposite Coleman Street and the carriages were driven in, and stood in a circle round the band-stand. Theatricals were proposed as an additional amusement, which led to much correspondence in the *Chronicle*. One writer, who objected to theatrical performances as tom-fooleries which no rational man would waste his time in, proposed that a fives court should be built instead.

In August the newspapers first mentioned the dispute with the Pungulu of Naning at Malacca, which led to the so-called Naning War, and as it attracted a very great deal of attention in Singapore, it is mentioned here. The English took possession of Malacca from the Dutch, and with it of Naning upon the terms on which the Dutch had held possession of it, one of the stipulations being for the payment of a certain duty. By a treaty made by Colonel Taylor, the British Resident at Malacca, with Pungulu Dholl Syed and the chiefs of Naning, dated 16th July, 1801, it was agreed that the Pungulu should come yearly in person, or send one of his chiefs, to Malacca to pay homage to the Company, and, as a token of submission, to present one-half coyan of the first fruits of the crop of paddy (400 gantangs). These were then worth about $12. There was a dispute at this time also about the Pungulu having forcibly seized a piece of land within the Malacca boundary which belonged to one Inche Surin. The two things together led to the quarrel, but in a paper by Colonel Low, and in another by Mr. Blundell, written in 1848 and 1850, they each ascribe the cause to the non-payment of the ridiculously petty claim for the paddy; Colonel Low remarking that the cost of the war was somewhat about twenty lacs of rupees and that it ended in pensioning the rebel chief on a hundred rupees a month, a larger sum of money than the man had ever before possessed at one time. Mr. Blundell had a note that the original estimate of proposed cost of the expedition was $1,929 41; and the actual expense from August, 1831, to April, 1833, was Rupees 89,301.6.7 for local charges alone.

On the 6th August, 1831, the first expedition started from the town of Malacca under the command of Captain Wyllie, Madras Native Infantry. His subalterns were Lieutenant Milnes, Lieutenant Begbie who commanded the artillery, Ensign Short, and Assistant-Surgeon Smith. Mr. W. T. Lewis, Assistant Resident of Malacca went as Commissioner. A detailed account of the expedition was written by Begbie and published in a pamphlet at the Malacca Mission Press in the same year, which was much laughed at by the Madras newspapers. The chief of Rambau joined the Pungulu of Naning and the expedition met with so much unexpected opposition that it returned to Malacca, leaving the heavy luggage and two guns behind them, and throwing Malacca into a tremendous state of alarm as they thought they were left at the mercy of the Malays, whom, apparently, they thought a much more courageous people than they were.

Early in January, 1832, a force of Madras troops was sent to Malacca, under Lieutenant Colonel Herbert, consisting of a regiment of native infantry, a company of rifles, two companies of sappers and miners, and some Europeans and native artillery. They got on very slowly, as they proceeded to cut what they called a military road, eighty yards wide, up the country by felling the trees, and at last accomplished what (it was afterwards said) a hundred of Rajah Brooke's Dyaks from Borneo would have settled in a week. Lieutenant Harding and Ensign Walker of the Madras Native Infantry were killed and two of the Ensigns were wounded. Mr. Begbie in his book, page 234, says, "A handsome monument designed by Lieutenant

Symthe of the Engineers, was erected to the memory and over the remains of Mr. Walker by his brother officers of the 5th. Visitors to Malacca often pass the tombs on their way up country. The troops were ten weeks going only twelve miles, not including a stoppage of about a month on the way at Alor Gaja.

The Pungulu ran away; but soon afterwards Mr. J. B. Westerhout of Malacca was sent up. He was, Mr. Newbold says, eminently qualified by his perfect knowledge of the Malay character, and his influence with the principal persons of the neighbouring independent states, to end the dispute satisfactorily. The result was which might have been arrived at in the first instance, and the $12 realized for the Malacca Treasury) that the ex-Pungulu came down to Malacca on the 5th February, 1834, and lived in great comfort in Malacca on the Government allowance, where his house was the daily resort of health-seeking followers of Mohamed, as he set up as an unqualified medical practioner and was believed to have a miraculous power in the cure of diseases. This man, Pungulu Dholl Syed, died at Malacca in August, 1849, and was buried at Tabu in Naning.

It was the Naning expedition that led to Admiral Keppel coming to the Straits for the first time. He had joined the *Magicienne* 24 guns, as a young lieutenant, at Woolwich, and on reaching Madras sailed for Malacca in May, as the news had reached Madras of the need for reinforcements at Naning. They anchored off Malacca on 6th June, and Keppel was sent in charge of a small force to blockade the Lingy river. It is mentioned in Begbie's book, and he says that while the boats were blockading the mouth of the Lingy, arms, ammunition and provisions were passed round another way and conveyed into the interior with as little difficulty as if no blockade had existed. In Admiral Keppel's book, published in 1899, is an account of his doings, and a picture of his boats firing a salute opposite the house of the Raja in the Muar river up country. He was away on this duty from 10th June to 23rd August. In that book, also, "A Sailor's Life under Four Sovereigns," at page 145, is the following:—"The Naning War was now over. I was very loth to part with my good friend the Rajah. So persuaded was he of my merits, that he solemnly offered me the hand of his daughter in marriage, on condition that I would become his heir and succeed him on the throne of Moowar (Muar). It was no idle jest. He wrote officially to the Powers at Penang, and for some years the document was to be seen in the Government offices. I have endeavoured to obtain a copy of this flattering proposal; but the lapse of time, the changes of administration in the affairs of the Straits Settlements, to say nothing of the ravages of white ants, preclude my presenting it to my readers."

The compiler of this book tried, in common with others, in 1888, to find any trace of the paper or the facts, but, as the Admiral says, it was hopeless after so many years to expect it. One cannot help wondering what the result would have been if he had accepted his offer, which was of course quite impracticable, but it was, except for the daughter, exactly what afterwards took place with Rajah Brooke, who took up the Government of Sarawak



To face page 218.

ALMIRAL OF THE FLEET, SIR HENRY KEPPEL, G.C.B., D.C.L.
From a photograph taken in 1900.

at the request of the Rajah and his people there, and led to the great good that resulted from it. It is known in Singapore how annoyed Sir Henry Keppel was when Governor Sir Harry Ord, about the year 1868, on some British merchants applying to him about the disturbances in Selangor, which seriously affected the trade of Singapore, told them that if the British merchant chose to trade in the Peninsula, it was his own business, and he must expect no assistance from Government; and how Sir Henry Keppel, who was then Admiral on the station, offered to give all the help the Navy could properly give. And if there had been such a Rajah Brooke of Sarawak, as Lieut. Keppel would have proved himself in Muar in 1837, the Native States might have been opened up forty years before they were. The *Magacienne* arrived at Singapore on the 5th September, which was the first time Admiral Keppel landed there, and went on to Batavia at the end of the month, Mr. Bonham being a guest of the Captain, as far as that place, and the ship then returned to the Indian Station. Admiral Keppel tells us in his book that Mr. Bonham could not do without his smoke, and the Captain of the *Magicienne* objected to the smell, and smoking was not allowed. So Lieutenant Keppel, when officer of the watch, gave orders to close the Captain's skylight as he *thought* a squall was coming on, and after Mr. Bonham had his smoke the squall had passed over, and the skylight was opened again. The ship returned to Singapore for three weeks in April, 1832, and on reaching Madras at the end of May, Lieutenant the Hon. Henry Keppel heard he had been promoted to Commander on 30th January.

The first mention of tigers is in the *Chronicle* of the 8th September, when a Chinaman was killed by one near the road leading to New Harbour, not far from the Sepoy Lines. And shortly afterwards a native was killed in another direction, probably by the same animal. A few months later (in November) Mr. & Mrs. Armstrong, while taking a drive on the road leading towards New Harbour, observed a tiger crossing the way, at a short distance in front of them. It is stated in Mr. Cameron's book that no tiger was known in the island until 1835, when one was seen by Mr. Coleman when he was surveying about four miles from town in the jungle. The tiger had jumped into the middle of the party and landed on the theodolite, and as soon as Mr. Coleman came into town, the people went out at once to see the place, and the marks of the tiger and the broken theodolite. But Mr. Cameron was mistaken, as the newspaper of 1831 contains the account of the cases that have just been mentioned.

These seem to have been exceptional cases, because it was usual to say in Singapore that no tigers were known on the island before 1835. Dr. Oxley in a paper on the zoology of Singapore, written in 1849, said that not many years before, the existence of a tiger on the island was firmly disbelieved. It must be remembered that in 1831 the island was thick jungle except near the town, and there were, and are to this day, so many deer and pig that the tigers were not likely to venture near human habitations. There is no reason whatever to think that they were attracted by human beings; and as little reason to think that they had not always been on the island, swimming across the narrow

Straits from Johore in search of the pig and deer, as there is no doubt they do to this day. In the Straits there are islands dotted about, and it is no long swim to cross over, with an island as a resting place on the way. In some notes on Penang and Province Wellesley, written by Mr. J. D. Vaughan in 1857, he said that tigers were known to swim across to Penang from Province Wellesley, and the distance there is very much greater than the narrow Strait between Singapore and the mainland of Asia. The Penang newspaper of 18th June, 1859, said that one or two more tigers had obtained a footing in Penang, and from the distance they had to swim in crossing from the mainland they were generally pretty well tired when they landed, and had frequently been killed whenmet with in that condition. Two at least, however, appeared to have escaped into the jungle and unless they were at once destroyed they would do much mischief. The passage was copied into the *Free Press* of 30th June. If true, it is remarkable, and puts beyond question the great ease with which tigers could cross into Singapore island from the mainland.

It was when the gambier and pepper plantations began to extend beyond the town that tigers commenced to be so dangerous. The *Free Press* in May, 1839, said that it had only been within the last year or two that human life had been taken by tigers in the settlement, and that during the week two Chinese had been carried off near town in the neighbourhood of the new road called the Rangong Road [Serangong Road] and that the government reward of $20 was not sufficient, as the number of casualties within the preceding year had been over twelve. After this the paper contained continual notes of death from tigers, in all cases close to town, or within two miles, and the reward was increased to $50, the paper remarking, that "It was singular that the settlement should have existed for about eighteen years before any occasion of death by tigers was heard of, and that fatal accidents of the kind should happen now (1839) just as the island began to be cleared of jungle, and roads carried into the interior in various directions."

This would rather seem to explain the matter than to occasion surprise. The Chinese coolie working in the jungle on a gambier plantation is just the chance a tiger will take to pounce upon him from behind, the way in which they always attack a human being. The truth of the statement that the loss of life through tigers on the island reached at one period the extent of one man every day has often been doubted; but five men in eight days, as early as 1840, seems to show that it was not improbable. Dr. Oxley says that it was found on careful enquiry that 300 human beings were killed by tigers in 1857, of whom only seven were reported to the police; and in later years, about 1860, over two hundred deaths were reported to the police in one year; and as the gambier-planters only reported those which were likely to become known to the police, it is certain that very many more, and probably double that number, were lost. The difficulty of obtaining coolies to work on the plantations in the jungle, as it was then, was a strong inducement to the towkays to keep the deaths as little known as possible, and in 1860 there were plantations in all directions over the island, whereas in 1840 the

country was only opened for a very few miles, except along Serangoon Road, where coffee and sugar were planted.

The government reward was afterwards increased to $100, and many of the more distant gambier plantations were deserted in consequence of tigers. Pits were dug and traps set, but on two occasions the tigers took the men when they went to see whether their traps were successful. Mr. Balestier, who had the sugar plantation three miles from town on Serangoon Road, called Balestier Plain, said that it was no uncommon thing to see the tracks of tigers about his house (now Woodsville Cottage) in the morning, and he used to point out the spot where two of his men had been killed in 1842.

The pits were dug 14 or 15 feet deep, a lot of tree trunks were thrown over the mouth as soon as a tiger was found inside, and he was shot at from between them. In later years the tigers were drawn alive into thick rattan baskets, made like the baskets in which pigs are carried. The basket was closed at one end only, and a strong rattan which the tiger cannot bite through was passed through it. The basket was then placed on the ground near the top of the pit, and a running noose made on the end of the rattan after it had passed through the basket. The noose was then placed over a long pole, and one end was pushed down into the pit. Directly the tiger saw the pole it naturally sprang up, catching it between his fore-paws and biting at the end. The noose was then allowed to slip down the pole, and therefore went over the tiger's head and fore-paws, and was drawn tight under its arms. The tiger was then hauled up by main force, and as the rope passed through the closed end of the basket, the tiger was dragged into the basket head first, and once inside there was so little room to move that he was a close prisoner.

From time to time in this book some of the best known tiger stories will be told in their turn, but it may be mentioned here that there were two men who were very remarkable for their pluck in this respect. One was a French Canadian, named Carrol, who left his country during the disturbances in 1838. He used to live in the jungle almost altogether, and he made tiger hunting a business for the sake of the rewards, which were considerable at one time, about 1860, as the Chamber of Commerce gave a reward as well as the Government, and the body was also worth money. Carrol died in the General Hospital. He was an elderly man; a very fine rifle shot, and was known because he always wore a gold ring half way up a long greyish beard, like a necktie ring. The other man was a Eurasian named Neil Martin Carnie, who was born in Singapore. He was of a roving frame of mind, and never settled down to a steady life; for a time he would be the chief clerk in the Municipality, then he would become an Inspector, and then something else, but the moment he heard of a tiger his office saw him no more. He used to roam about the jungle at night with a retired Sergeant-Major of police, a Malay, who lived down at Serangoon, near the 5th mile. That man had one day shot a tiger, and he found the reward so much easier earned than his pay, that he left the police and started a cattle farm, joined with it tiger hunting, and was very

successful. Carnie was a man of great pluck, as the story of the tiger he shot in 1864 shows, which will be told hereafter. The tigers are few now in Singapore island, but there are always some to be heard of, though difficult to find, as Mr. G. P. Owen and Mr. D. Maw have found, who have shot so many. It is well to remark that tiger-shooting in Singapore is a very different thing to the sport in India, where the sportsman is up on the back of an elephant or high up in a tree. Here it is a much more dangerous and adventurous matter; on foot, in a jungle, face-to-face at a moment's notice with a tiger. Only bold-spirited men have been successful in Singapore, and there have not been many of them.

In September, a meeting of the mercantile community was held to draw up a Petition to Parliament on the subject of the Court of Justice, as no Court had been in operation in any of the three Settlements for fifteen months, and the evils arising from this circumstance had been felt to be of a very serious nature. A copy of the Petition to the House of Commons was to be found in the *Chronicle* of the 13th October, and of that to the House of Lords in the paper of 24th November, which gave the list of the signatures, comprising almost every gentleman in the Settlement acquainted with English.

In October a burglary was committed in Dr. Oxley's house, and a convict, a servant of the Doctor, caught the man, a Malay of Bencoolen, after the Doctor had shot at him with some small shot just as he was getting out through the window. The burglar wounded the convict with a kris, and he then jumped out of a window in the Doctor's room, fifteen feet from the ground. Dr. Oxley was Government Surgeon, and the story was often told that on going to the hospital the next morning, a man had to have a lot of shot picked out of his back; and it is said the doctor, who knew how the shot got there, was a long time getting out the pellets.

In September, 1831, the Privy Council (in England) held a meeting to hear an appeal from Sir John Claridge (the Recorder) against his removal from the office of Recorder of the Straits at the instance of the East India Company, who had made six charges of wrongful conduct against him, the principal one being on the ground of his refusal to go circuit in consequence of a dispute between him and Mr. Fullerton as to certain expenses of the Court. The result was that Sir John Claridge was removed from the office of Recorder, but the Privy Council said that no imputation rested on his capacity or integrity in the exercise of his judicial functions, or to preclude him from further employment. The effect was the re-establishment of the Court under the old Charter, and until the arrival of the Recorder, Sir Benjamin Malkin, in February, 1833, Mr. Fullerton, Mr. Ibbetson, Mr. Bonham, Mr. Murchison and Mr. Garling, held the Courts in the three Settlements from the 10th April.

Against this paragraph written in 1884, Mr James Guthrie wrote the following note:—"The Recorder misunderstanding, I believe, is correct, but the Court continued until Mr. Fullerton went home, when to reduce expenditure, the Governor-General in Calcutta proposed doing away with the Governorship of the Straits, and the community were indebted

to Mr. K. Murchison, then Resident Councillor in Singapore, who agreed to take the responsibility of opening the Court, if the Europeans bound themselves to give their support. Mr. Ibbetson was then Resident Councillor of Penang, and after a time he was appointed the Governor.

CHAPTER XIX.

1832 and 1833.

1832.

IN January, John Francis, who had kept a sort of public house, opened what he called a Hotel at the north end of the Square, with a Billiard Room and a Refreshment Hall, as he styled it in the advertisement. This seems to have been the first of the kind. In 1840 he opened a butcher's shop in Teluk Ayer Street.

Mr. Thomas Owen Crane and his wife were living in the upper part of the house where the Mercantile Bank now stands, at the centre end of the south end of the Square. The lower part was occupied by the offices of Mr. T. O. Crane and Dr. d'Almeida.

On the 7th May the Criminal Assizes were held by Mr. Ibbetson and Mr. Bonham. There were in all nearly forty prisoners, including four murder cases, and the Assizes lasted seven days. The Grand Jury presented the state of the large bridge, a long standing grievance, and complained of the Government neglecting to maintain it when they had sold the land near it on the express undertaking to do so. They also mentioned the number of Chinese beggars in the streets, and the state of the Teluk Ayer Market, which was covered with attap, and not kept clean, also the silting up of the mouth of the river, and lastly the numerous burglaries that had been committed by gangs of Chinese in bodies of fifty to one hundred men. They said that the atrocities of the villains had increased to such an alarming extent that if some active measures were not taken to put a stop to their career, there was every probability of their becoming so powerful that it would not be safe for any one to reside at a distance from town or to settle as cultivators in the interior.

In May, the paper contained long accounts of the second Naning Expedition, already spoken of. In June the Chinese in Singapore, with the sanction, but not the aid of Government, subscribed to fit out four large trading boats with thirty Chinese each, well armed and carrying several guns, to go out and attack the pirates, which were lurking outside the harbour. This was a grave reflection on the vigilance and exertion of Government, which, from the support it derived from the Chinese trade, ought to have been foremost in endeavouring to protect the native ships from pirates who, emboldened by impunity, continued to attack traders, even close to the harbour and inside it. The Chinese boats went out, and fell in with two pirate prahus, one large and one small, and sank one, but the other escaped. One or two of the Chinese were killed. The agreement the towkays made was that two hundred dollars were to be paid for each pirate boat attacked, and two hundred dollars given to the relations of any man who was killed.

In July, at a General Quarter Sessions, the Magistrates levied a rate of five per cent. on the rent of all houses in the town, for six months, to repair and cleanse the roads, and for other purposes mentioned in the Charter. Canton advertisements were published in the Singapore paper at this time, and in June one is published stating that on the 15th February, William Jardine and James Matheson had established the firm of Jardine, Matheson & Co., the former firm of Magniac & Co. having then ceased.

The Government having been shamed, apparently, by the Chinese, had two boats built at Malacca carrying 12 pounder guns, manned by nineteen Malays (trustworthy characters, not pirates) to act in Singapore against the pirates.

In September it was suggested to make a further collection towards the monument to Sir Stamford Raffles, and to erect a substantial stone bridge to be called "Raffles Bridge." The amount of the previous subscription was still in the hands of the Treasurers. To this it was objected that Government were bound to build the bridge; and towards the end of the year orders came from Bengal to do this, but the engineer had left Singapore before the orders were received.

On the 15th September a Dutch schooner, the *Reliance*, blew up in the harbour, the gunpowder kept in the vessel having exploded in some way that was never explained. The Captain, two European mates, and five of the native crew were killed, and the rest seriously injured.

In November, a sampan-pukat belonging to Singapore sailed for Pahang, having a cargo valued at $10,000 to $12,000, consisting of opium (of which there were seven chests), raw-silk, piece-goods, rice, tobacco and sundry other articles. This vessel had thirty-three Chinese sailors on board, and carried seven lelahs or small guns. About 10 o'clock, when off Pulo Tingy, she fell in with a fleet of pirate boats 15 or 16 in number. An attack was soon made on the pukat, when after a fight of two hours, four of the Chinese were killed. Shortly after, by some accident, the small quantity of gunpowder which remained in the pukat blew up and set fire to the sails, so that the crew could not fight nor the vessel escape. The pirates then came near, and attacked the Chinese with spears and darts, and the latter, being overpowered by numbers, threw themselves into the water, where most of them met their death, either by drowning, or from the spears of the pirates.

By this time it was sun-set, and twelve of the crew, including the nacodah or commander, having contrived to evade the pirates, continued floating on pieces of wood, during the whole night and until early the next morning, when they were picked up by some Malay fishermen who lived on the coast nearly opposite to where the piracy occurred. The name of this place was stated to be Qualla Soodili. The Chinese were well treated by the Malays, who would have brought them round to Singapore by sea, but the pirates, having had intimation that some of the survivors were there, watched for them. The Malays, however, conducted them overland to Johore, from whence they were passed to Singapore. The Chinese on arrival rewarded their preservers with sixty rupees.

In December a reply was received to the Petitions that had been addressed to the two Houses of Parliament in the preceding year, and the appointment of the new Recorder was made known.

It was about this time that an alteration in the seat of Government took place which was transferred from Penang to Singapore, as the most important of the three Settlements.

The following statistics are taken from Mr. Earl's book:—"The amount of goods imported from Great Britain into the chief British Settlements in India in the year 1832, was as follows:—

Bengal, Madras and Bombay ...	£2,592,530
Singapore ...	„ 340,799
Ceylon ...	„ 47,792

"I cannot readily obtain estimates of the trade of Penang and Malacca for the same year, but in 1829 the former imported from Great Britain to the amount of £16,767, and the latter to £10,166."

1833.

In January the Rev. Robert Burn, the Chaplain of Singapore, died in Dr. Oxley's house. He was said to be a man of unusual attainments. Mr. G. F. Davidson says in his book:—"There seems to be some fatality attaching to clergymen at Singapore, as three following incumbents the Revs. Burn, Darrah and White, all died young, and of the same complaint. My own opinion is they were all too strict adherents to teetotalism." An opinion formed sixty years ago with which he would find many now to disagree, after a more lengthy experience of the climate. There was still no Church in the Settlement.

In the same month a census was taken, but as it was collected by the two constables who were attached to the Settlement and had many other duties to do, it was not considered as very correct, as they could not possibly make minute enquiries at every house and in every district, especially those situated beyond the limits of the town. The population was put down at 20,978, of whom 119 were Europeans and Armenians. This did not include the Military or the Convicts, and showed an increase of 1,263 over the year 1832. The population had increased during the preceeding five years about fifty per cent.

It was about this time that two midshipmen of an English Man-of-War, the *Curacoa*, had a duel on shore here, from which one of them died a few days afterwards. The surviving principal, and both the seconds, were committed for trial afterwards in Bombay, and acquitted.

In February a proposal was made to establish a Singapore Bank, by subscription, to consist of two thousand shares of two hundred dollars each (a capital of $400,000) with a first call of $50 a share, in order to make advances on property, to discount at 12 per cent., with a commission of ¼ to ½ per cent. on sums drawn out in current accounts, to pay the expenses of the establishment. It was considered quite a new proposition, and nothing was done in the matter. No local bank has been started in Singapore yet, except a small business called a Bank that we shall come to a few years later. In April the proposal had reached Calcutta, and there was a very long article in the papers there headed

"Singapore Bank," which said that it might be useful, but not in the way it was proposed, because a bank of deposit and loan was not required in Singapore, as there were no capitalists for whom it could keep accounts, no rich proprietors to offer substantial security, and no manufacturers requiring long-winded advances. And it suggested another expedient by which the business of local circulation could be effected, without any bank at all, by the issue of local paper on the part, and for the profit, of Government.

In April it was proposed to establish a Singapore Marine Insurance Society, which came more nearly to a successful issue than the Bank did. It was estimated that the merchants paid about sixty thousand dollars annually for premiums of insurance to Societies of Calcutta, and it was argued that so much money should be retained in the place. It was suggested to commence with a first subscription of $10,000. This came also to nothing. In 1883, fifty years later, a local Insurance Company was started, but it no longer exists.

In May an agreement was made with Mr. Coleman to build a pauper hospital for $11,402. It does not appear where the site was.

In October after many attempts of Mr. Bonham, Mr. George Drumgold Coleman was finally appointed Superintendent of Public Works, Overseer of Convict Labour and Land Surveyor. He first began the employment of the convicts on large outside works, by reclaiming land from the sea and marshes. Roads were first made along the sea fronts, and North and South Bridge Roads, now the main thoroughfare through the town from north to south, where the names meet at Elgin Bridge. He designed the first St. Andrew's Church. Coleman Street at the south end of the Cathedral compound, and Coleman Bridge, were named after him.

Mr. Coleman died in Singapore on the 27th March, 1844, and is buried in the Old Cemetery on Fort Canning where the inscription on his tomb is still legible. He was born at Drogheda in Ireland, and was one of the oldest residents in Singapore at the time of his death. The *Free Press* spoke of him in the following terms:— "Mr. Coleman, for many years, was employed under the Government as Superintendent of Convicts and Public Works, and to his good judgment and untiring energy we mainly owe the great extent of good roads on this island, and to his taste and skill as an architect we are also indebted for many of the elegant buildings, both public and private, which adorn Singapore. In June, 1841, he embarked for his native country, and after visiting all that is interesting in Europe, he had but recently returned here, with a view to a permanent residence, when he fell a prey to fever, brought on by exposure to the sun." His widow married Mr. William Napier.

A number of piracies were continually reported. A large trading schooner was attacked on her way from Malacca, and ten of her crew killed by five pirate prahus. The pirates were said to belong to Singapore, Padang and Lukut. The Company's gun-boat *Hawk* was attacked near Penang by upwards of twenty prahus, well armed, with guns, and she had to retreat, after expending nearly all her ammunition. An English brig was attacked by three large prahus and the vessel waited until they came close, and then fired a twelve-pounder at them.

The pirates replied with grape shot, and a breeze springing up, the brig was enabled to proceed, but they followed her up, and would have attacked her again at night, but for a schooner coming up; the pirates then made off. The newspaper remarked that it was certain that many piracies, attended with horrible atrocities, occurred in the vicinity of Singapore, of which no tidings were ever heard.

The Jail at this time was on the site of the present Central Police Station, where the Magistrate's Court was afterwards held until the building was pulled down in 1884 to erect the present station. It was built, as has been said before, on a swamp, and was inundated at every high tide, which was very prejudicial to the health of the persons confined or supposed to be confined in it, for it was a very insecure place; the safe custody depending principally upon the inability of any absconders to avoid being hunted down in the small Settlement; in fact the Grand Jury "presented" during this year that the prisoners who had escaped had done so because they were permitted to go a considerable distance outside the Jail, without any guard, to fetch water for their own use. The wall round it was only a few feet high, and on Sundays those in Jail for debt used to go out for a walk after stepping over the wall. The floor had sunk at this time upwards of a foot, and was raised in 1834 when the building was completed, but it is said that it sank much more afterwards, and when the surrounding compound was filled up, the prisoners were put in what had been the upper story of the building.

In March Mr. Bonham, the Resident Councillor, wrote to the Editor of the *Chronicle* that the Supreme Government had, on his recommendation, sanctioned the discontinuance of the censorship of the Press in Singapore, so that the proof-sheet need not be sent to him any more. The Editor wrote an article on the subject, in which he quoted an old remark of Blackstone that to subject the press to the restrictive power of a licenser was to make all freedom of sentiment liable to the prejudice of one man and make him the arbitrary judge of controverted points.

In April appeared the first notice found of stray dogs being liable to be destroyed, in the streets, for ten days. On the 5th of this month, Singapore was startled by a Government Notification, sent out as a sort of *Gazette Extraordinary*, that all Dutch vessels were to be seized in the harbour, and that His Majesty's ships of war were instructed to detain and bring all Dutch vessels into port. This was in expectation of war with Holland. But a postscript stated that the Governor-General had given orders that it should not be carried into effect until further directions from England, or unless the Dutch commenced measures, in these seas, of hostilities or annoyance. In Batavia, notice was given that Dutch vessels on the coast exposing themselves to the danger of being captured if war should be declared with England, should proceed immediately to Soerabaya, as a place of safety. The Dutch fleet in Java then consisted of two frigates, one of 32, the other of 23 guns, and two brigs, and some small gun-boats, or cutters. The frigates were at once sent to Soerabaya to protect the shipping. It all came to nothing, and the embargo was taken off in the month of

May, and did not reach Singapore until September, but one immediate effect was the detention in Java of the Dutch rice-carrying vessels, which caused the price of rice in Singapore to rise considerably within a few weeks.

There were four of H. M. Ships in the harbour soon after the notification was received from Calcutta, but only one, the *Harrier*, when it arrived. The *Alligator* came down from Penang, the *Wolf* from Madras, and the *Magicienne* from Calcutta. In March or April, when the rupture with Holland was expected, a flagstaff was erected on Blakan Mati island, in order to signal the approach of vessels. Begbie says that the island was so called because tradition said that a Malay had been murdered behind the hill, the words meaning literally "behind dead," but Mr. Haughton in an interesting paper in the Journal of the Straits Asiatic Society for 1889, No. 20, on the names of places here, gives the meaning as "dead-back island," so called from the sterility of the soil on the hills. There is a place with a similar name in Batavia (2 Logan, 572). The flagstaff was removed in 1845 on account of the unhealthiness of the site.

On the 25th April, Sir Benjamin Malkin, the new Recorder, and Lady Malkin, with Mr. A. J. Kerr, the Registrar of the Court of Judicature, arrived in Singapore. The Judge was received with a salute of 15 guns from the ship and from the fort. The Assizes were opened in May, and lasted a week, there being twenty-four cases. The Grand Jury made a long presentment as usual, the tumble down bridge being made a great deal of again, and the increasing bar at the mouth of the river. It sounds curious to find that the Judge promised the interference of the Court to have the latter removed as a nuisance. They also referred to the very great evils of piracy, and its serious effect upon the trade of Singapore, to which the Recorder replied (as Sir John Claridge had done before in Malacca) that by an unfortunate oversight in framing the Charter, the Straits Court had not the power even to try offences of this nature, but that he was aware of the urgency and importance of the subject, and would willingly impress the same upon the attention of Government.

It was the custom at this time in Singapore for the Government to grant a free license to the Chinese to gamble for fifteen days at the commencement of every Chinese New Year. It was given under the impression that it formed part of their religion, or at least was considered a religious ceremony by them. It was attended by all the pernicious evils which accompany unrestricted gaming, and on reference to Canton it was found that it was never sanctioned there at the New Year, any more than at any other time.

The Chinese made a long petition to the Government on the subject of piracy, giving numerous instances which were continually occurring, proposing certain measures for its suppression. The Government, as usual, talked, but did not act; and the Chinese again took measures themselves, with the sanction of Government, and chartered a vessel to go and cruise against them, at their own expense. The natives could get no credit for opium, owing to the great risk of its being taken by pirates on the way to the neighbouring places. This woke the authorities up, and the H. C. schooner *Zephyr* was despatched up the East Coast, but did not meet with success.

There were pirates of another sort, also, in those days, for the paper contains an account of a vessel from Calcutta being chased for four hours by a brigantine, evidently filled with armed men. The English vessel was fully prepared to resist the pirate, if she had attempted to board, but she did not come up to her.

The new Chaplain, Mr. Darrah, applied to Government for an allowance to establish a Free School, as there was no school of any consequence in the place, and he also asked Government for a grant of a small sum for the purpose of opening a lending library. The Government replied that there could be but one opinion as to the utility of the objects he proposed, but, on the score of the economy, so rigidly enforced by the Government in Calcutta, they could not assist him, but would request leave from Calcutta.

However, Mr. Darrah started at once by opening a school in the Mission Chapel, on Sunday afternoons in July from four to six o'clock, taught by himself and two others, which was the first Sunday School in Singapore. There was no Church at this time, the only place of worship being the Mission Chapel.

The house at New Harbour lately known as the Malay College was built about this time. Begbie says that the Sultan of Singapore (he meant the Tumongong) had erected a very neat house at New Harbour, built and furnished after the English style. The artillery barracks and house of the officer had already been erected at the point of the river, called Fort Fullerton, where the Marine Office, Post Office and Club now stand.

The overland route question began again in this year, and a meeting was held in Bombay at which it was proposed to have three voyages a year, each way; and one advantage proposed in the report of the Committee appointed by the meeting is so very original, looking at it from the light of the present days, that we quote it:—"Of these sources of profit the principal may be found in the conveyance of respectable native pilgrims to and from Jedda, and in the numbers of Civil and Military Officers of this country, who will gladly avail themselves of a regular and certain communication with the Red Sea Ports, to visit on furlough the attractive and healthy regions of Egypt and Syria from November to March. Nowhere else, within the limits prescribed by the Absentee Regulations, can so extensive and beneficial a change of climate be attained in so agreeable a manner, or on such economical terms, after having spent little more money than would have been required for a passage to the Cape, not to say anything of the return passage, and the enormous expenses of living there, contrasted with the difficulty of spending money in Egypt. By remaining during one intermediate trip of the steamer in Egypt, the whole country from the borders of Abyssinia to Aleppo, with the splendid monuments of antiquity of Syria and Egypt, Damascus, Palmyra, Baalbec, Jerusalem, Cairo and the Pyramids, Dendera, Thebes, Phile and Mount Sinai might be visited for one-tenth part of the expense, with far less danger, and in nearly the same period that would be necessary to cross the continent of India from Bombay to Calcutta, and back again, or for a visit to the Neilgheiries. During the whole of which, the absentee's Indian term of service will not only be untouched, but

he will continue to receive his Indian allowances. When all the advantages afforded by this communication are taken into consideration, the Committee feel confident that there is scarcely an individual of the British community on the Indian Continent, who will not give his mite towards its establishment, and that their present appeal to the public will meet with the liberality which a measure of such importance deserves."

The Singapore paper published this report at the request of the Bombay Committee, and said that considerable sums had been subscribed in India, and that Singapore ought not to be behind-hand in supporting an object so likely to prove of ultimate benefit to this place, as well as to India in general, especially as the plan seemed to bid fair for completion. It remarked that there was no reason why a good steamer could not make four trips from Bombay to Suez in twelve months. At a meeting held in Calcutta about the same time for the same object, Bishop Wilson, at the general request, took the chair and subscribed one thousand rupees to the fund. The amount of the former subscriptions to Mr. Waghorn's fund was added to this one. Similar meetings were held in Ceylon.

In October a London tailor opened a shop, and also a European hair-dresser, both in Malacca Street, but in different houses. In November, on a Sunday night, about ten o'clock a shock of an earthquake lasting for more than a minute was felt in Singapore, and two slighter shocks were perceptible in the early morning. The punkahs were set moving by the motion. It was the first phenomenon of the kind that had occurred since the formation of the Settlement, and it was conjectured the volcano Gunong Berapi, in Sumatra, was in violent eruption. Similar shocks were felt at Malacca and Penang, at the same time, allowing for the difference of a few minutes.

On Saturday, 7th December, Mr. Murchison was sworn in as Governor of the Settlements, as Mr. Ibbetson was going on leave to England, and Mr. Murchison immediately left for a trip to the Cape; the late and newly sworn-in Governors both leaving the harbour in the same vessel on that day, to go to Muntoh to sail in other vessels from there. The Government devolved on Mr. Garling, the Senior Resident Councillor, who was then at Malacca. The European hair-dresser left Singapore in the same vessel as the two Governors, but at whose expense, or why, does not appear. A European hair-dresser set up a shop in Battery Road forty years later, and he made no better business of it than his predecessor seems to have done.

Mr. Ibbetson was one of the first who had set up the example, in Penang, in 1821, of cultivating on a large scale, which to the great advantage of that island, was afterwards followed. At that time the Indian Government encouraged the Straits Officials to invest their savings in cultivation, but afterwards, following the rules it had laid down in India itself, the encouragement was succeeded by a positive prohibition, and a very great loss was sustained by those who held land, for which the Government gave no compensation, as it should in fairness have done.

A Government Savings Bank was established in Calcutta in this year, and it was proposed to open one in Singapore, as it had been done

in Penang. But nothing came of it, and the first Savings Bank was established here in the Post Office in 1874. The Bank in Penang had just been started by the Recorder, Sir Benjamin Malkin, who had been one of the active Managers of the Marylebone Savings Bank in London, and he drew up rules, called a public meeting, and set the bank going. He was described as one who took a very active interest in the good of the population.

The *Chronicle* mentions that in this year, in September, the grove of trees leading up to the top of the hill at Malacca had been cut down by a goth. It was, however, the Governor, who suggested they obstructed the view of the lighthouse to ships entering the harbour, the fact being that some of them interfered with an official's view of the flag-staff. The article said "The trees referred to were rendered venerable, as they formed a regular and magnificent avenue up the Government Hill, to the porch of the ancient ruined Church which stands on the summit. The ruin is famous, as the celebrated St. Francis Xavier, a zealous Jesuit Missionary, ministered in it for several years."

The European Overseer of Convicts was murdered by one of the convicts in December, and the murderer refusing to surrender, and attempting to stab a European Officer, and actually wounding one of the sepoys, the guard shot him.

On the 29th November, the ship *Ann* from Macao, eight days out, arrived in the harbour with the Chief Officer, Carpenter's mate, a Parsee passenger and three sailors murdered; and the second mate and seven others severely wounded. The Manila seamen on board rose on the ship for the sake of a large quantity of specie on board. They were detained on board and taken to Bombay for trial, there being no jurisdiction here to try them. It was remarkable that the father of the principal offender (who died himself from wounds inflicted upon him by the Captain with a teak awning stanchion seized in the hurry of the moment), was the son of a man who was in a Bombay ship which was nearly cut off some years before by Manila sailors, under very similar circumstances of time and place. The insurance offices had refused after that to take risks on vessels on which Manila men were employed, but the rule fell into disuse.

In November orders arrived from Bombay to make tidal observations, but it was not done on account of the expense. The orders were renewed in August, 1834, but the result was defective as the local authorities refused the necessary expense for an efficient establishment.

About this time there were twenty European Mercantile houses in Singapore, seventeen British, one Portuguese, one German, and one American; and three extensive Armenian firms to whom it was said Singapore was indebted for the re-opening of the trade with Borneo.

As to the European firms, in addition to Messrs. A. L. Johnston & Co., Guthrie & Co., and Jozé d'Almeida and Sons, which have been already spoken of, the following had been established.

The firm of John Purvis & Co., was started in 1822. Until 1855 Mr. John Purvis was the sole partner. In 1856 John Murray Purvis joined as a partner; Mr. T. S. Thomson, a first cousin of Mr. J. T. Thomson, the Government Surveyor, joined as a clerk, in 1860. Mr. John Purvis left the firm 31st March, 1862.

The firm of Syme & Co. commenced in Singapore in 1823 and the firm was appointed Lloyds' Agents in 1828, and are so still. In 1846 there were four partners, Robert Ker in Glasgow, Edward Doering in Liverpool, Thomas McMicking in Singapore. and Joseph Cheney Bolton in Manila. In 1851 William Ker, Jun., who had been a clerk since 1848, and William McMicking became partners, and in 1852 Gilbert McMicking, who had been a clerk previous to 1846. In 1852 Mr. W. Mactaggart was a clerk, and he and Mr. Robert Jardine were partners on 1st January, 1857. In the previous year the clerks had been W. Mactaggart, H. W. Wood, James Murray and G. M. Dare. In 1858 the partners were William Mactaggart, Robert Ker, J. C. Bolton (afterwards Chairman of the Caledonian Railway and M.P. for Stirlingshire). William Ker, G. Scholfield, Gilbert McMicking, Robert Jardine (who is still a partner) and William Ker, Junior, (Mr. Paton Ker's father).

The firm of Spottiswoode & Connolly was started in 1824. In 1846 the partners were William Spottiswoode in England, and John Connolly and Charles Spottiswoode in Singapore. In 1848 Mr. William Mactaggart was a clerk, with John Connolly, Jun., Andrew Connolly and A. J. S. Spottiswoode. On 13th August, 1849, the name was changed to William Spottiswoode & Co. The office was where Change Alley is now. In 1854 the partners were William, Charles and Archibald Spottiswoode, Mr. James Weir becoming a clerk. On 31st December, 1856, William Spottiswoode left the firm and Charles Archibald carried on the business. In 1859 A. J. Spottiswoode was the only partner, and in 1860 he was joined by Mr. Weir, and in 1863 by Charles Grey McClellend.

In 1827 the firm of Maclaine, Fraser & Co. began. The partners were James Fraser in London, Lewis Fraser and Gilbert Angus Bain in Singapore, and John Purss Cumming in England; James B. Cumming being a clerk. In 1854 Mr. Bain left the firm and Simon F. Cumming became a clerk; Mr. R. O. Norris was a clerk for many years from 1848. From 1855 the two Frasers and J. P. and J. B. Cumming were the partners, Mr. N. B. Watson who was very popular (and always known as *Nota Bene*) being a clerk. On 24th September, 1858, Mr. J. P. Cumming died, and Mr. Robert Bain became a partner on 1st January, 1859; he had been in A. L. Johnston & Co., and afterwards in business on his own account. In 1860 Mr. N. B. Watson became a partner, and in 1861 James Bannerman Cumming left. Mr. Charles Dunlop, who had come out to the firm in 1857, became a partner in 1st January, 1864, and in the next year Mr. Lewis James Fraser.

In 1828 the firm of Ker, Rawson & Co. was established by Mr. William Wemys Ker in Singapore, Mr. Thomas Sam Rawson in London, and Christopher Empsan in China. Mr. William Paterson was a clerk, and Mr. Henry Minchin Simons was a clerk in 1849. In 1853 the firm was composed of Messrs. Ker, Rawson, Paterson, and Simons, and continued so until the 30th April, 1859. At that time the old name was dropped and Messrs. W. W. Ker, Paterson, and Simons continued under the name of Paterson, Simons & Co., which is the same at this day. Mr. Thomas Shelford and Mr. W. G. Gulland appear for the first time as clerks in the firm in 1863. Mr. William Paterson died at Eastbourne in January, 1898, at the age of 75 years. He had been for over twenty years Chairman in London of the Chartered

Bank of India, Australia and China. Two of his sons are partners now in the firm. Mr. Thomas Shelford, C.M.G., died near Guildford in January, 1900, sixty one years of age. He was a member of the Legislative Council of the Straits Settlements for many years. One of his sons is a partner in the firm. Mr. Henry Minchin Simons died in London in December, 1901, at the age of seventy seven years, and his only son is also a partner in the firm.

In 1832 the firm of Hamilton Gray & Co. commenced business. In 1846 the partners were Walter and William Hamilton and William Macdonald in England, and Ellis James Gilman and George Garden Nicol in Singapore. Ed. Loze was a clerk. The firm continued so until 1852, when the partners were Walter Buchanan, William Hamilton, and G. G. Nicoll; the next year John Jarvie, who had been a clerk since 1849, became a partner. In 1854 Reginald Padday and C. H. H. Wilsone joined as clerks. Mr. Padday became a partner in 1857, and Mr. Wilsone in 1863.

The firm of Shaw Whitehead & Co., was originally called Graham Mackenzie & Co., and on 31st December, 1834, Mr. Colin Mackenzie left the firm and it was changed to Shaw Whitehead & Co. with Mr. J. H. Whitehead as a partner. The tombstone in the old Cemetery shows that Mr. John Horrocks Whitehead died in Singapore on 21st September, 1846, at the age of 36 years. In 1846, the first date which can be traced, the partners were J. H. Whitehead and Michie Forbes Davidson in England, and James Stephen in Singapore. In 1847 J. H. Whitehead had left the firm. The next year Mr. Davidson left and joined A. L. Johnston & Co. and the two partners were Stephen and Robert Duff. Garlies Allinson was then a clerk. In 1852 Mr. Duff was the only partner, and the name was changed to William Macdonald & Co. on the 1st July of that year, the partners being Robert Duff and William Macdonald; the clerks were Garlies Allinson, Farleigh Armstrong and Alexander Rodger. In 1855 Mr. Allinson became a partner. In 1859 William Ramsay Scott was a clerk. In 1860 the three partners were Messrs. Duff, William Macdonald, and J. E. Macdonald.

CHAPTER XX.

1834.

ON New Year's day the first Regatta was held. There were, in the third race, five boats, the property of European gentlemen, which composed the "Singapore Yacht Club." The race was six and a half miles round the harbour. Their names were *Waterwitch, Maggie Lauder, Shamrock, Hawk's Hill,* and *Jenny dang the Weaver.* A salute was fired at day-break by the man-of-war, the *Magicienne,* and also from the battery, which was the custom in those days.

On the 3rd January, Mr. Bonham, the Deputy Resident, was sworn in as Acting Governor of the Settlements, having been appointed Resident, and acting for the absent Governor, and Mr. Wingrove was appointed acting Resident Councillor of Singapore.

A gang robbery, which excited a great deal of attention, took place in this month, of which the *Chronicle* had the following account:—"A most daring burglary and robbery was committed between two and three o'clock on Tuesday morning, by a formidable gang of Chinese bandits who issued from the jungle, in the house of a dhobie, named Manook, residing in the Dhobie village at Campong Glam. The gang consisted of about 50 men, armed with spears and other weapons, some carrying torches. Having broken open the door with great violence, they proceeded to plunder, and succeeded in carrying away a chest, a large bundle of clothes, and a quantity of silver ornaments which they compelled the women and children residing in the house, to deliver up, on pain of death. The immediate neighbourhood had been alarmed early, but although the inhabitants were numerous, they afforded so little assistance, through fear, that the robbers retreated, with their booty, towards the jungle, almost scathless, and at a slow pace.

Fortunately a gentleman residing in the vicinity of the road they took, had been apprised of their first approach, and was ready, with about a dozen natives, hastily collected in the neighbourhood, to meet them on their return. He was armed with a double-barrelled gun and a pistol loaded with balls, and two of the party had a blunderbuss and a musket. The robbers were summoned to stand, but they only answered with the cry to strike, when the gentleman fired one barrel at the whole body, and one man was observed to fall. He discharged the other barrel, and the pistol, the blunderbuss and the musket were likewise fired; and some of the natives, inhabitants of the Buffalo village, who were of the party, attacked the robbers with great vigour. The latter, however, escaped, but left the chest and a bundle of clothes on the road.

Mr. R. F. Wingrove and Mr. A. J. Kerr, who had left their residence on the alarm reaching them, shortly after came up with the Constable

and some peons, and dividing themselves into two or three separate parties, they set out in pursuit by different tracks leading into the jungle. On one track a table cloth, a pair of trousers and a bundle of spears were found, and there was every indication of the gang being a little in advance; but the party (no doubt like the one in Oliver Twist after Bill Sykes, and for possibly similar reasons) considering themselves too small and too weak to penetrate further during the dark, without incurring danger, returned at day-break towards the town. The line of retreat of the robbers was pointed out by the clothes scattered along the road. A number of European ladies had afterwards to sort out their wardrobe and take it away.

In February, Mr. Darrah, the Chaplain, began writing on the subject of the neglected education of the children in the Settlement, and the necessity of establishing schools, as has been stated on page 128.

In April the Governor-General turned the tables round again, and Mr. Church was appointed to officiate as Governor, and Mr. Bonham as Resident. Mr. Church had been Deputy Resident Councillor at Penang and it had been said in Singapore that he had a better right, from longer service, than Mr. Bonham, who had been appointed in January. Mr. Murchison, the Governor, was still on leave at the Cape.

In May the first mention of Gambier is found, as being likely to become a staple article of export from Singapore to England, and the paper gave an account of it and its properties, describing it as a valuable astringent in cases of dysentery in doses of twelve grains to one drachm. And it also spoke of sago as being prepared exclusively in Singapore, for consumption in Europe and India.

An aggrieved individual wrote to the paper that the centre of the Square was made a rubbish heap, and that a Chinaman had turned it into a depot for old timber and rubbish from a building he was re-erecting, and had broken down the railing, and complaining that no one seemed to stir in the matter.

In this year, Mr. Bonham, in writing to the Supreme Government, complained of the expense of a professional Judge, and asserted that the presence of a Recorder was not necessary. He proposed that the business of the Court should be carried on by the Governor and Resident Councillors, with an occasional visit from one of the Calcutta Judges. And that if the system in force was to be continued, it was hardly fair that the European inhabitants should not contribute for the protection they received, and he suggested that a duty on trade should be immediately imposed.

Lord William Bentinck, the Governor-General, was of opinion that some tribunal like a Court of Requests was all that was necessary; while Lord Auckland, in a very long minute, was of opinion that the system then in force ought to be abolished, and considered a proper substitute would be by employing the Malay language in all the Courts, and administering the law of England with some modifications on particular points; with a paid Magistrate, and an Assistant Magistrate with power to try petty cases, and a jury of five for small felonies. The Magistrates and their assistants to be Commissioners of a Court of Requests, and one Resident to be placed over the three Settlements, to visit them alternately, holding civil and criminal Courts, hearing appeals from

Magistrates, and trying civil cases, with a jury when either of the parties wished it, and to try all criminal cases, except British subjects charged with capital crimes; and lastly, that a Judge of the Supreme Court of Calcutta should visit the Straits once a year, or oftener, to hear appeals, to review the proceedings of the Resident and Magistrates, and to try all civil and criminal cases that were referred to him.

Sir Benjamin Malkin, the Recorder, also stated his views at considerable length. He was favourable to the existing system with some improvements and reduction in the expense. The Court continued as it was until after the Transfer in 1867, Admiralty jurisdiction being added in September, 1837; but it may be useful to explain how judicial matters had progressed in the Settlement up to this time; and what had been proposed in the early days of the Settlement.

Various suggestions for the amendment or alteration of the Straits Judicial System had been made during the course of the fifteen years. In 1829, Mr. Fullerton, in a long minute on the subject of the economical administration of the Straits Settlements, had proposed three schemes:—the first of which was that the whole duties of the executive and judicial at each Settlement should be discharged by the Residents and their assistants. The Residents to be judges and magistrates, hearing themselves all causes above 500 rupees; referring those under that sum to their assistants, with an appeal to the residents; and that all misdemeanours, affrays, petty assaults, &c., the punishment of which would not exceed 30 stripes, imprisonment with hard labour for two years, or fine as far as 200 rupees, should be cognizable by the Residents; offenders of a graver nature committed for trial before the Court of Circuit. The Governor to proceed on circuit twice a year, whose duty it should be to try all criminals committed; hear all appeals from the Resident in causes exceeding 2,000 rupees, with an appeal to the King in Council in causes above 3,000 rupees. In all cases of importance, where either party wished it, a jury of four or seven to be impannelled; British-born subjects to be amenable to these Courts, but in cases exceeding 2,000 rupees to have an appeal to the Supreme Court at Calcutta instead of the Governor.

The second plan was, that the Residents should be assisted by five merchants, settlers, as assessors; the Governor and Council holding only Courts of Oyer and Terminer, which should try all the inhabitants, except British-born European subjects, who were to be sent to Calcutta for trial.

The third plan proposed by Mr. Fullerton was that the Government should be constituted like the other Governments of India; to fix on one of the Settlements (Malacca for example) as the Presidency. To have there a Governor and two Councillors; those at the other two stations to have the rank of Residents only, with powers of Zillah Judges; to establish the King's Court on its former scale (the Governor and Councillors being the Judges) with jurisdiction at the Presidency, and for four miles round, over natives; and with the same power over European British subjects, the Company and their servants, as was held by the Supreme Courts; or, if unadvisable to make the Governor, &c., the Judges, to make a Mayor's Court of it, as formerly at Madras and Bombay, leaving justice to be administered

at the other two places, and beyond five miles from the Presidency town, by provincial Courts; three Zillah Courts, one Judge of Appeal and Circuit, and the Governor in Council the Sudder Adawlut.

The necessity of making provision for the administration of justice in the two Settlements, whose distance from Bengal put them beyond the sphere of the Courts there, led, in the year 1825, to the passing of an Act by which His Majesty was empowered to make provision for the administration of justice in the Settlements of Singapore and Malacca, and it was also declared lawful for the Court of Directors to annex Singapore and Malacca to the Settlement of Prince of Wales' Island, or any of the Presidencies, or to erect them into dependent Settlements.

In virtue of this power, the Court of Directors on the 12th October, 1825, declared that Singapore and Malacca should cease to be Factories subordinate to Bengal, and annexed them to Prince of Wales' Island, uniting the whole into one Government, consisting of a Governor or President and three Councillors, one of whom was to reside at each of the three Settlements, with the official designation of Resident Councillor, and the Governor was appointed to visit the different stations to assist in the administration of justice, or as other circumstances might suggest.

On the 27th November, His Majesty, by his Letters Patent, established the Court of Judicature of Prince of Wales Island, Singapore and Malacca. This Charter was nearly a transcript of the one constituting the Court of Judicature of Prince of Wales Island, which Sir Edmond Stanley had taken with him to Penang, when he, as Recorder, constituted the Court there in 1807, and only differed from it by attempting to make some provision for the administration of justice in Singapore and Malacca, as well as Penang.

To this end, it seems to have been contemplated that the Court should be held at the three Settlements alternately. Thus, in the clause specifying who were to be Judges of the Court, it was said that the Court should consist of and be holden before the Governor or President and the Resident Councillor for the time being of the station where the said Court should be held, and before one other Judge to be called the "Recorder of Prince of Wales Island, Singapore and Malacca," who was to be a Barrister of not less than five years standing, to be appointed by His Majesty and his successors from time to time.

The presence of the Recorder was essential to the holding of a Court if he should be resident within the Settlement, unless the Governor authorised the Courts to sit and act in the absence of the Recorder. This was evidently meant only to be done where the Recorder's absence proceeded from indisposition or other cause rendering his presence impossible, but it was soon found that such time as the Recorder could give to each of the stations was utterly inadequate to the proper dispensation of justice, and that very great inconvenience would arise were the Court only to be open during the actual residence of the Recorder there. The proper remedy would, of course, have been a modification of the Charter by the appointment of an additional Judge, but this does not seem ever to have been thought of; or, if thought of for a moment, rejected on account of the expense.

It was, therefore, necessary to devise some other means of providing for the difficulty. A forced interpretation was put upon the last mentioned provision of the Charter, which had only been intended to be available in cases of urgent emergency, and advantage was taken of it to keep Courts open at Singapore and Malacca, at the same time that the Recorder was actually holding his Courts at Penang. From this it followed that, though provision had only been made by the Charter for one Court, three Courts had grown up in the Straits; different Courts to all intents and purposes, except in so far as they all enjoyed one common name, had a concurrent jurisdiction in the different stations; and that the Courts at Singapore and Malacca were occasionally, once or twice in the year, favoured with a visit from the Recorder, who ordinarily officiated as Judge in the Court at Penang. They had each their Judge and their establishment of Registrar (although only the Penang officer was honoured with that title), Clerks, Interpreter, Sheriff, Coroner, &c.

The new Court of Judicature was opened at Penang in August, 1827, in presence of the Governor, Mr. Fullerton, the Recorder, Sir John Thomas Claridge, and the Resident Councillor.

Shortly after the opening of the new Court, disputes to which we have already referred, arose between the Governor, Mr. Fullerton, and the Recorder, in regard to the charges of the Court Establishment, the Recorder's travelling expenses, and other subjects, which led to much unpleasant altercation between them, and were detrimental to the public interest, causing an interruption of the business of the Court, the Recorder at one time refusing to sit unless his views were adopted. He also refused to proceed on circuit to Singapore and Malacca, and, in consequence, after much delay, and its being at one time prosposed to send the prisoners from these two places to Penang for trial, Mr. Fullerton was obliged to proceed on circuit alone, and to hold Courts at Singapore and Malacca.

Sir John Claridge afterwards went on circuit; and in August, 1829, as he was on his way to Singapore, he received despatches recalling him to England to answer charges which had been preferred against him by the Court of Directors. Sir John immediately proceeded home, and the business of the Court was carried on by the Governor and Resident Councillors, the former making circuits for the purpose of holding Sessions of Oyer and Terminer at the different stations.

On the 29th June, 1830, the Straits Government was dissolved, and with it also terminated, for the time, the Court of Judicature, as then constituted, it being closed in consequence of the opinion entertained that the members of the Government having lost the official designations by which they are mentioned in the Charter, they could no longer act under that instrument.

Great inconvenience was felt from this suspension of the judicial power, and business transactions were much impeded, it being found that where goods were sold to the natives on credit, many were disposed to resist or delay payment knowing that the creditor had no means of enforcing his demands. At the request of a large proportion of the European merchants at Singapore, Mr. Murchison, the Resident, opened a Court, called the "Resident's Court," which remained in operation for some time, and tended much to facilitate business, but, in consequence of

some misunderstanding between the Resident and the inhabitants on the subject of raising a fund for the payment of a night watch (which we mentioned as occurring in the year 1830), the Resident closed his Court, and the inhabitants were left without any mode of obtaining redress.

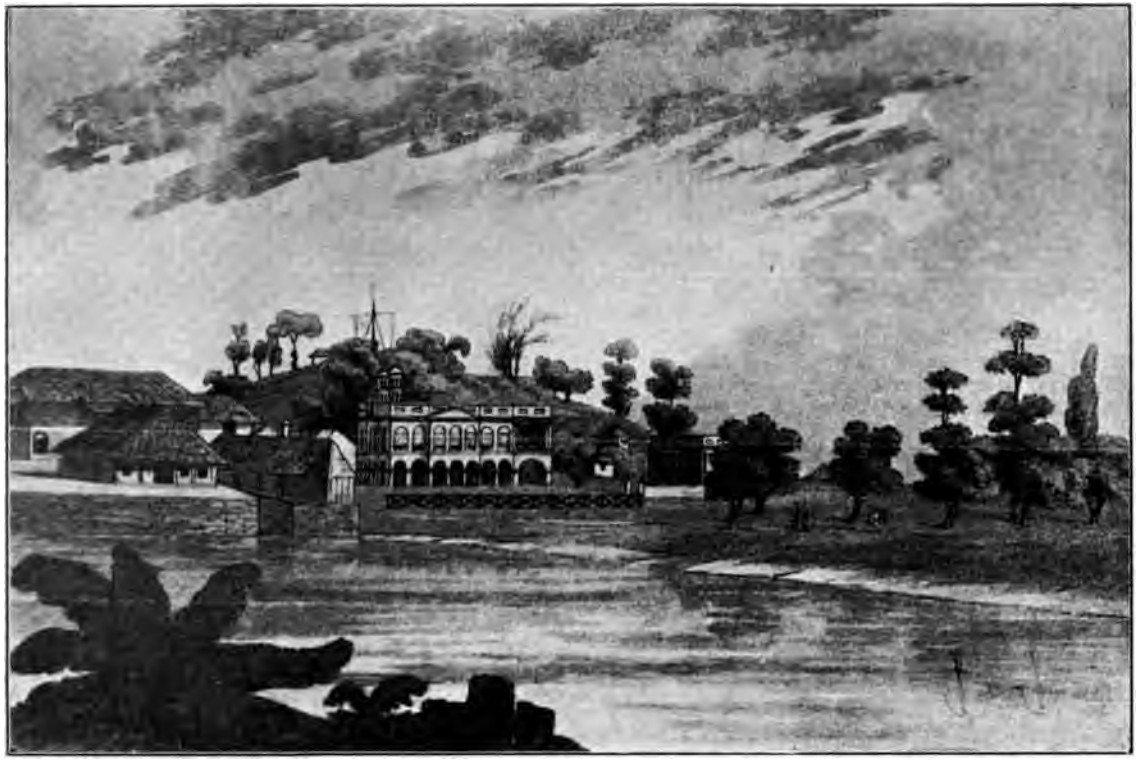
The inhabitants both in Penang and Singapore met and petitioned Parliament on the subject, setting forth the serious effects produced on commerce by the want of the Court, as well as the injustice inflicted in there being no means of bringing to trial persons who had been committed for offences, many of whom had lain in jail for a long time. These petitions were sent home, but in the meantime the Court of Directors having resolved to continue the old Charter, they, in order to remove all doubts, ordered that the Resident at Singapore should be designated Governor, and that the Deputy Residents at the different stations should be called Resident Councillors. The Court was again re-established, and a Recorder, Sir Benjamin Malkin, arrived in the beginning of 1833.

The following were the subsequent Recorders of the Court of the incorporated Settlements. Sir Benjamin Heath Malkin, February, 1833, afterwards Chief Justice at Calcutta. Sir Edward John Gambier, June, 1835, afterwards Chief Justice at Madras. Sir William Norris, September, 1836. Sir Christopher Rawlinson, August, 1847, who succeeded Sir E. Gambier as Chief Justice at Madras. Sir William Jeffcott, February, 1850, who died at Penang on 22nd October, 1855. The Court was then divided into two Recorderships, at Penang and Singapore. Sir Richard Bolton McCausland was Recorder of Singapore and Malacca in 1856, and Sir Peter Benson Maxwell, Recorder of Penang in the same year. Sir R. McCausland retired in 1866 and Sir Benson Maxwell was Recorder of Singapore and Malacca, Sir William Hackett succeeding him at Penang.

On the 15th May, 1834, Mr. Bonham, the Resident Councillor suggested the re-introduction of the Gambling Farm, he said:—"I need scarcely remark that I should not venture on this suggestion were I not thoroughly convinced of the total impracticability of suppressing the vice. This from many years experience in the police office at this Settlement, and from a close intercourse with the natives engendered by a residence among them from nearly the very first formation of the place, I conscientiously believe impossible." Of course it was not done.

On the 1st September, Mr. Montgomery applied for a piece of ground at Blakan Mati to form docks, and soon after Mr. W. S. Lorrain for Messrs. Douglas, Mackenzie & Co., applied for land at Sandy Point for a similar purpose. That firm had houses at Canton, Singapore and Batavia, but in 1837 was confined to Batavia alone. Mr. Lorrain had been the manager in Singapore. He was afterwards a partner in Brown & Co., Penang.

In the whole week ending 8th May, only one vessel arrived at Singapore, a Dutch brig from Samarang and Rhio. This was noticed in the newspaper at the time, and is a curious comparison with the present days. The total number of square-rigged vessels entering Singapore during the year was 517, of 156,513 tons. The total revenue for



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VIEW OF THE COURT HOUSE.
[*From an old picture by Begbie, about* 1834.]

the year was equivalent to $131,687, and the expenditure to $112,836. The total quantity of gambier was entered as piculs 10,549, of the value of $16,609. In the following year, 1835, it was piculs 13,624 for $16,786, about $1.20 a picul. The population in 1834 was 26,329, the population having trebled in the preceding ten years.

In June, Mr. Church, who was acting Governor, proposed to assist the revenue by levying dues on the shipping. It was not carried out.

In October the Governor-General turned the ruling authority back again, and Mr. Bonham resumed charge as Acting Governor, superseding Mr. Church. A series of "perplexing changes," as they were called at the time. Mr. Church had been in Malacca, though Acting Governor of the Straits.

It was in this year that Captain Begbie published his book at Madras, printed at the Mission Press there. He was an artillery officer, and accompanied, as has been said, the first expedition to Naning, of which he wrote an account published in a pamphlet in Malacca. His book contains an account of the second expedition. While he was in Malacca he searched into the old Dutch records there, which filled six large chests, and like Captain Newbold collected a quantity of information about the Malay Peninsula, the relations of Siam with the Malay States, the rulers and government of the various countries from Kedah to Lingga, the natural history of the country, and much other matter. The book had several pictures of views in the Straits and some charts which are of use as showing the names and position of places which are now called by other names. The book is now very rare, but is of value as a record of matter that cannot probably be found elsewhere. The Singapore newspapers for 1835 contained long extracts from the book, but did not consider it of much value, nor very correct.

CHAPTER XXI.

The Roman Catholic Church.

THE first Roman Catholic Missionary who seems to have visited Singapore was the Rev. Mr. Imbert, who being on his way to China in 1821 had been asked by the Bishop of Siam to obtain information about the state of religion in the new settlement. He remained a week, and wrote to Bishop Florens that there were only twelve or thirteen Catholics in Singapore, who led a wretched life.

M. Laurent Marie Joseph Imbert, of Aix in Provence, of the Société des Missions Etrangères had left France on 20th March, 1820, the 278th Priest sent out to the Far East since the commencement of the Society. In 1837 he was made Bishop of Corea, where he was tortured and beheaded by the Natives on 21st September, 1839, at 42 years of age.

A Native Priest of Malacca, called Padre Jacob, visited Singapore about 1822 and obtained a site from Sir Stamford Raffles to build a Roman Catholic place of worship (see the Gazette of 6th September, 1832), but there is nothing to shew that even a small shed was erected.

The Bishop of Siam was the Superior of the Mission at Penang but there were few missionaries there, and one could not be spared for Singapore. In 1824 the Catholics in Singapore wrote to the Bishop to send a Priest, but he, fearing he might be said to have no jurisdiction in the place, applied on 22nd September, 1827, to the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith in Rome, which had been established by Pope Gregory XV. on 22nd July, 1622, and a decree was sent in the name of Pope Leo XII. giving him jurisdiction. The correspondence is, of course, in Latin.

In the meantime a Portuguese Priest named Francisco da Silva Pinto e Maia had come from Goa, where he had been sent from Macao for some explanations about his duties. It appears from an advertisement in the *Free Press* on 23rd May, 1838, in which he offered to give lessons gratis in Latin, &c., that he had been educated in Portugal; and in September, 1845, the *Singapore Free Press* stated that he had resided in Singapore since 1826, and had been made a Knight of the Order of Christ by the Queen of Portugal. He stopped and established himself in Singapore as the Catholic Pastor of the place.

In 1831 Bishop Bruguière, the Coadjutor Bishop of Siam, passed on his way from Siam to Penang. M. Barthelemy Bruguière, of Carcassonne in Languedoc, left France on 5th February, 1826, for the Mission at Siam. In 1830 he was Bishop of Corea, and died at Sivang in Tartary, after a very exhausting voyage of three years, on 20th October, 1835, at the age of 38 years, before he could take up the mission.

He called on Padre Maia and showed him the Decree of the Sacred Congregation of 1827, by which spiritual jurisdiction was given to him in Singapore as the Vicar Apostolic of Siam. Padre Maia acknowledged the Decree to be authentic, but afterwards declined to admit that the Bishop had any jurisdiction; which led to what Singapore looked on as a continually recurring, and, to the Protestants most amusing, contention between the French and the Portuguese Clergy in Singapore, which was only ended in 1886. Mr. Earl said in his book (in 1837) "The head of the Portuguese Church is an Apostolic Vicar under the diocese of Goa. He is extremely jealous of the French Jesuits [Mr. Earl was wrong in this, there were not, and have not been, any Jesuit Clergy in Singapore] who have drawn from him the greater part of his flock, and he is in the habit of making protests against their performance of religious rights by advertisements in the newspapers, which however are perfectly unheeded by the missionaries. Two only of the latter are established in the town, but it is occasionally visited by others from Cochin-China, Siam, and other parts of Eastern Asia."

The ecclesiatical dispute was by no means confined to Singapore, it was much more warmly carried on in Ceylon, Bombay, and other places in India. Similar trouble had occurred in Africa, in regard to the Spanish priesthood. The Pope by the Bull *Inter Cætera,* dated 4th May 1493 (issued between the first and second voyages of Christopher Columbus) had in the old days given the Portuguese Church jurisdiction on the eastern side of an imaginary line drawn from the North to the South pole, and on the western side of that line to the Spanish Church, but it was found that the Portuguese ecclesiastical authorities had not the means to carry out the work of the Church in India and China, for which purpose the exclusive authority had been given. Macao, for example, and Goa, had never risen to the opportunity, and in Singapore there was neither a Church nor a School.

In the time of Pope Leo XII (1829-31), jurisdiction was given in Singapore to the Bishop of Siam, the head in that part of the world of the French Société des Missions Etrangères. The Portuguese Priests demurred to this, as they considered that the Pope could not derogate from the authority given long before to the Sovereign of Portugal, and the Portuguese and French Priests each denied the authority of the other. To make matters still more involved, a Spanish priest called Padre Yegros came from Goa, asserting that he had the ecclesiastical jurisdition in Singapore, and the two Churches already on the spot denied his authority and he in turn denied theirs.

Padre Maia then celebrated Mass in Dr. d'Almeida's house in Beach Road; the French Bishop in Mr. McSwiney's house opposite the present Church in Brass Bassa Road, at the corner of Queen Street; and Padre Yegros in some other house.

On the 24th April, 1838, Pope Gregory XVI declared by his celebrated Bull, *Multa Præclaré,* (the authenticity of which was acknowledged at the time by the British authorities and the East India Company in London and Madras to be beyond question) that for good reasons the right claimed by the Portuguese did not exist

in the Crown, in countries not subject to Portugal. In 1862 Pope Pius IX made a Concordat with the King of Portugal by which the right of patronage over the Roman Catholic Church in British India was acknowledged to be in the Crown of Portugal, but the French Church argued that as it was given on certain conditions which had not been fulfilled, it had no effect.

The result of this, as Mr. Earl wrote, was the publication of long advertisements in the *Singapore Free Press* which died away for a time, and woke up again at intervals for many years, until 1886 in fact, when the whole matter was finally set at rest by a long Concordat by Pope Leo XIII., dated Rome, 23rd June, 1886, which gave ordinary jurisdiction to the French Mission, but exempted from it the jurisdiction over the Portuguese Congregation only and the premises actually occupied by the Portuguese Clergy, which was given to the Bishop of Macao. That Portugal should have strenously striven for her own side was not to be wondered at; and the result has been that all has since worked with great harmony in Singapore for the good of both the communities. Besides that Concordat there was issued a Bull *Humanæ Salutis Auctor* dated 1st September, 1886, a purely ecclesisatical document dealing with the jurisdiction.

Bishop Bruguière left Singapore for China, leaving the Rev. Mr. Clemenceau, who had lately arrived from France, in charge of the Church. The Rev. Pierre Julien Marc Clemenceau, of Poitiers in Poitou, left France on 4th July, 1831, worked 32 years in the Mission of Siam, and died at Bangkok, at the age of 58 years, on 18th January, 1864, having suffered from leprosy in the latter years of his life.

The Rev. Mr. Boucho (afterwards the Bishop) then came to Singapore. M. Jean Baptiste Boucho, of Bayonne in Gascony, left France on 11th January, 1824; he was made Bishop of Atalie in 1845, and died at Penang on 6th March, 1871, at the age of 75 years, after working in the Mission in the Straits for 47 years.

He was able to arrive at an understanding with Padre Yegros to labour amicably in the Church until matters should be authoritatively settled.

On 18th October, 1832, Mr. Bonham, the Resident Councillor, set aside the piece of ground in Brass Bassa Road (now occupied by the Brothers School) for the site of a Catholic place of worship, saying that no quit-rent would be charged as long as it was used for the purpose of religious instruction. The letter was addressed to the Rev. J. B. Boucho and Anselmo Yegros. In November, 1832, Father Boucho and Padre Yegros signed a Circular, stating the need of a decent place of worship, the want of means of their own congregations, and asking for help from the community.

At this time the Rev. Mr. Courvezy was Vicar. M. Jean Paul Hilaire Michel Courvezy, of Carcassonne in Languedoc, left France on 12th March, 1832, for the Siam Mission, became Bishop in 1834, and left the Society in 1845. He died in 1857.

In the newspaper of 11th December appeared the following notice:—After a lapse of many years, the Catholics of Singapore have become desirous of possessing a Church for the celebration of Divine Service, and have been grieved for the want of such. Divine Providence has, at length, come to their aid. Through the medium of an

open subscription towards this object, the greatest part of the obstacle has been surmounted. On Sunday last, the 9th inst, we enjoyed the consolation of solemnizing and laying the first stone of an edifice which is being erected for the glory of the true God, upon a spot of ground granted by the bounty of the Government, and which, according to the contract with the builder, is to be finished on the 5th of May, 1833. That it will not be large, is our only regret; but it will suffice. Moreover, the Church of our Lord Jesus Christ usually consists of small communities. The first desire of our hearts, under these circumstances, is to express, publicly, our gratitude to those persons who have, with good will taken a part in the above-mentioned subscription. May they enjoy in their conscience those delicious sentiments which accompany the performance of a good action, and may God grant them a recompense, by shedding over them the blessings of His goodness and mercy. This letter will not prevent us from testifying our acknowledgements to each subscriber individually when we can have the honour of a visit. We would voluntarily publish their names, but we fear to offend their modesty and delicacy.

Receive, Mr. Editor, the renewed duty of our respect and regard.

A. Yegros, Superior of the Portuguese Mission, Judicial Vicar, and Delegate of the Chapter of Goa.

H. Courvezy, Apostolic Missionary, Canon of Chartres, and Parish Minister of Singapore.

The result was a subscription of about $450, largely collected among the merchants. There are the names of Mr. Bonham, A. L. Johnston, John Purvis, Connolly, Cunningham, Melany, and Napier. Padre Maia, to his praise be it said, appears as a subscriber for $20, and $145 was subscribed by the Chinese.

A little Chapel, sixty feet long and thirty feet wide only, was put up in the centre of the land. When the new Church was afterwards built, the Chapel was used for the first Boys School in 1852. It cost about $700. There is a copy of the contract with a Chinese, for the labour only, for $250; it was signed by the Vicar, the Rev. H. Courvezy, Padre Yegros, D. McSwiney, A. F. Francis, J. J. Woodford, and George Godfrey, on 5th December, 1832. On the 9th June, 1833, the Rev. Mr. Albrand being Vicar at the time, the Church was blessed and opened, and those who had signed the contract dined with the Vicar, the accounts were gone through, and it was found that Mr. McSwiney had paid out of his own pocket about $50 more than had been collected, which he added to his subscription; but some subscriptons not having been paid, it was thought that he might receive it eventually.

A small Parochial House, which stood at the corner of the compound at Brass Bassa Road and Queen Street, had also been built, of wood on brick pillars, at a cost of about $500, but this had been paid for at the joint expense of Father Albrand and the Missions Etrangères in equal shares.

The Rev. Etienne Raymond Albrand, of Gap in Dauphine, left France on 12th March, 1832. He died a Bishop at the age of 48 years, on 23rd April, 1853, at the capital of Kouy-tcheou, after having worked 21 years, first at Singapore and then at Siam.

In the beginning of 1833 the Rev. H. Courvezy went as Coadjutor to the Bishop at Siam, and Padre Yegros having no means at his disposal to live upon, left Singapore altogether and went to Manila. Father Albrand succeeded Father Courvezy as Vicar, and he really began the mission in Singapore, the little Chapel being completed a few months after his arrival. The Chinese members of the congregation rapidly increased, as they had much respect for him. No sooner was the Chapel approaching completion than Padre Maia fired off long Latin dissertations and lengthy letters of complaint to the newspaper.

In March, 1835, Father Albrand was moved to Siam. The Rev. Mr. Barbe was then appointed Vicar. M. Jean Pierre Barbe, of Tulle in Limousin, left France on 5th February, 1826, for the Mission of Siam; he afterwards was sent to Burmah, and died at Rangoon on 27th May, 1861, at the age of 59 years. He collected money to plaster the ceiling of the Chapel and to build a portico at the front entrance, which cost $198.50: this time the subscribers seem to have been all members of the congregation. Father Barbe only remained until the end of the year, and was succeeded by the Rev. Mr. Renier.

The Rev. Joseph Florentin Etienne Renier, of Chartres in Orleans, left France on 15th March, 1835, for the mission of Siam. He died at Moulmein, at the age of 60 years, on the 4th January, 1871, having been in the Straits and Burmah for 36 years. The name is spelt Regnier in the Register of the Missionaries, but his signature in the Church baptismal registers is spelt Renier. He raised a subscription to pave the floor with Malacca tiles, as the white ants had eaten the plank floor which had been put down for economy. There was never any spire or tower to this building.

In August, 1837, the Rev. Mr. Galabert was appointed Vicar, and remained until December, 1839, when he left for Bourbon, because Bishop Courvezy then came to Singapore intending to remain permanently.

The Rev. Noel Alexandre Galabert, of Carcassonne in Languedoc, left France on 22nd April, 1833, and quitted the Society (according to the register of members) in 1835. But this must be a mistake, and Father Beurel's book must be correct, as the old baptismal register in the Church has Father Galabert's signatures in the year 1839.

Bishop Courvezy was alone in Singapore till February, 1839, when the Rev. Mr. Galy came from Macao.

The Rev. Jean Paul Galy, of Toulouse in Languedoc, left France on 15th May, 1838. He was for many years in Tongking and Cochin-China. In 1841 he was beaten, put in a cage and condemned to death, but after a detention of 22 months, he recovered his liberty by the intervention of the commander of a French man-of-war which visited the place. He died on 15th October, 1869, at Saigon, 59 years of age.

In June 1839, a Chinese Catholic Priest named John Tschu came from Siam. He was born in the Province of Canton of a respectable Chinese family, his father being a literate Mandarin. He had been sent when young, by a French Missionary, to the college in Penang, and after doing mission work there, he was sent to open another

mission in Siam which became very flourishing, and he was ordained in Siam in 1838 by Dr. Courvezy, who appointed him head of the Chinese mission in Singapore. He died on the 13th July, 1848, to the great loss of the mission, after working nine years in Singapore, and having formed a flourishing and numerous congregation of Chinese, who were much attached to him. The *Singapore Free Press* contained an account of his life, from which the above particulars are taken, and said that his loss was much felt by the Roman Catholic Community. He was buried in the Church at the altar of St. Joseph, where a granite stone was placed over his tomb. When the new Church was built, the coffin was opened and the bones were placed in the St. Joseph Chapel in the new Church, and a marble slab with an inscription was put on the side wall.

On the 29th October, 1837, two missionaries intended for the Mission at Siam arrived from France, and Mr. Galy went to Macao, expecting to penetrate into Cochin-China to which he had been first destined by the Directors of the Mission in Paris. One of those two missionaries was the Rev. J. M. Beurel, to whom the Roman Catholic Community of Singapore owe an incalculable debt of gratitude. Dr. Courvezy arranged for Father Beurel to remain in Singapore, and his companion, the Rev. A. Dupond, went on to Siam. In this year, 1839, the compound of the Chapel was surrounded with a wall, built partly at Bishop Courvezy's expense and partly by subscriptions he raised among the Catholic Community.

The Rev. Jean Marie Beurel, of St. Brieuc in Brittany, left France on 28th April, 1839, and was in the Mission at Singapore for 30 years. He left Singapore on 4th December, 1868, and went to Paris, ill with paralysis, and died there, at the age of 60 years, on 3rd October 1872, after four years illness.

A pastoral letter was addressed on 6th October, 1840, by Dr. Courvezy to the congregation regarding the feasts and fasts to be observed in the Mission, having regard to the different conditions of life in this climate, on which account the Pope had granted certain modifications. It also provided for the day of observance of some of the greater feasts to take place on the Sunday following the day of the feast.

On 3rd January, 1840, the Mission of Siam was sub-divided, owing to the difficulty of communication with Siam, and the different language used in the Malay Peninsula. Dr. John Paul Hilary Michael Courvezy was appointed Vicar Apostolic of the new division of the Malay Peninsula, and his Coadjutor Dr. Pallegoix became Bishop of Siam alone.

From the first establishment in 1832 to the end of 1839 there had been in the congregation 130 baptisms, 64 deaths, and 20 marriages. The whole of the expenses has been met by the collections made every Sunday at the Parochial Mass, and by subscriptions occasionally circulated in the congregation, chiefly at Christmas, Easter and Corpus Christi.

Bishop Courvezy proposed to enlarge the Chapel by adding transepts to form a cross, but adopted Father Beurel's proposal to endeavour to raise funds to build a new Church and to use the Chapel for a school.

An appeal was issued on 23rd April, 1840, drawn up by the Bishop in French, and translated into English by Lieut. Jerningham

of H. M. S. *Wellesley* which was here at the time, stating that the Chapel was much too small, and in bad repair, and asking for subscriptions towards a new building. In the succeeding four years $5,105.72 was collected, chiefly among the European community, though belonging (as Father Beurel wrote) to Protestantism. In 1841 Queen Amelia of France gave 4000 francs, and the Bishop of Manila about $3000 in 1842, which latter sum was left by the Bishop in the hands of the Armenian Merchants, Seth Brothers, who failed, and only $215 was eventually recovered.

The congregation thought the loss was owing to the want of care by the Bishop, and it unfortunately became the cause of very considerable trouble in the congregation and of delay in commencing the building, and also to Father Beurel going away to Burmah, to work with his friend Bishop Bigandet there, in November 1842, owing to a misunderstanding with the Bishop on this subject, and not returning until April, 1843, when he came back at the earnest request of the congregation who had addressed letters to the Superior in Paris, and to Dr. Boucho in Penang, pointing out the great loss to the Church if Father Beurel did not return.

Before he left he had asked Governor Bonham for land for the new Church, and Mr. Bonham offered four acres of ground on the slope of Government Hill between the Cemetery and the Convict Lines, which would be near where the American Methodist School and St Andrews House and the Masonic Lodge are now. This would have been very suitable (as Father Beurel wrote) for all the buildings, such as schools and dwelling house, but Bishop Courvezy rejected it.

An application was then made in writing for the ground opposite the row of three houses in Brass Bassa Road between Victoria Street and Queen Street, then occupied by Messrs. Caldwell at the corner of Victoria Street, Cunningham in the centre, and McSwiney at the corner of Queen Street. The application was accompanied by a commendatory letter signed by many of the leading Protestants, including Messrs. George Armstrong, J. Balestier, E. Boustead, W. S. Duncan, J. Guthrie, J. Purvis, W. Napier, W. and T. Scott, and Maclaine Fraser & Co. After some trouble, as the Government at first wanted to give only a small piece of ground, the present site was given on 20th July, 1842, being 211 feet by 313, (which was afterwards added to) on the condition that it was not to be used as a Burial Ground on any occasion whatever, and that no buildings should be erected upon it except for ecclesiastical purposes connected with the Chapel. The term was 999 years.

Mr. J. T. Thomson made a plan which was approved by the Governor, but it was afterwards superseded by one made by Mr. McSwiney, as being less expensive and easier to keep in repair.

On Sunday, the 18th June, 1843, the foundation stone of the Church was laid. The following is an account of the ceremony in the *Free Press*:—"On Sunday last the Catholic community of Singapore had the gratification of witnessing the solemn ceremony of blessing and laying the "Corner Stone" of their new Church of the "Good Shepherd." It began at half past six a.m. The congregation being assembled in

the present chapel, the Right Revd. D. D. Hillary Courvezy, robed in his Pontificals, proceeded in procession to the spot, where the Church is to be raised. The procession was formed by a Cross-bearer, two acolytes and nine children, all robed in white; by the Wardens and Trustees of the Church, with their insignia; by the Architect Mr. D. L. McSwiney, carrying a Silver Trowel; John Connolly, Esq., the gentleman appointed to lay the Corner Stone; and the Right Revd. Dr. Hillary Courvezy supported by the Revd. J. M. Beurel and the Chinese Clergyman the Revd. John Tschu, followed by the rest of the faithful. His Lordship the Bishop, being on the spot, addressed the assembly in a brief but very impressive and edifying discourse, explaining why the place where a Temple is to be erected to Almighty God ought to be blessed and sanctified by prayer, and thanking God for the various donations received from charitable persons, which had enabled the Catholic community to begin such an undertaking, &c.

"After the discourse, the Right Revd. Doctor performed the prescribed religious ceremony. When the corner stone was blessed, it was carried by two Chinese Christians from the Altar erected for the occasion to the left corner of the frontispiece of the proposed edifice. Then the Revd. J. M. Beurel read in an audible voice the following inscription:—

To the Greater Glory and Honour
Of the Holy and Undivided Trinity.
In the year of our Redemption
MDCCCXLIII.
On the Feast of Corpus Christi.
The Eighteenth day of June;
In the thirteenth year of the Pontificate
Of our Holy Father
GREGORY THE SIXTEENTH;
In the sixth year of the happy reign
Of Her Most Gracious Majesty
VICTORIA,
Queen of Great Britain and Ireland;
In the thirteenth year of the reign
Of His Christian Majesty
LOUIS PHILLIPE.
King of the French;
And during the Governorship of
The Honourable SAMUEL GEORGE BONHAM,
In the presence and with the approbation
Of the Right Revd. D. D. Hilary Courvezy,
Bishop of Bidopolis, and
Vicar Apostolic, &c., &c., of the Malay Peninsula.
Of the Revd. John M. Beurel, M. Ap.,
Of the Wardens and Trustees of the Church,
And of the Architect Denis McSwiney,
John Connolly, Esq.
Laid the Corner Stone of this Church,
Which is to be dedicated to
Our Divine Saviour
Under the title of
"The Good Shepherd,"
Complete, O Lord, this undertaking
And when completed, protect it."

"This inscription was translated into five other languages, viz., into Latin ,French, Portuguese, Chinese and Malay and signed by Dr. Courvezy, Revd. J. M. Beurel, John Connolly, D. L. McSwiney, by the Wardens and Trustees of the Church and some other gentlemen. These documents together with British, French, Spanish, and various other coins, and a copy of the *Singapore Free Press*, the *Straits Messenger*, the *Bengal Catholic Herald*, the *Madras Catholic Expositor*, &c., were put into vases which were deposited in a place beneath the corner stone, prepared for their reception. Immediately after, the corner stone was laid by John Connolly, with the approbation of His Lordship the Bishop, that gentleman reciting at the same time the following prescribed prayer:— 'In the faith of Jesus Christ we lay this first stone in this foundation in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost; that the true faith and the fear of God and fraternal charity may flourish here and that this place be dedicated to prayer and to invoke and praise the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, who liveth and reigneth with the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen.'

"The remainder of the ceremony being performed the procession returned to the old Chapel in the same order in which it had first proceeded to the site of the intended Church, when the Bishop ascended the altar and celebrated a Pontifical High Mass."

On the 21st December, 1843, Bishop Courvezy left for France and did not return to Singapore, and the Rev. J. B. Boucho, the Pro-vicar Apostolic, became Superior of the Mission, after he had been twenty years in the Straits. Father Beurel at this time paid a visit to Malacca, and made arrangements to have a Chapel established there, on the site of which the present Church now stands.

In 1844, a further amount of $2,557.80 was raised by subscriptions in Singapore for the new building, and unexpectedly $1,467 was received from the Directors of the Seminary of Foreign Missions in Paris who had heard of the loss of the $3,000, which had caused so much trouble.

Governor Butterworth, on Mr. Beurel's application explaining that the land given for the Church was smaller than was necessary to provide against buildings being erected close to the Church, and so occasioning disturbance to the services, increased the land by making it a square of 313 feet.

In 1845 the Rev. P. Galy went to Bourbon to collect subscriptions for the church building, and brought back nearly $1,000 after paying the expenses of the voyage. In August about $800 was collected in the congregation to build the steeple, and in the same month Mr. Boucho was appointed Bishop, which greatly pleased the congregation. The ceiling of the old Chapel fell in immediately after service on the feast of the Epiphany and several persons were hurt, but not seriously. There were only a few persons remaining in the Church, or the accident would have been very serious.

The Rev. John Baptist Boucho went to Calcutta by the steamer *Fire Queen* in September, 1845, and was consecrated there as Bishop of Athalia and Vicar Apostolic of the Malayan Peninsula, and arrived at Singapore on 25th May, 1846.

In June Father Beurel wrote to the Government asking for the lease to be issued for the Church compound in the name of Bishop

Boucho and himself, saying that it was called the Church of the Good Shepherd, at Father Beurel's wish. In 1846, Father Beurel went to Manila and China to collect money for the Church building, as all the funds were exhausted and the Church was not finished. He collected about $1,800.

In this year the Chapel was built at Bukit Timah for the Chinese congregation, and was called St Joseph at Father Beurel's wish. The Rev. Mr. Manduit was the priest, and he went to live permanently among the Chinese when the building was completed about the end of the year. The Rev. Anatole Manduit, of Coutances in Normandy, left France on 26th December, 1843, and died, 41 years of age, in Singapore, after fifteen years work among the Chinese, on 1st April, 1858. He was buried in the Church at Bukit Timah where there is a lengthy inscription on the granite stone over his grave.

The *Free Press* of 23rd April, 1846, contained the following:— " The Rev. Gentlemen of the Catholic Mission, to whose care we are indebted for the conversion of so many Chinese, are trying to raise beyond Bukit Timah a small Chapel, on a spot liberally granted to them by the local Authorities, from whom they have always experienced kindness, particularly from his Honor the Governor. This chapel is to be solely used for the Chinese Converts. They would like to request the kind assistance of all the friends of civilisation here to enable them to carry out their intention properly; but they feel rather backward in introducing the subject as they have already called once or twice on the charity of the public for their New Church. Yet they would feel very thankful, if some charitable persons would enable them to raise a substantial and respectable building, instead of one of planks and attaps, which they are compelled to do now from want of means."

In April, 1847, the Rev. Mr. Issaly came to Singapore and took the place of Father Manduit at Bukit Timah.

The Rev. Marie Francois Adolphe Issaly, of St Brieuc in Brittany, left France on 21st October, 1846, and died in the Procure House in Hongkong, where he had gone because he was ill, on 27th May, 1874, at the age of 52 years, after 28 years work in the Straits. He was first buried in Hongkong. In March, 1879, his remains were exhumed and were buried in the Church of SS. Peter and Paul in Singapore.

In June, 1846, the new Church was nearly completed and Bishop Boucho being unable to come to Singapore from Penang, the ceremony of opening the Church fell on Father Beurel, who was accompanied by the Revs. Manduit, Issaly and John Tschu. It took place at 7 a.m. on Sunday the 6th June. The corner stone had been blessed by Bishop Courvezy; the Cross on the top of the steeple by Bishop Pallegoix; and the whole building was now blessed by him who had, through his unceasing efforts, caused it to be erected. There was a procession outside and inside the new Church, where Psalms were sung, followed by a procession to the old Chapel for removing the Holy Sacrament from there to the new Church; and a sermon by Father Beurel.

The accounts kept, in the most methodical method possible, by Father Beurel, show that the total expense of the building, from the making of the plan and laying the foundations to the completion of the building and the furniture, was $17,128.76, and $1,206.46 was

remitted to Paris for all the candlesticks, some vestments, the statue of the Virgin, and numerous ornaments for the service of the Church. The total payments amounting to $18,335.22, which left a debt on the building of $4,434.50.

The total receipts were $13,900.72, which was all collected in Singapore including the interest received upon it, except the following sums; from Bourbon, $1,200; Calcutta, $412.83; Manila, $2,310.60 (which included the $1,467 that had been received from the Mission in Paris on account of the loss by Seth Brothers) and from Siam $100.

Mr. Connolly advanced $1,800 to complete the urgent payments for the construction, and it was decided to repay this and the balance (for which Father Beurel became the only person responsible) out of the pew rents and collections; and he wrote to Queen Amelia and the ministry in France, asking for money to help to pay the debt, but owing to the political revolution, the only answer received was from the Minister of the Interior to say that he would, if possible, obtain a picture of the Good Shepherd for the Church, which Father Beurel had asked for, but this never came. Mr. McSwiney, the Architect, left Singapore in October, 1847. Soon after this Messrs. Cunningham and Connolly built the two gates of the compound in Victoria Street at their own expense and a subscription was made to complete the large front steps and drains round the Church. The Steeple had been erected from a design by Mr. Charles Dyce, and a subscription amounting to $700 had been made towards it.

In 1845 the Chinese Congregation made a subscription to erect a house in the School compound where religious instruction might be given to the Chinese. The cost was $700.

In the beginning of 1858 Father Beurel established canonically the Way of the Cross in the Church. The pictures were oil paintings, and cost about $250; Mr. Benjamin De Souza promised to pay for them. The statues of the Good Shepherd, St. Joseph, St. Peter, and St. Paul were also received from Paris at the same time as the pictures. The first cost $40, and was given by Mr. Cunningham; and that of St. Peter, $35, by Mr. Blanco. In August Mr. L. Cateaux, of Messrs. Hinnekindt's firm, gave the picture of the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian, which had been painted by Mr. Jules Pecher of Antwerp, who had gained a gold medal for it at the Brussels Exhibition. Mr. Cateaux gave it on the condition that if the Church should at any time pass to any other body than that of the Mission, the priests should remove it and place it in one of their own Churches.

In 1859 the Parochial House was completed, which was considered a great event in the Roman Catholic Community. Father Beurel had made a contract with a Chinaman to build it for $2,500, which the Congregation undertook to subscribe. The result was that it nearly ruined Father Beurel, as he writes, for he had the not unusual experience in Singapore of finding that it cost very much more before he could get it finished, for it cost $8,100.55 when it was done; and it is amusing to read in Father Beurel's Annals, that he "had a great deal to suffer from this Chinaman, who acted the part of a first rate hypocrite and rogue."

In 1860 the Church was paved with marble, got from Antwerp through Mr. L. Cateaux. Some of it turned out to be very inferior, and some of the congregation said it was mere trash and not fit to be seen in the Church, which caused more trouble to Father Beurel, as some of the congregation declined to subscribe. The cost of the marble, and the Font and other things came to $1,986.17 which was raised by subscription; three Chinese members of the Congregation, Pedro No Kea and two others, giving $200 each, Mr. J. Woodford $300, and others subscribing handsomely.

In 1888 the building, now made the Cathedral, was considerably enlarged, being extended at the west end.

When Bishop Boucho died he was succeeded by Bishop Michel Esther Le Terdu, of St. Brieuc in Brittany. He had left France for the Straits on 10th April, 1850. He resided at Penang. He died in the Seminary at Paris, a few weeks after he arrived in France, having gone home ill, after 27 years work in the Straits, on 10th May, 1877, at 51 years of age. He wrote a Catechism and several books of devotion. He had been Parish Priest at Pulo Tikus at Penang, and was consecrated in the church there by Bishop Bigandet. He came to Singapore on 3rd July, 1871, and resided there.

He was succeeded by Mgr. Edward Gasnier, of Angers in Anjou. He had left France on 19th July, 1857, to the mission at Mayssour (Bangalore) in Southern India and came to the Straits as Bishop in 1878. He died in Singapore, after several years illness and a voyage to France in search of health, on 8th April, 1896, and was buried in front of the High Altar in the Cathedral of the Good Shepherd. By an Ordinance of 15 November, 1885, the Bishop was then designated "The Titular Roman Catholic Bishop of Malacca resident in the Straits Settlements."

Bishop Gasnier, to whom the Congregation were very much attached, had a thorough knowledge of English which was a great advantage to the community. He was succeeded by Mgr. Michel Marie Fée, of Laval in Maine, who left France on 16th April, 1879.

Mention should be made here of Bishop Bigandet, as he was well known in the Straits, though he was never Bishop in the diocese. Paul Ambroise Bigandet of Besancon in Franche Comte, left France on 12th June, 1837, and was in Siam until 1842 when he came to the Straits, being principally at Penang, and remained until 1856, when he went to Burmah as Apostolic Administrator and in 1870 was made Bishop of Burmah.

In Volumes, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 11 of Logan's Journal are many lengthy papers by Mr. Bigandet on the subject of the Budhist Monks or Talapoins, the Legend of Budha, and the dialects of Siam and Burmah.

When Father Beurel died he was succeeded as Vicar by the Rev. Louis Armand Daguin, of Séez in Normandy, who left France on 15th July, 1860, and was 26 years in the Straits. He died at Paris on 5th June, 1886, at the age of 50 years, having gone home on account of illness.

He was succeeded by the Rev. Jean Pierre Rêmes, of Bayonne in Gascony, who left France on the same day with Father Daguin in 1860. He returned to France on account of illness in 1888, and is

now the Superior of the Sanatorium of the Mission at Mombeton in Tarn and Garonne in France, which had been installed there in 1886.

The next Vicar was Father Elysee Ferdinand Delouette, of Rheims in Champagne, who left France on 3rd July, 1872. He died in Singapore on the 29th March, 1897, and was buried in the Church of St. Joseph at Bukit Timah.

He was followed by the Rev. Christophe Mazery, of Nantes in Brittany, who left France on 15th March, 1868. He died in Singapore on 12th February, 1900, and was buried in the same Church at Bukit Timah. His successor, the present Vicar is the Rev. Henri Pierre Rivet, of Nantes in Brittany, who left France on 2nd August, 1882, and was appointed Vicar in February, 1900.

A remarkable character in Singapore was the Rev. Pierre Pâris, who was born on 19th January, 1822, at Fontenis, Haute-Saone, and was a peasant boy working in the fields, which was no doubt a good preparation for the work he afterwards did in Singapore, where he spent long hours trudging about in the jungle between the different huts of his congregation. He went into the priesthood, commencing to learn Latin at eighteen years of age, and after being a vicar in a country parish for four years joined the Society of Foreign Missions in 1854. On 27th June, 1855, he left Antwerp for the Straits. After a short time in Penang he went to Malacca, where he learnt the patois spoken by the Portuguese there, and Tamil and Chinese. He was a good linguist, speaking several dialects of Chinese. As an example of the way he used to move about, he might be seen on Sunday morning walking into town along Serangoon Road, for there were no jinrikishas then, with his Chinese umbrella in one hand and a stick in the other. He had said mass and preached in Chinese at Serangoon, and was walking seven miles into town to hold the service in Tamil at eleven o'clock. After that he would hold a service in the jail; at 2 o'clock he had Catechism for the Chinese children, and at 3 o'clock evening service in the Chinese Church of S.S. Peter and Paul. It had been through his exertions that this fine Church had been built in the town in 1871, to which Pedro No Kia had subscribed very liberally.

On Monday he rested in the Parochial House and read the papers, &c., and saw Chinese who came to consult him about their affairs. Tuesday he spent in trudging about the jungle, resting from time to time in the huts of the Chinese whom he went to visit. Wednesday he spent among the Chinese in the town. Thursday he remained at home at Serangoon teaching the Catechumens, who used to come long distances to him, having three rooms in which were large pictures sent by Chinese from Shanghai. In each room there was a catechist speaking one of the three Chinese dialects which Father Pâris knew. The last two days of the week were given to confessions, &c., and he was sometimes so engaged from the morning until late at night, for there was a very large Chinese congregation. Everyone knew Father Pâris with his stick and his Chinese umbrella. From 1874 he was Pro-vicar of the Mission. He died at the age of 61 years, on 23rd May, 1883, in the Parochial House, Singapore, after six months illness, having been very feeble for some time. He was buried in the Church of S.S. Peter and Paul, having worked in the Straits for 28 years.

On the 23rd April, 1866, being St. George's Day, the Rev. J. M. Beurel held a Meeting with the object of establishing a Society to be called the St. George Singapore Catholic Young Men's Society. He was the President, the Rev. A. L. Daguin and Mr. F. E. Pereira the lawyer, who had a large practice at that time, were Vice-Presidents, and the Committee consisted of Messrs. Paul Brasier; J. J. Woodford, W. Lecerf, L. C. Masfen, J. F. Hansen, W. J. Valberg, L. J. Scheerder H. D. Chopard, A. Pilliet, J. Cazalas, J. Eade, and G. Reutens. Twenty eight members joined on the first occasion. Monthly Meetings were held in the Parochial House. There was a Library for which papers and books were ordered from England. Papers used to be read on various subjects. Mr. J. J. Woodford gave three lectures with experiments on the Atmosphere. Mr. A. McIntyre read two papers, one on Perseverance. Mr. H. B. Woodford held forth on Intemperance, Mr. C. De Menzies on Education, and Father Beurel and Mr. F. E. Pereira each gave four addresses on various subjects. The minute book ends abruptly in June of the following year. It remained for Father Rivet, in 1900, to found a similar Club, in very good premises, and with many more members, now the Congregation has increased so much, with billiard tables and other amusements for the young men in the evenings, which are much more likely to continue to call them together than reading very long and scientific papers.

On 1st January, 1897, Monseigneur Zaleski, the Archbishop of Thebes, arrived in Singapore. It was the first time a visit of a Papal Delegate to Singapore took place, and he was received with great ceremony by the members of all the Romen Catholic Churches in Singapore. A joint address was presented to him by all the Churches including the Portuguese Church of St. Joseph. On 14th February, 1897, the Cathedral was consecrated by Bishop Fee. There is a rule that Churches cannot be consecrated as long as any debt remains on the building, and on 31st December, 1897, there was still a balance of $2,000 due after paying for the extension, which was paid by special subscriptions. In order to consecrate the Church some repairs and painting were necessary, costing $1,345.18 for which a further subscription was made, and the debt which had existed since the commencement of the building was finally paid off.

The Procure.

On the 17th March, 1857, the Procure House was established in Singapore. Father Beurel had, until that time, done the work of Procureur as well as that of Missionary, but the administration of the Mission had become too large to admit of this being done satisfactorily.

The word Procureur in French means one who has power to act for another, as an agent or manager; and in the Religious Societies the word means one who has charge of their temporal concerns. In the large English Missionary Societies the clergy who do such work are usually called the Secretaries. The Procure Houses are also used as stopping places for the clergy passing from one diocese to another, or as resting places for invalids; and the money matters and general business affairs of the mission are transacted through the Procureur.

The Society had established a Procure House in Macao in 1732, which had been transferred in 1847 to Hongkong. Father Libois, of Séez in Normandy, who had left France in 1837, being the first Procureur in Hongkong. He was Director in Paris in 1866, and died at Rome, as Procureur there, on 6th April, 1872, at the age of 67 years, having been 35 years in the Mission.

In 1857 he came to Singapore to establish the Procure House, and brought with him from Hongkong Father Osouf, of Coutances in Normandy, who had come out from France the year before. They built the present House at the corner of River Valley Road and Oxley Road, and in October Father Libois returned to Hongkong, leaving Father Osouf as Procureur, who in 1863 went as Sous-Procureur at Hongkong and was afterwards Procureur there from 1866 to 1875, when he became Director at Paris, and in 1877 was a Bishop in Japan and is now Archbishop of Tokyo.

He was succeeded by Father Cazenave, of Bayonne in Gascony, who left France in 1858 to go to Tongking, and was Procureur in Singapore from 1863 to 1864 and was then Procureur at Shanghai. Father Patriat, of Dijon in Burgundy, succeeded him. He left France in 1862, and was Sous-Procureur in Singapore, and Procureur from 1864 to 1874, when he went as Superior to the Sanatorium at Hongkong, and died at the Sanatorium at Monbeton in France on 21st November, 1887, after 25 years service.

In 1874 he was succeeded by Father Martinet, of Verdun in Lorraine, who left France in 1870, and had been Sous-Procureur in Hongkong until 1872, when he came to Singapore as Sous-Procureur, and was Procureur from 1874 to 1876 when he went as Procureur to Shanghai, and in 1891 to Hongkong.

In 1876 Father Holhann, of Verdun, who left France in 1874, came from Hongkong, where he had been Sous-Procureur, to Singapore, and was Procureur from 1876 to 1881, when he went to Penang as Director of the College there.

Father Nicolas Justin Couvreur, of Langres in Champagne, who had left France on 16th October, 1878, and had been Sous-Procureur in Hongkong for three years, was appointed Procureur in Singapore in 1881, and is so to this time.

It may be of interest here to give some particulars about this Society of Foreign Missions. The "Société des Missions Etrangères" was begun in 1659 at Paris, in the Rue du Bac, where it still has its large establishment. It was in the Chapel there, which is still standing, that Fenelon preached his famous sermon, which is said to have been a model for all missionary sermons afterwards. It seems to have been difficult to find out the exact date of the beginning of the Society, but it is certain that the two first priests left France on 18th June, 1660. The first of these, Pierre de la Mothe Lambert, was then 35 years of age, and he died at Iuthia, the then capital of Siam, as Bishop, on 15th June, 1679, at the age of 54 years. He came from Lisieux in Normandy.

King Louis XIV. issued his Letter of Patents, equivalent to a Charter of Incorporation, in July, 1663. The Seminary, or College for the training of missionaries, was formally opened on 27th October in that year.

During the first ten years 23 Missionaries went from France; by the end of that Century there had been 96; by the end of 1800, 264; and in 1892 the total had amounted to 1968. Between 1840 and 1888, 64 had been sent to the Straits; 13 had died in Singapore, 3 in Malacca, and 20 at Penang. Before 1840 the names of the Clergy in the Straits were included in the Mission of Siam, and the names are not tabulated separately.

For 240 years the Society has carried on the mission in the Far East, and has establishments now in Japan, Tongking, Cochin-China, China, Siam, Corea, Thibet, Pondicherry, the Malay Peninsula and Burmah. The report of the Society for 1900 shows that there are at present in these missions 35 Bishops and 1,117 European missionaries, of which one Bishop and 32 clergy are in the Straits.

In consequence of the French revolution, the Church in France had been despoiled of its funds, and a Society called the Propagation of the Faith was established in Lyons. Collections were made throughout France, and in less than fifty years, largely from the constant collection of a few sous among the poor throughout the Churches, a fund was established even larger than that which had been at disposal for the foreign Missionaries in the previous century.

The Association was started in Lyons in 1821 by Mademoiselle Jaricot, and gradually developed into what it is at the present day. The annual funds now amount roughly to 6,000,000 francs, distributed among the Roman Catholic Missions throughout the world. Accounts are published yearly in French, English, and some other languages.

From this fund each Missionary of the Society of Foreign Missions receives 660 francs (£26.8.0, or say at the present exchange about $22 a month) the Bishops receiving 1,320 francs, or twice that amount. On this the Clergy have to depend for their support. The only addition is what they may receive for stipends for masses, and for marriage, baptism, and other fees.

The following memorandum relating to the Roman Catholic clergy in the Straits, written over half a century ago, and headed "Bigandet, Malacca," is found among the rough manuscript notes of Mr. Braddell, and fits in curiously in the present place:—"Priests, nearly all French secular clergy, belonging to the Society or Congregation des Missions Etrangères. Sole object religious, no earthly motives. No political intercourse with their country, no interference in political service. They are priests, and profess to belong to no party, no political creed, no ambition but propagation of Christian religion, and with it education and civilization. For maintenance they receive $120 a year. There are twenty in the Straits with a Bishop. Admission to the Society a great favour. Small pay, no pension. When coming out, expected that they entertain no idea of ever quitting it, and that they are prepared to die in the scene of their labours." One hundred and twenty dollars was then the value of the six hundred and sixty francs already mentioned.

The object of referring to the matter is, that the extent of the work that is to be seen in Singapore is often thought to have been due to other sources, such as funds from the Society of Foreign Missions in Paris, and not to the energy and devotion of the clergy and

the generosity of the community of the place. The following sentence, in a foot note at page 35 of the second volume of a book "La Cochinchine Religieuse" published in Paris in 1885, and sent to the Singapore newspaper for review, goes some way to explain the matter. "Grâce à l'œuvre de la Propagation de la foi, les simples missionnaires recoivent six cent soixante francs, et les vicaires apostoliques treize cents francs par an. C'est peu, mais c'est suffisant pour des hommes qui n'envient ni les riches traitements, ni le confortable des clergymans protestants."*

It can be seen from the history of the Society published in Paris in 1894, in three volumes (Vol II. page 417), that the members are secular priests making no vows of poverty or of obedience, but making a promise before leaving France that they will, as far as they are able, follow the rules of the Society touching their manner of living, dress and other similar matters. They are therefore free to give up their work, as has been shewn to have been the case with some of those who have been mentioned in this chapter, much in the same way as some of the Missionaries of the London Missionary and American Societies are shewn on page 214 of this book to have retired.

The principles upon which the Society is conducted seem to be that each Priest must be satisfied with his yearly allowance for his support, and with the assurance that in case of extreme old age or illness he will not be neglected. It is an inherent obligation that no Missionary can possess landed property of his own, in the Mission to which he is appointed, unless with the consent of the Bishop, and that after his death it must pass to the Mission, or to a Church or School, or some work of the Mission. It is a principle of the Society that a Mission should be self-supporting as far as it can become so; therefore whenever a Mission is able to support itself without the aid of the Society, the Missionaries will willingly leave all behind them, and begin new work where such aid is more required. It has been said that it is to these principles that the Society has owed its success, and Singapore has shown how well, in one instance, it has been deserved.

The Diocese of Malacca receives yearly at the present time, 1901, the following amounts from France:—

From the Propagation of the Faith—		
For the Bishop and Clergy	Frcs.	24,475.00
For the Catechists, School-masters and grants to open new Schools, &c.	,,	11,643.95
Total	Fcs.	36,118.95
From the Sainte Enfance for children not in the Convents	,,	12,000.00
From the Sainte Enfance for all the Convents	,,	21,000.00
Total	Fcs.	69,118.95

*"Thanks to the work of the Propagation of the Faith the plain Missionaries receive 660 francs and the Bishops 1,300 (₱ 1,320) francs a year. It is little, but it is enough for men who do not seek the costly living, nor the comfort of Protestant clergymen."

The allotment of the sum for Catechists, &c., is entirely under the control of the Bishop in Council with his Clergy. The grants from the Sainte Enfance (the Holy Childhood) are given for the support of orphans.

These amounts vary very little from year to year. There is now a slight tendency to decrease, owing to the fact that the annual increase in the funds of the Societies for the Propagation of the Faith and of the Sainte Enfance is less than the increase in the number of calls upon the Societies.

Both these Associations receive help from other nations. France contributes about two-thirds of the funds of the Propagation, and about one-third of those of the Sainte Enfance. Germany and Belgium take the lead in the subscription to the Sainte Enfance.

In addition to these funds the Clergy have, as has been said, the *Stipendia Missarum*, and any money they may possess as family inheritance, besides contributions, if any, from their friends or benefactors in Europe. The local contributions provide the rest.

Some of this matter does not fall strictly within the intention of this book; but the facts came to the surface in hunting into the history of the older buildings, and the interest that must attach to it among the congregation of the Church, is a ready excuse for it, and must give them cause for grateful appreciation of the work that is carried on in their midst, in a way that seems, to the Protestant compiler of this book, to hold out a great example to others.

The Brothers School.

The establishment of this school was entirely due to the Rev. J. M. Beurel. He had originally wished to be admitted into the Society of the Brothers of the Christian Schools, but was refused because he was in sacred orders. In 1841 he wrote to the Rev. J. B. Boucho, Penang, to consult him on the subject, but he was told that there were very great difficulties which seemed insurmountable; that it would require a large outlay of money which Father Beurel would not have at his disposal; and it was not likely the Superior General in Paris would send his subjects to this extremity of the world; besides how would the masters bear the climate under the severity of their rules; and it was suggested that laymen as school masters would be better than a body of men under a Religious Order.

The proposal had to drop for the time, but when the ground was given by the Government for the new Church, Mr. Beurel arranged that the old chapel and compound should remain for the future school, and informed Governor Bonham that it was his earnest desire to establish schools for the boys and girls of Catholic parents and the public in general, and that the chapel and buildings would perfectly answer for the purpose.

At this time, 1843 to 1845, attention could only be given to procuring means for building the new Church; but in February, 1846, seeing this on the way to completion, Mr. Beurel wrote to the Superior of the Brothers of the Christian Schools in Paris saying that he dreamed day and night of establishing schools at this furthest extremity of the East Indies, under their direction, and that he

hoped to see it realised, and that as soon as the new Church was finished he would apply again for help. The Superior General replied that they would willingly assist, but they could not hold out much hope of doing so, because the number of masters was small, especially of those who were thoroughly acquainted with English.

On Sunday, the 6th June, 1847, when the Church was finished and blessed, Father Beurel, after the Gospel, announced to the Congregation that he had the positive intention to establish schools under the direction of the Christian Brothers, and of some nuns or sisters. That he took the great Patriarch Saint Joseph for the Patron of the undertaking, and would set his hand to the work. In July he wrote to the Queen of France asking for help, and to the Minister of the Interior and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, but the revolution of 1848, which had just taken place and had driven King Louis Philippe out of France, prevented any replies. The Bishop also objected to any Brothers being brought from Europe unless Father Beurel could show that he had sufficient means to maintain the establishment.

The *Singapore Free Press* of the 22nd June, 1848, contained the following—"Below we publish a paper which has been handed to us by the Reverend Mr. Beurel, and contains the prospectus of a school which, if properly carried out, will be productive of much usefulness not only in Singapore, but in the neighbouring native states. It is intended not only to educate such children as may be sent to the school by their parents and guardians in Singapore, but to procure children to be sent from the various native states, who will receive at the hands of the instructors such tuition as will introduce them to a higher state of civilization, and fit them for being the instruments of spreading it amongst their countrymen. This school, as the plan has been explained to us, will in a great measure afford the means of accomplishing the purposes which Sir T. S. Raffles had in view in founding the Singapore Institution, but which none since his departure have possessed sufficient zeal and influence to carry out. The indefatigable energy and perseverance of the Missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith will probably enable them to undertake this successfully. Regarding it as of the greatest importance to a proper civilization and conversion of natives, that a sound education should be the fore-runner or accompanier of such, we cordially recommend Mr. Beurel's prospectus to the most favorable consideration of our readers:—

"The Revd. J. M. Beurel having, through God's blessing, completed his Church, purposes now establishing in this Settlement a Boys' School to be placed under the direction of the 'Christian Brothers.' These Teachers are well known in many parts of Europe to be thoroughly qualified to instruct youth, as they are specially brought up for the purpose, and bind themselve by vow to devote their lives to the furtherance of this most eminently Christian and civilizing call, asking no remuneration for their labours beyond what may be necessary for their food and dress.

"They have many flourishing Schools not only in Europe but also in the United States of America. In the East Indies they are but little known, though their services are much required. The Revd. J. M. Beurel has then full hope and confidence that the public at large

and especially his liberal friends who have so kindly lent him assistance in the building of his Church, will promote and patronise by some pecuniary assistance his views of introducing these enlightened and disinterested teachers of youth into this part of the world, where Christianity and civilization are yet so little diffused among the natives. What he requires at present is sufficient funds for the necessary expenses of their passage to this place. . . . . .

"The Central School, which is to be established at Singapore, will be at first opened by three of these European Masters in the old Roman Catholic Chapel, which is in every respect well adapted for a School-Room. English, French, Chinese and the Malay languages, together with the various branches of mathematics, book-keeping, drawing, &c., &c., &c., will be taught in the school. The principles upon which it is to be conducted will be as liberal as possibly can be: thus it will be open to every one, whatever his creed may be; and should, for instance, a boy of a persuasion different from that of Roman Catholics attend it, no interference whatever will take place with his religion, unless his parents or guardians express their wishes to have him instructed in the Catholic religion. Public religious instruction will be given to Roman Catholic boys either before or after the hours for School: but at all times the Masters will most carefully watch over the morals of the whole, whatever their religious persuasion may be."

The result was a sum of $1,352.50, and looking through the list of subscribers it is seen that there is scarcely a member of the commercial community left out. E. Boustead, J. Guthrie, W. H. Read, M. F. Davidson, G. G. Nicol, D. Fraser, J. Steel, J. Connolly, C. Carnie, Raja Brooke, W. Mactaggart, W. Napier, A. Logan, J. Armstrong, and many other well-known names, heading the list.

In 1849 there seemed no chance of getting Brothers from France owing to the revolutionary upheaval, but on the 2nd July the Bishop being in Singapore from Penang, on his third visit, gave Father Beurel written permission to establish the School under the Christian Brothers "on condition that the said Reverend Gentleman will defray all expenses of establishing and keeping up such a School out of his own resources without entailing any burden either upon the Bishop or his successors." There is a note of Father Beurel, "I accepted it with joy, in the hope that, through God's blessing, it would become light, but however the event has proved it to have been rather heavy."

In 1850 nothing could be arranged in Singapore, and it was decided in September that Father Beurel should go to France to try to carry out this important undertaking. He sailed on the 25th October in a French vessel, *L'Artilleur*, and reached Havre on 14th March. He returned with six Brothers, four sisters, a lay sister, and two young missionaries. They all went to Antwerp to join a vessel there on 3rd December, and reached Singapore on 28th March, 1852. Three of the Brothers were for Penang; the three for Singapore were Brothers Liefroy the Director, Gregory the Sub-Director, and Lothaire. Brother Antoine Liefroy was born at Auch in France on 9th August, 1809. He left Singapore in 1862 for Mangalore. He was the Brother Director and Visitor of Singapore, Penang, and Colombo. He died at Cairo in 1867.

Brother Gregory was born in Ireland in 1820, was in Singapore until 1863, when he went to India, and died there of Cholera in 1865.

Louis Antoine Combes, Brother Lothaire, was born in Loire in France in 1827. He returned from Singapore to France in 1872, and was in Singapore for a short time in 1875 and in 1877, having been in Hongkong. From 1880 to 1884 he was Director of the School in Liverpool, and then for a short time Director in London. Between 1881 and 1884 the Brothers School in Singapore was conducted by lay teachers under the direction of the Missions Etrangères. The Brothers came back again in 1885 under Brother Lothaire as Superior and the secular teachers left. Brother Lothaire died at the Sanatorium of the Mission at Fleury Meudon, near Paris, in 1899. He is remembered with much affection by his pupils.

The Christian Brothers School had been founded about 1680 at Rheims in France by John Baptist de La Salle. He was born there on 30th April, 1651, the son of the Chancellor of State to the King and President of the High Court of Rheims. The schools spread rapidly in France, extending to Paris, Chartres, Calais and Avignon, and to Rome before the close of the century.

On 2nd July, 1725, King Loius XV. issued the Letters Patent constituting the Institute, and on 26th September in the same year Pope Benedict XIII. approved by a Bull the "Institute and Rule of the Brothers of the Christian Schools." It was one of the strict rules of the Founder that no priest was received into the community; he thought that the mixing of Priests and Brothers might be a cause of division, and that the Brothers would be aspiring to be priests and prefer preaching to the humble but useful work of the Schools and the community might die out for want of teachers.

In 1886 in France alone there were 308,000 boys and 8,859 teachers. In Paris there were then 96 Schools, some of the buildings being very extensive, with gymnasiums and large military bands formed by the boys.

The founder now known as Saint De La Salle, as he was canonized on 24th May, 1900, died at Rouen on 7th April, 1719, 68 years old, on the night between Good Friday and Saturday, the large history of the Institute remarking that he went to celebrate the Paschal Feast in Paradise. He was buried on the Saturday, and in 1734 the body was exhumed and re-interred in the chapel of the Brothers, and in 1881 the remains were again removed to the chapel in the Boarding School. On Sunday, 19th February, 1888, the first ceremony of canonization took place at St. Peter's at Rome, and the following is a translation of one of the four Inscriptions, in Latin, which decorated the building on that day:—

TO JOHN BAPTIST DE LA SALLE
FOUNDER AND FATHER
OF THE BROTHERS OF THE CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS
RAISED TO THE HONOURS OF THE BLESSED
THE WHOLE CATHOLIC WORLD
SENDS UP PRAYER AND SUPPLICATION
MINGLED WITH TEARS
THAT THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH
PLACED IN GREAT PERIL BY IMPIETY
MAY NOT DEVIATE
FROM THE HOLY LAWS OF RELIGION.

The Schools spread over the continent and reached Ireland in 1804, Reunion in 1816, and Montreal in Canada in 1838. As far as can be gathered from the history, it was Father Beurel who first led to their coming further abroad, because in a map of the Schools in India and China printed on page 602 of the large and very handsome life of the founder, published in Paris in 1888, it says that the communities there were founded from 1852, and that is the year that Father Beurel brought out the first Brothers for Singapore. Algiers was not begun until 1853, and Saigon in 1866. So that Singapore seems to have been the commencement of the Schools which have now so largely spread in the East. Bishop Boucho's remark, already mentioned, that it was not likely the Superior General in Paris would send the teachers so far, seems to bear this out.

Father Beurel used to remark that it was on 6th June, 1847, the feast of Corpus Christi, at High Mass, that he first spoke about the Schools, and began to say a public prayer for their success at the High Mass on every Sunday; and that it was on the same day of the year in 1851 that the Superior General in Paris gave his consent, against almost all expectation.

On the 22nd July, 1852, a Prospectus was issued of the school. It said that it was to be a free school, to be held in the large and airy premises, lately used as the Catholic Church, No. 3, Brass Bassa Road, and as the teachers received no more than their support for their pious labours it was hoped the generous and enlightened public would support it according to their means. Every care would be taken to form the Catholic children in the solid maxims of Christian piety, but there would be no interference with the religious tenets of other creeds. This had been headed "St. John's School," the reason for which does not appear. The Director objected to the name as he wanted it called the Christian Brothers School. Messrs. G. W. Lecerf, James Isaiah Woodford, and Patrick J. Cunningham, were the first Committee, but the Director objected to a Committee, and the school was practically left under the management of the Brothers.

The School was opened on 1st May, there were three European masters. One French Brother Liefroy, and two Irish Brothers, Gregory and Swedbert. The latter died in Singapore on 1st April, 1855. Brother Lothaire had stayed at Penang. In 1860 two more masters had been added. The number of pupils at the end of the first year was 110.

The grant of land where the Boys' School now stands was dated 28th May, 1863, of the area of acre 1.3.5, and is given in trust for the Roman Catholic Community of Singapore so long as the Christian Brothers shall maintain a school.

In 1853 the French Government gave a grant of 1,000 francs a year, and the Tumongong having won a bet of $100 from the Sultan of Lingga, it was given to Father Beurel for the school. The French Government allowance gave $151.80, the Masonic Lodge gave $25, other subscriptions $792, and the Church Mission in Singapore $60. The school was in debt at the end of the year to Father Beurel for $1,528.52. In 1855 he bought the large piece of ground

at the north-east corner of the compound belonging to the Society of Foreign Missions. It had been intended to build the Procure House there, but after the arrival of the Brothers it was found necessary to buy it for their use or there would have been no compound behind the school.

At the end of 1861 the school owed Father Beurel $2,977.57. He had given $900 in donations to the School during these first ten years; $1,260 had been collected in France; $7,862 subscribed in Singapore including subscriptions for the new house; and $160 received in donations from the Masonic Lodge.

From 1854 Father Beurel received a few boarders in his house who went to the school as day scholars. In the beginning of 1855 he received 26 or 27 Boarders from Manila and Macao. Father Beurel had lived in a house in the School enclosure, and he removed in 1857 to the house at the east corner of Brass Bassa Road and Queen Street where the Catholic Club is now. At Easter the Brothers wished to take the boarders into their house. It was done, but the boys did not like the change and it led to a good deal of trouble, which Father Beurel had anticipated as there was not sufficient room to accommodate them, and the boys twice walked off in a body, and eventually the greater number returned as boarders to Father Beurel.

On Monday the 19th March, 1855, on a beautiful evening at 6 o'clock after Vespers, the corner stone of the intended new school was laid. The Sisters with all the girls from the Convent and a number of other persons were present. In a bottle laid in a granite stone in the foundation was the following paper:—"In the year of of Our Lord 1855 on the 19th of March, the feast of St. Joseph, the Glorious Patron of this Mission and especially of all the undertakings of the Rev. J. M. Beurel, for the Propagation of the Catholic Faith, the first stone of this building to be erected for the use of the venerated and pious Brethren of the Christian Schools established in the town of Singapore in the year 1852, has been laid by the Rev. Father Hypolito Huerta, of the Order of the Hermits of St. Augustin, under the patronage of and with the blessing of the Right Rev. Dr. J. B. Boucho, Bishop of Italia, the Venerable Vicar Apostolic of this Mission. Complete, O Lord, this work which is undertaken for Thy Glory and the salvation of souls in this place, under the protection of the Blessed Virgin Mary and her glorious spouse St. Joseph. Amen."

The subscription had amounted to $842 and the expense of laying the foundations for the large house was about $700. The Bishop, however, afterwards thought that it was better to delay the actual building, as Father Beurel had already undertaken much pecuniary responsibility for the Convent building, and the expense of building the Brothers' School might be more than he was able to meet for the present. The Bishop wrote that he thought there should be a little breathing time, and that it should stand over for two or three years. The result was that the building was not proceeded with until the end of 1866.

In the beginning of 1865 the Brother Director, Brother Lothaire, determined to set to work to provide a new schoolhouse, to be

used as a school and a dwelling house for the Brothers. In February, 1865, he wrote to the Government that he had been promised $4,500 for the purpose, and sent a plan of the proposed building. He asked Government for assistance, but the only result was the grant of Government bricks at the cost price to Government, and even this was not fully carried out, as the building of the new Government House required so many bricks that the promise to the School was set aside before the building was finished.

On 8th November, 1866, Brother Lothaire made a contract with a Chinese for the construction of the building, by which the contractor was to pull down the then existing class rooms, the old residence occupied by Father Paris, and the house formerly occupied by Father Beurel, and to erect a building 149 feet long, 61 feet wide, and 32 feet high, to be finished on 15th August, 1867. The contract price was $8,600, but the tiles of the old buildings and the materials for the chapel, which was to be fitted like the one in the Convent, were to be supplied by the Brothers. While the building was being erected the classes were held in Father Beurel's house, and in attap buildings, as circumstances allowed.

The Convent.

On the 7th July, 1849, Mr. Beurel wrote to Governor Butterworth that it was intended, now the Boys' School was in a fair way to be established, to found another charitable institution "on behalf of the females of all classes and conditions in the Island, including a school for respectable ladies, an orphanage, and an asylum for destitute widows, the whole to be placed under the care and direction of the Sisters of Charity." He asked for the ground next the Church in Victoria Street. The Governor in reply wrote that a large piece of land has already been given for the Church, in addition to the land on the other side of Brass Bassa Road, which was now to be used for the Boys' School; and that the ground Mr. Beurel now applied for appeared to be the only eligible spot for a new Court House, should one be erected.

On 15th July, 1852, Father Beurel again applied for the same land, to Governor Blundell, urging that the intention to build a new Court House had been abandoned, and that the land was being only used by the convicts to store firewood and cut up timber, which disturbed people in the Church. The Governor replied that the land could not be parted with.

On 18th August, 1852, Father Beurel bought with his own money, for $4,000, the house at the corner of Victoria Street and Brass Bassa Road. It is the large house that is still standing next the main entrance, and was built by Mr. Coleman for Mr. Caldwell. This was the beginning of the Convent buildings, which now cover so large a space, being much larger than those of any other ecclesiastical body in Singapore, and having a large open space with grass and trees in the centre.

Father Beurel afterwards bought, with his own monies, four of the lots of land which were sold by the Trustees of the Raffles Institution as already stated on page 124. These comprised 14,200 square yards or 127,800 square feet; and on 27th December, 1863,

he conveyed it, as a gift of his own, to "the Reverend Mother St. Mathilde and her successors in office as Superior of the Convent, in order to establish a Convent and charitable Institution for the Sisters of the Charitable Institution of the Holy Infant Jesus."

On 20th December, 1853, Father Beurel bought an adjoining house for $3,000, which was to become the Orphanage. This has long been pulled down.

The Society to which Father Beurel applied in France for help in finding Sisters for the Convent, is called the Institute of the Charitable Schools of the Holy Infant Jesus of St. Maur. [L'Institut des Ecoles Charitables du Saint Enfant Jésus de Saint Maur.] It was founded by the Rev. Father Nicolas Barré, at Rouen in 1666, and in 1673 he founded the Seminary at Paris in the Rue St. Maur, where it still stands; but the street is now called Rue de l'Abbé Grégoire. Abbé Tiberge in 1670 purchased the land, and nine years afterwards bought adjoining properties which he left by his will to the Sisters for the instruction of poor children. He had been the Director in Paris of the Missions Etrangères, and was one of its great benefactors, and a well-known author. He died on 9th October, 1730, at the age of 79 years, and was buried with much ceremony in their Chapel.

It seems to have been due to Father Beurel that the Society of St. Maur sent the first Sisters away from France. It is certain that the first Mission founded at a distance was that of the Straits. On 17th November, 1851, the first four sisters left Paris, the Mother of the Society going with them from the Rue de l'Abbé Grégoire to Antwerp to see them off under care of Father Beurel. This is stated at length in the History of the Society, which says in a footnote, that the foundation proposed for Singapore was first begun at Penang, and that the work in Singapore started a little later in 1854. It also says that between 1851 and 1877, twelve departures of sisters for the East succeeded each other at intervals; the Superior, Mother de Faudoas, in religion, Sister St. François de Sales, always accompanying them to the ship. She died on 27th August, 1877, at the age of 70 years, having been 56 years in the Society, and its head for forty years. The history attributes chiefly to her the founding of the convents at Penang, Singapore, Malacca, Yokohama, Tokio, and the first arrangements for that at Bangkok.

It has been said on page 261 that when Father Beurel returned from France in 1852 he was accompanied from Antwerp by four sisters. Among these was Mother St. Paulin, the Superior, who died and was buried at sea about fifteen days before the vessel arrived at Singapore. On their arrival in Singapore the Bishop, to the great disappointment of Father Beurel, sent the Sisters to Penang after they had only been about eight days in Singapore, and suggested to Father Beurel to write to Calcutta to try and get some Irish Sisters, who were at Dacca and wished to leave there. Father Beurel did not like the proposal, which was not carried out, and he wrote to France to try to induce others to come.

Very soon a second party left France, starting from Southampton and crossing the desert in caravans. On their way they met Father

Bigandet in the desert who was very much astonished to see them, and was not pleased because they could not all speak English. In this party there were Mother St. Mathilde, who came as Superior to take the place of Mother St. Paulin who had died at sea; Sister St. Apollinaire, Sister St. Damien, and Sister St. Gregoire. It has been thought in Singapore that Mother St. Mathilde (to whom, as will be shewn presently, the Convent and Singapore owe so much) came out with Father Beurel, but it was not the case. She was the first Superior who arrived in Singapore for the Convent, as her predecessor had died on the voyage, which has probably led to the mistake.

Mother St. Mathilde stayed first at Penang, as Superior, with all the Sisters, and after a year she came to Singapore, on 6th February, 1854, with Sisters St. Gaetan, Apollinaire, and Gregoire. Mother St. Damien remained at Penang as the Superior there.

The third party left France in 1853, and arrived in Singapore in February 1854. There were three Sisters, of whom two, Sisters St. Patrick and St. Leonard remained in Penang, and the other was Sister St. Gaetan, who came to Singapore, and was, for twenty years, Mother Superior of the Convent.

Mother St. Mathilde remained in Singapore, until 20th June, 1874, when she went to Yokohama and there founded the two Convents at Yokohama and Tokio which have since increased so largely. She has since made two short visits to Singapore, and is at the present time living in the Convent at Yokohama, at the very advanced age of eighty-eight years, after being half a century in the East. So it seems likely that, like Father Beurel, she will die far away from the place where she laid the solid foundations for the good work of the Convent in Singapore, which owes as much to her as the other institutions of the Church do to Father Beurel.

When Mother St. Mathilde went to Japan, with Sister St. Gregoire, in 1874, Mother St. Gaetan became Superior. In 1858 an English Lady, called in religion Sister St. Joseph, had come out to the Convent. She had been a Protestant, and two of her sisters, who came to Singapore on two occasions to see her, used to go to St. Andrew's Church. She died of consumption, on 31st May, 1883, after many years illness, during which she persistently strove to carry on her work in the class-rooms with the pupils who were very much attached to her. These two ladies, working together, (the French lady with her musical ability and very refined manners, and the English lady with her experience of life outside a convent's walls, having been brought up in a Protestant family), made the Convent a perfect home for the large number of pupils and orphans who lived in it. After Sister St. Joseph's death, Mother St. Gaetan used to say that she seemed to have lost half of herself, and she certainly felt her loss very much. Mother St. Gaetan herself went to Europe in ill-health, and died in London in 1892, where she had gone to found the first Convent of the Society there.

During these years the buildings had grown. In 1855 a small house was built for boarders. Afterwards it was pulled down and the long building behind Mr. Caldwell's house was put up. Then the Chapel and the schoolrooms were built, as money could be collected

to pay for them. At last, in 1891 and 1892, the long, large building at the southern boundary of the land was put up. It cost $30,000, of which the Government gave $10,000, as it was then the rule for the Government to aid towards school buildings. The rest of the money was raised by subscriptions. Cheang Hong Lim, a rich Chinese, since dead, gave $3,000; considerable sums were added by the liberality of Protestants in Singapore; the Congregation of the Church, which is far from as well off as the Protestant community, gave little by little, but constantly, of their means, and the required sum was eventually raised.

There is a Religious Society in France called La Sainte Enfance, the published accounts of which, issued each year, can be seen by all. The funds, collected in many cases in very small weekly or monthly subscriptions of a few sous, are devoted to paying for the keep of children of heathen parents; a certain sum being allowed per head to the Convent which provides for them. The amount allowed in 1900, and it varies very little, was 21,000 francs for all the Convents in the Straits, at Singapore, Malacca, Kuala Lumpor, Taipeng and Penang. It is in this way only that the Convent in Singapore receives any money help from France, and a very small sum it is, compared with the necessary expense of keeping up such an establishment as the Convent, which at the time when this is given to the printer at the end of 1901 has within its walls from 300 to 320 inmates.

Where then, it may be asked, does the rest of the money come from day by day to provide for so many? Consider the money spent on salaries in the other charitable institutions and schools in the Straits, and then seek to know, which there is no difficulty in ascertaining, what is the corresponding expense in the Convent of those who devote their lives to their work for the work's sake; and there is half the answer. There is the Government Grant, as in the Schools of other denominations; and, for the rest, it is sometimes said that the Roman Catholic communities are good beggars, and given a certain proportion of paying pupils (but a great number of orphans and children for whom nothing can be expected to be paid, but are willingly gathered in.) and day by day the needful food is found. The work may be carried on under difficulties, but it never fails, and continues to grow. It requires little discrimination on the part of children or their parents to appreciate the advantage of being under the instruction of refined and well-educated ladies whose only aim, it is apparent, is the good that they are doing, and who are without any motive of self-interest or self-advantage, for where can this find place in their dependent lives; and when for such good reasons, some Protestant parents are glad to send their children as day scholars to learn their lessons or their music there, they know that the school fees go to help to feed and clothe another class of children who badly need it.

This Chapter would seem very imperfect if it did not emphasize the long and arduous work of Father Beurel in the interest of the Roman Catholic Church and of the Congregation during thirty-five

years. He carried out the work of the Parish as regards its pecuniary affairs in the most business-like way, and left behind him most accurate accounts and details in writing of all that took place, which have all been placed at the disposal of the compiler of this book while writing this chapter. At the beginning of the first book, a large volume, he has written in French "The Annals of the Catholic Mission at Singapore, written by the undersigned in his moments of leisure. J. M. Beurel, M. Ap."

In reading the books one is struck with the difficulties he met with, and the way he surmounted them. We find the Bishop objecting to his going on with buildings because he was, not at all unreasonably, afraid of the responsibility of Father Beurel incurring liabilities which he would not have the means to meet, and quoting the text in Luke xiv., about a man building a tower without counting the cost and not having wherewith to complete it, at which those that behold him, mock.

It has sometimes been thought in Singapore that all these buildings and the schools, and the work of the Church, had been very largely due to pecuniary help from France, without which they would not have existed, nor the work of the clergy carried on. The documents and accounts show exactly the opposite, and it is for this reason that so many details of the expense and the source of the money for the buildings has been given in this chapter The local Government gave the land free, as it has done to all charitable bodies for churches and schools, but the church received no money aid from Government, like the Raffles Institution and the Church of England. We have seen how on one occasion Father Beurel found so many difficulties in his way that he went to Burmah to join Father Bigandet, not intending to return, but doing so, at the earnest request of the Congregation, to continue the work he had taken in hand, which he lived to see completed.

The third volume of the History of the Society, at page 247, contains a special account of Father Beurel, as he was considered to have done remarkable work for the Mission. The following is a translation of one passage; "of an unalterable calm, a combination of human philosophy and saintly resignation, of perseverance that nothing could deter, neither blind opposition nor active hostility; neither the anger of the great nor the menaces of the small; he was one of those who know that in the affairs of this life a direct line is not necessarily the shortest road from one point to another; when an obstacle stood in his path and he could not clear it in a single bound, he would go round it gently and quietly, with a smile which bore witness to his confidence in the future."

He spent the whole of his private means, which were not inconsiderable, in Church buildings, and he was not the only instance of the kind among the Roman Catholic clergy in the Straits.

Bishop Bigandet, then Bishop of Burmah, was in Singapore for one week in October, 1884, on his way to Rangoon; and on Sunday the 12th, at High Mass in the Church of the Good Shepherd, when there was a large congregation, for he was very much respected, he said on going up into the pulpit and turning to the congregation, that before commencing his sermon, he wished to recall to the minds of them all,

the memory of Father Beurel, and of all he had done for the congregation. And then, after a pause, he commenced his sermon.

Father Beurel was ill in Paris for about three years before he died. He was buried there, and not, as all the congregation would have wished, in the Church he had built. There is a portrait of him in the Parochial House, but the best remembrance of him is the large Church, the Convent and the Brothers' School close by.

Some of the older members of the congregation at this time were boys taken by him into his house and brought up by him for useful work in the place. Among them an old Chinese resident, while this chapter was in the printer's hands, has given the names of Mr. John Scheerder, Mr. Martia, Buan Seng the shipping clerk of a large European firm, and Tan Hay Seng, the son of Pedro No Kia, a wealthy Chinese member of the congregation in the older days.

There is an old and true story of how Governor Butterworth thought Father Beurel had outwitted him by building the Parochial House on the ground that had been given only for the Church; but Father Beurel always said that it was an ecclesiastical building connected with the Church and therefore was within the meaning, if not the letter, of the lease. It used therefore to be thought by some in Singapore that Father Beurel was rather too clever a man of business; but this was only one side of the matter. When one looks at the large buildings just spoken of, and then at the Churches at Bukit Timah, Serangoon and Johore, the large Church of S.S. Peter and Paul for the Chinese behind the Brothers' School, and the Church of St. Mary of Lourdes for the Tamils at a short distance from it, the work that has been done is as striking as the small remuneration for which their Clergy do such willing work, giving their own private means, as well as their whole lives, to the calling they follow. When remembering the number of those who have ended their lives in Singapore, and looking at the long rows of tombs of Sisters of the Convent at the Cemetery in Bukit Timah Road, there are many (not of their communion alone) who will echo the words which are put at the end of "The Obituary" at the close of the yearly report of the Société des Missions Etrangères for 1900, "*Sit Memoria illorum in benedictione.*"

THE PORTUGUESE MISSION.

The Rev. Francisco de Silva Pinto e Maia of Porto, who has already been spoken of in this chapter, is shown by the records of the Portuguese Church to have arrived at Singapore on 7th April, 1825, and commenced the Mission which still exists under the patronage of the Portuguese Crown. He built a parochial house with a small chapel attached to it, and worked indefatigably for twenty-five years. Father Maia died in Singapore on 17th February, 1850. He was buried at the old cemetery, and his remains were transferred to the Church of St. José after that Church was built. He left all he had, including some land he had bought, for the erection of the Church.

The Rev. Vincente de Santo Catharina succeeded Father Maia, and he erected the main building of the present Church of St. José in Victoria Street, which cost about $15,000. The greater part of the money was derived from the gifts of Father Maia, supplemented by a sum of $2,000 from the King of Portugal and by local subscriptions. The foundation stone was laid on the 14th December, 1851, the following inscription being made upon it :—

"The first stone of this Portuguese Roman Catholic Church at Singapore, consecrated to the service of the ALMIGHTY GOD, in honour of the HOLY VIRGIN and St. JOSEPH, was laid by the Vicar VICENTE DE SANTA CATHARINA on the 14th day of December, A. D. 1851, and the Church erected by contribution from the fund of the Mission of St. Joseph of Macao and those of the inhabitants of Macao and of this island, raised through the instrumentality and noble zeal of JOAQUIM D'ALMEIDA, Esq., and the aforesaid Vicar, in the 5th year of the Pontificate of Pius IX., the 25th year of the reign of DONA MARIA II. Queen of Portugal, the 14th year of the reign of Her Britannic Majesty Queen VICTORIA, and the 9th year of the administration of Colonel WILLIAM JOHN BUTTERWORTH, C.B., Governor of Prince of Wales' Island, Singapore and Malacca."

In 1868 the Church was enlarged by the addition of two wings, and the Parochial House was repaired and extended. The Portuguese Government gave $9,000, and a subscription was raised among the community.

A School for children was established by Father José Pedro Sta Anna de Cunha in June, 1879, in a shop-house in Middle Road opposite the Parochial House. In 1880 it was moved into a compound house in Victoria Street, near the Church, and in 1886 to the new building specially erected for the purpose in the Church compound, towards the expense of which the local government contributed $4,000, as it had done to other schools. In 1893 the Girls' School was separated from the boys, the ground floor of the Parochial House being fitted as a school for boys, and in 1894 the Society of the Conosianas Sisters in Italy took charge of the Girls' School.

The Portuguese Mission was under the Archbishop of Goa until 1887, when the jurisdiction was transferred to the Bishop of Macao.

CHAPTER XXII.

1835.

IN February the flag-staff at Blakan Mati was given up. In August, 1834, orders had been received from Bengal for Mr. Coleman to prepare plans and estimates for an iron suspension bridge, and on the 28th February, 1835, the bridge arrived from Calcutta on board the *Will Watch*. The estimate was $10,680.

In May, petitions were signed by all the European Mercantile Community addressed to the King and to the Governor-General of India on the subject of piracy, which was very bad at this time, even at a short distance outside the limits of the harbour, some Europeans being attacked in sampans when going out to board vessels; also as to the want of Admiralty Jurisdiction; and also regarding the restriction against American vessels being allowed to trade with Singapore.

The latter had been a vexed question for several years. Soon after the termination of the American War, a convention was made at London in July, 1815, by which the trade by American vessels were restricted to the principal settlements of the East Indies, viz., Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and Prince of Wales' Island, which latter was, at the time, the only British Settlement in the Straits of Malacca. Singapore was not established and Malacca was about to be restored to the Dutch. The Americans, under this convention, resumed their trade with the British possessions in India, which had been interrupted by the war of 1812, and, after the expiration of the time to which the convention was limited, they still followed their trade with these countries as usual.

In 1819 Singapore was added to the British Possessions in India, with the avowed purpose of making it a Free Port, and a general depot of British trade in the Far East. Moreover, it became a principal Settlement under a Governor of its own, subject only to the authorities at home and to the Supreme Government of Bengal. The Americans came to trade at Singapore, and their merchant ships added to the number of foreigners who habitually frequented the port, and as they most commonly brought specie to invest in eastern commodities brought to the Settlement, they were among its most valuable customers.

They believed and so did the inhabitants of the place, that a fair construction of former treaties and past practice (although after the expiration of the term for which such treaties were made), allowed for their trading still to the possessions of the East India Company, and they accordingly came here under the same security as they went to other principal places in the East Indies.

Things remained in this harmonious state till the Commander of H. M. S. *Larne*, in 1825, taking a different view of the subject, thought

proper to detain the American ship *Governor Endicott*, found in the neighbourhood and avowedly bound to this place. She was sent to Calcutta, and there put under trial; but as she had *not traded* in this port, that important question did not come up, and the Court had no opportunity of giving an opinion. The ship having committed no alleged breach of law, was acquitted, and damages were adjudged against the Commander of the *Larne*.

The detention of the *Governor Endicott* had the effect of deterring the Americans from trading with this place as formerly, under an apprehension of being seized and sent to a distant port to undergo a long and expensive trial, and perhaps not realize one shilling of any damages which might be adjudged to them by the Court, as in the case of the *Governor Endicott*, the owners of which were said never to have received any part of the amount of damages recovered against the Captain of the *Larne*. To avoid, therefore, any such difficulty, they had resorted to the indirect practice of effecting their purpose through the neighbouring Dutch Port of Rhio, or other adjacent places.

The American vessels used to anchor in a bay called *Boolang* on the island of Battam, opposite Singapore, about fourteen miles E. S. E. from the roads, and beyond British jurisdiction. The cargo was sent out in boats from Singapore, and the only result of a foolish system was the delay and expense of conveying the produce by boats to Boolang. In 1830, Mr. C. R. Read had been to England to try to get the trade allowed, and there was only one opinion as to the inconsistency of the regulation.

Mr. Balestier, who was the American Consul, lived in Singapore, but ostensibly had his office at Rhio, styling himself Consul for the port of Rhio, in the Island of Bintang and such other ports as were nearer thereto than to the residence of any other Consul for the United States. In November, 1836, he was recognised by the Court of Directors in London, and became Consul at Singapore in June, 1837, and American ships were allowed to trade on the same footing as those of other nations. The result was a large increase in the trade with America, nearly 8,000 tons of shipping visiting the port in the year ending 30th June, 1837.

In this year Captain Newbold says it was proposed by an American Missionary that Colonies of young men and women should come to the Straits to spread science and civilisation! Each Colony of these philanthropists was to comprise five to fifteen families, or thirty to ninety individuals, to include agriculturists, carpenters, goldsmiths, shoemakers and a religious pastor. They were to rely on their own resources, and have a sort of common stock. It was thought that such colonies would be highly serviceable to the Straits. This remarkable scheme to found families who were to remain in this country, and their descendants after them, did not come to a practical trial. The result in such a climate could easily have been foreseen.

In June Governor Murchison returned from leave and resumed charge of his office. Mr. Bonham and Mr. Wingrove being the Resident Councillor and Assistant Resident at Singapore.

In July the garden in Commercial Square was enclosed with a dwarf wall with wooden railing, and the ground levelled, planted with ornamental trees, and laid out with paths.

In August a prospectus was published of a Bank, proposed to be established in Singapore, to be called the Singapore and Ceylon Bank, with a Board of Directors in London, with a Capital of £200,000 divided into five thousand shares of £40 each. The responsibility of the shareholders to be limited by the Charter. It came to nothing.

On the 26th September, a very daring burglary, long remembered in Singapore, took place at Mr. McMicking's house at Duxton, near Spottiswoode Park. A numerous gang of Chinese broke into the bed-room of Mr. McMicking, and inflicted such severe wounds on him that he was unable to offer any resistance, and the gang plundered the room of everything they could lay their hands on, and decamped. There were two other gentlemen in the house, but they were not in the room in time to be of service either in the apprehension or identification of the robbers. Several Chinese were arrested, among others the water-carrier, who was recognised by the syce, and was arrested the next morning; he was hiding in the jungle, instead of being at his usual occupation.

A fire took place in the same week near Cross Street and seventy-seven native houses were burnt, and property destroyed, estimated in value at five thousand dollars.

In October a gang of fifty or sixty armed Chinese attacked the house of a Bengalee named Sarawan, at the new kampong, called Buffalo Village, now called Kandang Kerbau. The inmates were awakened by the barking of their dogs, and were prepared with loaded fire-arms, as after the attack on Mr. McMicking's house, people were on the alert. The robbers attempted to break in, when one of the Bengalis fired a musket from an upper window and killed one of the gang, who was carried off by his companions. The inmates then sallied out, accompanied by several neighbours, who had caught the alarm, and gave chase. They succeeded in capturing one of the gang, and found the one that had been shot lying dead on the road. The one they caught tried to fight, and was so severely beaten with clubs by the Bengalis that he died in the hospital two hours after, and two others of the gang were shot by some Javanese, who had gathered close by.

A Coroner's Inquest brought in a verdict of justifiable homicide; and the authorities rewarded the most active of the men who had been concerned in it. The police thought that a further attack would be made the following night, and a body of peons were concealed in the jungle. They apprehended three Chinese who were lurking about with arms. Those engaged in the burglary were supposed to be the same as those who were concerned in the attack on Duxton, and the leader of the gang was a man formerly employed as a gardener there. It was generally thought that the very low and unremunerative wages for agricultural labour at the time were the cause of the existence of such organised bands of Chinese, but others said that they were men who came to Singapore purposely to plunder. The effects of these attacks was to prevent the extension of the town, as life and property were not considered safe beyond its immediate precincts.

In October the *Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser* issued its first number. It was started by Mr. William Napier, the lawyer, Mr. Lorrain, Mr. Boustead and Mr. Coleman. Mr. Boustead, in addition to his mercantile work, had been helping to edit the *Singapore Chronicle* for some time, and when Mr. Carnegy came from Penang and purchased the paper, it was agreed to start the new paper to advance the interests of the place. It was a weekly paper of four pages, published on Thursdays, the last page containing a price current, shipping reports, and mercantile information. The first number contained a curious advertisement by a priest of the Portuguese Mission in Malacca, protesting against certain acts of the Vicar of St. Peter's Church in Malacca for having rashly arrogated to himself an unlimited power in selling a garden (which cost $200) and a gold crown (which cost $80) the property of the Church; contrary to the laws, statutes, and determinations of the Holy Canons and the Sacred Council, and to the injury of the rights of the Bishop of Goa. It also contained the prospectus of a work to be called "Notices of the Indian Archipelago," afterwards published by Mr. Moor. The first numbers contained a series of letters on the subject of the cultivation of land in Singapore, which the writer considered would be fertile if a few of the largest trees were left to prevent the soil being parched up by the sun and to attract moisture from the clouds. He recommended sugar-cane as likely to yield an abundant crop, but it was tried on a large scale afterwards at Balestier Plain, and resulted in great loss.

On St. Andrew's day, a large dinner was given by the Scotchmen of Singapore; Dr. Montgomerie and Mr. William Napier presided, and Messrs. Spottiswoode, Lorrain, Carnie and Stephen were stewards. It was given in the upper rooms of the Court House, and the hour was half-past six. The Malacca Band had been learning some appropriate airs for the respective toasts, which the *Straits Chronicle* said were an ineffable treat to all admirers of music! There were about seventy subscribers. On the following evening a ball was given by them, and the ladies wore tartan scarves, and several gentlemen appeared in the garb of old Gaul, and the party did not break up till daylight. This (said the paper) was the first celebration of the Feast of St. Andrew at Singapore.

In November the Canton authorities affected to be alarmed at the appearance of the first steamer, the *Jardine*, in China, and the Hoppo issued orders to her to *spread her sails* and return to her own country, which however, was not complied with, but in the following January the owners were obliged to send her away, and she came down to Singapore. The following is the concluding passage in the edict issued at Canton on the 7th January, 1836:—"Further, the Acting Governor and myself have corresponded (on the subject); and if the said foreigner's *smoke-ship* arrives (at the Bogue) immediately open and attack her hull with a thundering fire, and those who succeed in knocking her to pieces shall certainly be promoted (over others). If the orders are disobeyed and she enters, the least guilty shall be reported to the Emperor, degraded from office and wear the wooden collar; the most guilty shall be punished according to military law (*i.e.*, exiled to the frontiers as slaves to the army). No indulgence will be shown to

any through the whole affair. Now, at this time, the Imperial orders are sternly severe; she (the steamer) cannot be allowed to linger about until some disturbance happens. Besides replying to and ordering the said Macao Custom House Weiyuen strictly to enjoin the pilots, morning and night, to be on the look out, and on no account to be negligent in their guard; it is proper to proceed to drive her out. When these orders reach the said hong merchants, let them respectfully obey, and send them immediately to the foreigners, who manage the affairs of the said nation, to issue urgent orders to the said ship to fix a day for spreading her sails and returning to her own country; she is not allowed to make pretexts, linger about, and cause a disturbance.—A Special Edict."

The *smoke-ship* afterwards came to Singapore, and her singular adventures are related in a future chapter.

Towards the end of this year, it was known that the Local Government had received orders from Calcutta to frame a schedule of duties to be levied on trade, to provide means to put down piracy. It was said that such a scale of duties might be made as would answer that object, and yet, at the same time, preserve native trade from the vexatious interference of a Custom House, and this double object was to be attained by imposing a duty on a certain class of shipping only. It was said, on the other side, that the imposition of duties threatened more serious injury to trade than piracy itself, and that the increasing trade of Singapore, which was the resort of numbers of natives who had been formerly traders with Dutch ports, was due to the facility with which they were allowed to trade here.

In November it was advertised that Mr. Thomas McMicking had been admitted a partner in Syme & Co.'s firm at Singapore, Batavia and Manila, and that Andrew Hay and Walter Scott Duncan commenced the firm of Hay and Duncan. In December the Church services were held in the Court House instead of in the Mission Chapel, as before, as the Rev. Samuel Wolfe, of the London Missionary Society, held services in that Chapel on Sunday evenings at seven o'clock.

On Tuesday, 22nd December, an attempt was made to set fire to the town. In Market Street there were a number of wooden houses belonging to Chong Long, all tenanted except one, in which some persons had piled up a quantity of dammar and other combustible materials. The peons in going their rounds at night noticed smoke coming from the vacant house, and knowing it to be unoccupied they broke in and extinguished the fire, which in a few minutes, as there was a strong wind blowing, would have consumed, the paper said, a great part of the town. The Magistrates issued a notice offering a reward for information regarding the incendiaries.

PIRACY.

It was about this time that serious efforts were made to stop piracy. The numerous islands and little rivers afforded a hundred shelters, and the natives on the coasts were barbarous, rapacious, and poor, which tended strongly to beget a piractical character, and it was not surprising (Mr. Crawfurd remarked in an article he wrote on the subject) that the Malays should have been notorious for their depre-

dations. They formed large fleets, as in September, 1830, the boats of H. M. S. *Southampton* and the East India Co.'s Schooner *Diamond* had an engagement in the Straits of Malacca with a fleet of about thirty piratical prahus which lasted for several hours, as has been said on page 210. Mr. Earl says in his book that in 1835 the Malay pirates absolutely swarmed in the neighbourhood of Singapore, and carried it on in a perfectly systematic manner.

On the 23rd April, 1835, a public meeting was held in Singapore and a memorial was sent to the Governor-General and to the King in Council on the subject.

The result of the complaints was that H. M. Sloop *Wolf*, which had been commissioned in England in May, 1834, arrived in Singapore from Madras and Penang on the 22nd March, 1836. She was commanded by Captain Edward Stanley, and the first Lieutenant was Mr. Henry James, who died, a retired Commander, in his ninety-ninth year, in 1898. His son Mr. H. G. James, is now in Singapore. In 1899 Captain James's life entitled "A Midshipman in Search of Promotion" was published in London, and it gives an account, taken from his logs and letters, of the services of the *Wolf* at Singapore at this time.

She went twice to Calcutta to take pirates from Singapore to be tried there, as the Court in Singapore had no jurisdiction to try them until, by Letters Patent of 25th February, 1837, Admiralty Jurisdiction was given to the local Court for the purpose. On one of these occasions, the 29th May, 1837, just as the vessel was leaving Singapore for Calcutta, eleven Malay prisoners, who had been captured at Pulo Tinggi, taking advantage of the carelessness of the sentry, jumped overboard in the harbour and swam away. Five of them were caught by the ship's boats, but the rest escaped. On the morning of Wednesday, 4th October, 1836, two pirates, who had been convicted at Calcutta, were hung on the sea beach in Singapore.

The newspaper in 1836 contained numerous accounts of pirates, and remarked that, if fully detailed, their frequency would furnish matter for a paper to be exclusively devoted to their notice. The Opium brig *Lady Grant*, carrying four hundred chests, was attacked off the Sambilang Islands in the Straits of Malacca by five large prahus, and followed for some distance until it fell calm at midnight. The brig fired broadsides of grape and canister, and disabled the boats, one of which was of very large size carrying a black flag, and full of men. Native traders and even fishing boats coming into Singapore were continually attacked.

The pirates had a regular station at the Dindings where they went to refit, and kept their stores, plunder and captives. At one time, there were eighty men, women and children kept captive there, when H. M. S. *Rosa* went and attacked them.

The day the *Wolf* arrived at Singapore a bad case of piracy had occurred off Point Romania, the entrance to the China Sea, and the ship, accompanied by the East India Co.'s Schooner *Zephyr*, Captain Congalton, went off at once on a cruise to the eastward, and chased three large pirate prahus which were attacking a native vessel under Dutch colours at Point Romania, but the pirates escaped. The next day thirteen large prahus were attacked, and musketry fire was briskly

exchanged between the ship's boats and the pirates. As there was no wind the vessels could not follow the boats up, and five more prahus came out of a river near Point Romania, and joined the thirteen. They all escaped, as the ammunition in the boats was exhausted, and the men-of-war were too far away to give assistance. Some of the prahus were of considerable size, with cloth sails, and were rigged as three-masted schooners.

The following is an account that appeared in the *Free Press* of one of the pirate boats captured by the *Wolf*, on one of these occasions:—"The prahu captured was 54 feet in length and fifteen feet beam, but their general length was 56 feet. They were strongly built, with a round stern, and the stern post, having a considerable curve, on which the rudder, made to fit, was hung on a pintle and gudgeon. The decks, after the same fashion as the Malay prahus, were made of split neebong, being cut into convenient lengths, so that any part of the deck could be rolled up. The depth of hold was about six feet. From the upper edge of the prahus a projection of bamboo, nearly two feet broad, was made all round the vessel, from the stockade near the bow to the stern, on the outer edge of which was raised, of the same material, a breastwork about three feet high, and outside this their rattan plaited cables were placed around, one coil above another, an excellent protection against shot.

"These vessels were double-banked, pulling 36 oars, 18 on each side, nine of which rested on the edge of the prahu, passing through the projecting raised work already alluded to; the upper tier of nine oars, being worked over all the lower tier, were pulled by men sitting on the deck inside the boat itself, the upper by others sitting on the projecting bamboo work, whose heads could barely be seen above it. The oars were worked diagonally in the style, as has been supposed by some authors, of the ancient war galleys, by which contrivance considerable room was saved. Indeed this work projecting from the side of the vessel favoured in some measure the ingenious theory of the late General Melville in his essay on the galleys of the Greeks and Romans.

"The rowers among these pirates were of the lower castes, or slaves captured in their cruizes; hence a strong Chinese became a valuable acquisition to them; and the oars could admit of two men pulling at each if necessary. Their rigging was of the most simple kind, a large sail forward and a smaller sail abaft, made of light mats sewed together, stretched on bamboos above and below, having cross pieces at intervals from top to bottom in the foresail only, which was hoisted on a triangle of stout bamboos forming the fore-mast. This was done exactly like the Bugis boats, a bamboo lashed close to the outer edge of the vessel on each side; and a third, fastened to the deck amidships immediately behind the stockade, is brought up to meet the two upright pieces, and all are lashed together at the top, forming a very efficient support to the sail, and excellently adapted for resisting shot; in fact it was found very difficult to shoot them away, for when struck by shot they were only split and still stood as well as before. The small mast behind was a spar.

"The working of their sails was likewise very simple, for when the prahu went about, the tacks and braces were let go, the bow pulled somewhat round, and the sail turned round to the other side of

the mast, fore the tacks, boused down; and the braces, which led aft, made fast, and so the vessel was on the other tack.

"Each prahu had a stockade, not far from the bow, through which was pointed an iron four-pounder; another stockade abaft, on which was stuck two swivels, and around the sides were from three to six guns of the same description, all brass, stuck upon upright pieces of wood; they had likewise muskets, spears, &c., and many of the pirates wore very large bamboo shields covering all the upper part of the body. The fighting men wore long hair which they let loose in the battle, to give them a savage appearance. It may be mentioned that the orang kaya's prahu was armed with brass guns, according to the report of his son, who was one of the captives."

In May, 1836, H. M. S. *Andromache* came from Trincomalee. She was commanded by Captain Chads, a very distinguished man; he died Sir Henry Ducie Chads, G.C.B., near the top of the Admiral's list. On the 29th December, 1812, he had been first lieutenant of the frigate *Java* of 36 guns, 18 pounders, Captain Henry Lambert, which was burnt and sunk in action with the American ship *Constitution* in the war with America. The Captain was killed, and there is a monument to him in St. Paul's Cathedral. The command then devolved on Lieutenant Chads, who was promoted in consequence. A great number of officers, sailors and marines were killed and wounded in the action.

Captain Chads afterwards commanded the *Cambrian* in Singapore and China, and Mr. W. H. Read says that he was on board her in the harbour in Singapore when the *Constitution*, years afterwards, came round St. John's Island. The old Captain got quite excited and exclaimed "What would I give to have twenty minutes with her *now!*" His son Henry Chads, still alive, is now Sir Henry Chads, K.C.B., an Admiral on the retired list. He was afterwards first lieutenant of the *Harlequin*, and was desperately wounded, losing his left arm, in an attack on Acheen pirates. Sir James Brooke was wounded at the same time. This was in 1844. Mr. R. O Norris writes "I remember Lieutenant Chads, because Padre White used to give lectures in Coleman Street, which the boys from the Institution and the girls from Miss Whittle's School attended. Probably Miss Coleman, Miss Ryan, and myself are the only ones now in Singapore who remember Lieutenant Chads, who came to the lectures. We boys noticed that he had lost his left arm, and thought him a hero." Mr. Earl says in his book, page 383, that the *Andromache* made some very formidable attacks on the pirates, and adopted a very successful ruse by disguising the vessel so that it was mistaken for a native merchant ship. She had passed through the harbour to the west, and came back the next day through the harbour disguised as a Dutch trader, came across pirates outside, and gave them a lesson as they ranged alongside his ship. The Malays then fancied that every square-rigged vessel which they met was a man-of-war.

The *Andromache* went to attack a noted stronghold on the island of Gallang, in the Rhio Archipelago. A great quantity of things, the result of piracy, were found, and a junk of 300 tons which had been captured on her way from Cochin-China. About thirty large boats and fifty smaller ones were destroyed, and a very large quantity of

ammunition was found. The boats were fitted with large guns and all sorts of piratical contrivances, and there was not the least trace on the island of any cultivation or industry, although there were large villages sufficient to contain several thousand inhabitants.

An old Singapore paper speaks of a midshipman then on board the *Andromache*, named Henry Chads. This was the present Sir Henry Chads, just spoken of.

The *Free Press*, in connection with piracy, spoke of the slave traffic that was then carried on; one writing from personal knowledge saying that the island of Nias, Sumatra, in particular, the largest and most populous opposite that coast, was the place where the curse seemed to exist most; that on board any of the numerous small prahus going in the direct route from that island to the North West Coast, young boys and girls would be found, either kidnapped by the dealers, or purchased by them for the numerous petty Rajahs. And at any of the settlements in Sumatra, these unhappy victims were exposed for sale in the ships like any other goods. The writer said that he had happened in 1835 to see four young women, just imported for sale in this way, their owner answering enquiries from intending purchasers with the same indifference as he answered those of another customer who was buying a piece of cloth.

The third man-of-war which was in Singapore for the same purpose, was the *Raleigh*, Captain Michael Quin, a famous character, who also was on the Admiral's list when he died, as was also Captain Stanley of the *Wolf*.

On the 7th September, 1837, a public dinner was given to Captain Stanley and the Officers of the *Wolf* by the Chamber of Commerce at Calcutta, for their services against pirates in the Straits.

At the Assizes which were held in June, 1838, the jury were mostly occupied with piracy cases, and on the last day, which was a Saturday, eighteen Malays were tried and convicted, three others were so ill of their wounds that their trial was postponed. Some of the men were executed on the following Monday.

On Thursday, 14th June, a public dinner was given by the mercantile community to Captain Stanley and the officers of the *Wolf*, in testimony of the sense entertained of their services in the suppression of piracy. Mr. Spottiswoode gave his house, and it was said to be the largest party that had been assembled in Singapore. The Governor and Resident Councillor were present, and Mr. Shaw was Chairman. Captain Congalton of the *Diana*, was away, but his health was drunk also with much enthusiasm.

The Chamber of Commerce presented an address to Captain Stanley, and a sword with the following inscription:—"Presented to Captain Edward Stanley, by the European and Chinese Mercantile Community of Singapore, in testimony of the grateful sense entertained by them of his unwearied and successful exertions for the suppression of piracy in the Straits of Malacca and adjacent seas, during the years 1836, 1837 and 1838, while commanding Her Majesty's Sloop *Wolf*." The value of the sword was one hundred guineas.

It was the first occasion that any similar mark of public approbation had been bestowed by the community on any of the vessels

employed in the suppression of piracy, but the *Wolf* with the assistance of Captain Congalton, had adopted systematic and energetic measures.

The encounter of the first steamer, the East India Company's *Diana*, with the pirates in 1837, is worth telling. H. M. S *Wolf* was a sailing vessel, of course, so Captain Congalton in the little steamer *Diana* went ahead, and the pirates in six large prahus, seeing the smoke, thought it was a sailing ship on fire, so they left the Chinese Junk which they were attacking, and bore down on the steamer, firing on her as she approached. To their horror, the vessel came close up *against the wind*, and then suddenly stopped opposite each prahu, and poured in a destructive fire, turning and backing quite against the wind, stretching the pirates in numbers on their decks. A vessel that was independent of the wind was, of course, a miracle to them.

In 1811, in a letter to Lord Minto, Sir Stamford Raffles had made numerous allusions to piracy and slavery. He described piracy as "An evil of ancient date, which had struck deep in the Malay habits," and said the old Malay romances and fragments of traditional history constantly referred to piratical cruises. He said that piracy was a source of slavery, and that the practice was an evil too extensive and formidable to be cured by reasoning and must be put down by a strong hand. There were a number of very able and long articles in the third, fourth, and fifth volumes of Logan's Journal. The author is not named, but they are full of details of old piracy stories from the earliest days.

The account of the commencement of the suppression of piracy in Singapore would be very incomplete without special reference to Captain Samuel Congalton, whose portrait is in the Singapore Library.

Captain Congalton was born in Leith on 23rd March, 1796. He ran away to sea in a collier when a young boy, but his eldest brother found him and brought him back. He again ran away to sea, and eventually got a place as gunner on a ship bound to Calcutta. The vessel was sold there, and joining a country ship he arrived at Penang in 1821. Captain Poynton of the East India Co.'s armed Schooner *Jessy* wanted a mate, and he joined her and remained in the Straits until his death in 1850.

While he was in the *Jessy*, Captain Marryatt, the famous novelist, of H. M. S. *Larne*, gave him great praise for his services in the Rangoon War.

In March, 1826, Captain Poynton was made Harbour Master at Malacca, and Congalton took command of the sailing schooner *Zephyr*, on a salary of $100 a month, and was blockading the Lingy river, with H. M. S. *Magicienne*, and Lieutenant the Hon. Henry Keppel, in the Naning War.

At the end of 1836 the Government determined to sell the *Zephyr*, and in the beginning of 1837 the East India Co.'s steamer *Diana* was sent to the Straits and Congalton was appointed Captain at a salary of Rs. 350. The *Diana* was the first steamer constructed in India, she was 160 tons and 40 horse-power and attained the great speed (*at that time*) of five knots an hour. She carried the Captain, two European officers, and thirty Malays.

The *Nemesis* came out round the Cape of Good Hope soon afterwards, and the Captain of her was very proud of having brought her out.

On 2nd January, 1846, the East India Company's steamer *Hooghly* arrived at Singapore to relieve the *Diana*. Captain Congalton declined the command of one of the larger steamers, and preferred to remain in the Straits, and his salary was advanced to Rs. 500 a month. His services in the employ comprised a period of twenty-eight and a half years, and he said in a report that he had never been absent from his duties, either on sick leave or on account of private affairs, for a single day, until a few months before his death, when attacked by a dangerous illness.

He was frequently employed in political missions to the Native States, and in conjunction with Mr. J. T. Thomson he made a chart of the Singapore Straits. A handsome silver jug was given him by Captain Stanley and the Officers of the *Wolf*, another by Sir William Norris, the Recorder, and a third by Governor Butterworth. Mr. J. T. Thomson in his book speaks very highly of him. His memory was cherished by many friends in the Straits, as a very brave and generous-minded sailor. Mr. Read writes of him as "a fine old fellow and a great favorite with everybody" and old Admiral Keppel who returned to Singapore in November, 1901, when this chapter was ready for the printer, spoke of him as "a rough and ready old fellow, a thorough sailor, and a great character in the Straits."

His thorough knowledge of the Malays and their haunts made him invaluable in attacking the pirates, but he often did the hard work, and others in the Men-of-war got the credit and the rewards.

The *Diana* was the first steamer that ever appeared in Borneo, and was an object of great curiosity to the Natives. Crowds visited her, and when a number of chiefs were down below, the machinery was set in motion, to their great horror. They flew on deck crying out *dya bergrak*! *dia bergrak*! (it stirs, it stirs) thinking it was a living monster, fed in the hold to move the vessel as it was ordered.

Captain Congalton was a short man, but compact and active. He was a man of high principles, blunt and honest. The copy of his portrait which is now in the Raffles Library was purchased after his death by his friends in Singapore and was intended to be hung in the public hall. It was painted by a Mr. Berghaus about 1847, and was engraved. In the first volume of Logan's Journal is an article by Captain Congalton on a search for Coal deposits on the coasts of the Peninsula.

The Newspaper remarked afterwards that Captain Congalton's many actions against pirates did not rival the deeds of Sir James Brooke and Sir Henry Keppel, in after years; yet there was no doubt that the first check was due to him and that he initiated a new state of things. It was he who first met them with an energy that paralyzed them, and it was difficult perhaps to realize what they meant in those days to the trade of Singapore and to the safety of human life in the locality. On Captain Congalton's death at Penang in April, 1850, everyone attended his funeral and all flags were hoisted at half-mast.

THE ARMENIAN CHURCH.

The beginning of the Armenian Church services in Singapore was in the year 1821. There was then three Armenian firms here, Aristarchus Sarkies, Arratoon Sarkies of Malacca, and another; they were trading with Malacca at the time. The priest, the Revd. Eleazar Ingergolie, died in Singapore in the year 1826, after having been several years here.

The old minute book of the Armenian Church shows that on 8th January, 1825, a meeting was held and a letter was written to one of the Archbishops in Persia asking that a priest might be sent to Singapore. The letter was signed by Johannes Simeon, Carapiet Phanos, Gregory and Isaiah Zechariah, Mackertich M. Moses, and Paul Stephens. On June 23rd, 1826, there was further correspondence with the Archbishop. On 23rd September, 1827, there was a meeting to decide about a place to hold the services when the priest should arrive; and subscriptions were collected. In July, 1827, the Rev. Gregory ter Johannes, the priest, had arrived, and a meeting was held to provide for the ecclesiastical vessels and ornaments that were required. The services were first held in a room behind where John Little & Co. are now. Soon afterwards the Archbishop Gregory came on a visit to Singapore. In September a small room was rented for the services in what was spoken of as "the Merchant's Square," where Powell & Co. are at present. A minute says that the expenses for rent, servants, and the salary of the Priest amounted to $63 a month. The minutes until 1833 contain many records of subscriptions received in Singapore and from Calcutta and Java for the fund for building a Church. In March, 1833, an appeal was made to their friends in the European community, and on 29th March a letter was written to Mr. Bonham, the Resident Councillor, asking for the grant of a piece of land for the Church, facing the Esplanade or at the foot of the Government Hill. This was not successful, and on 23rd April another letter was sent asking for another piece of ground "lying at the Botanical Gardens facing the public road called "the Hill Street." This was granted, and the Church now standing was built there. In January, 1835, the Church was finished and ready to be consecrated. The total cost was $5,058.30, which was made up by the contract price to a Kling contractor, $3,500; Mr. Coleman, the Architect and Engineer, $400; sundry expenses for materials, &c., $708.36; and vestments, ornaments, &c., $449.94. The amount subscribed was $3,224.52 of which $466 was by European residents in Singapore; $573.22 from Calcutta; $402.88 from Java, and $173 from Armenians passing through Singapore. The rest was from the Armenian community in the place.

The Church was originally built with a high dome, but it became unsafe and was altered into the present roof. Mr. Catchick Moses at his own expense built the wall round the compound, except the railing in Hill Street; and he also enlarged the Priest's house, and built the back porch. The minutes shew that considerable sums were collected at various times and sent to Persia for schools there.

The building of the Church had been commenced on the 1st January, 1835, and was consecrated on the 26th March, 1836, being the

anniversary of St. Gregory, the Illuminator and first monk of the Armenian Church, to whom it was dedicated. The *Free Press* spoke as follows of the building:—"This small, but elegant, building does great credit to the public spirit and religious feeling of the Armenians of this Settlement; for we believe that few instances could be shewn where so small a community have contributed funds sufficient for the erection of a similar edifice. The interior of this Church is a complete circle of thirty-six feet diameter, with a semi-circular chancel of eighteen feet wide on the east front; four small chambers, two of which are intended for staircases, and two for vestries, are designed, so that the body of the Church forms an equilateral square; from these project three porticos of six columns each, which shade the windows and entrances, and afford convenient shelter for carriages in rainy weather. The principal order is Doric, surmounted by a balustrade, the top of which is twenty-three feet high; the roofs of the porticos, vestries, and chancel are flat, and that of the body of the Church a truncated cone rising ten feet with a flat space of twelve feet diameter on which is erected a Bell-turret, with eight arches, and as many Ionic pilasters; the height of these pilasters, with their entablature, is eleven, and that of the dome which they support six feet, the whole being surmounted by a ball and cross, the top of which is fifty feet above the floor of the Church. The above are the general measurements of the building, and we regret the absence of mechanical means to enable us to present our distant readers with a drawing which might convey a correct idea of its appearance. The design was by Mr. G. D. Coleman, and whether owing to the abilities of the workmen, or the vigilance with which that gentleman superintended them, we know not; but it appears to us that the Armenian Church is one of the most ornate and best finished pieces of architecture that this gentleman can boast of. One only regret attends a survey of this building, which is that a rigid compliance with the old custom that directs the chancel to face the East, has caused the principal front to be placed in a totally opposite direction to that which the architect intended, and which would have presented it in a more conspicous and desirable point of views."

The ceremony of consecration was attended by a large number of the English community, and the paper gives a long account of it, from which we take the following:—"The Rev. Johannes Catchick, accompanied by the officiating deacons and clerks, one of them carrying the dresses and the foundation stone (emblematical) of the altar, on a silver tray, and all dressed according to the ranks of the Armenian Church, walked from a vestry to a table, placed for the purpose, in the north portico (the main entrance) where the 119th to the 122nd Psalms were read, verse by verse, by a deacon and clerk, followed by a prayer by the clergyman. The doors of the portico were then closed, while the 117th Psalm was read, and a hymn sung; and after another prayer by the clergyman, the doors were re-opened for the admission of the congregation.

"The curtain or veil of the chancel having been drawn up, the altar was exposed to view, having over it a picture of the Lord's Supper (merely as an altar-piece and an ornament). The 147th Psalm was

then read, and a hymn sung, followed by the reading of several chapters from the Book of Kings, relative to the building of the Temple at Jerusalem, also from the Prophesies of Isaiah, Micah and Jeremiah, with parts of the 1st Chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians, and 16th Chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel. Then followed the 25th Psalm, and, while reading this, some of the clerks proceeded to wash, first by water, then by wine, the sides of the altar, the wall of the two small alcoves in the chancel, in one of which the sacrament of the Lord's Supper is prepared, then the four sides of the body of the Church and head of the vestry door; after which the clergyman, accompanied by the senior deacon and clerk, went round to the spots so washed, and anointed them with Holy Oil from a silver cup making the Sign of the Cross: the clerks chaunting at the time. The four sides of the Church were then blessed by the clergyman with a golden cross, held in his hand, who dedicated the Church to Saint Gregory the Illuminator, and first monk of the Church of Armenia.

"The 92nd Psalm was then read, and a hymn sung, while the assistants were clothing the altar with the usual dresses. The curtain was afterwards let down for a few minutes to enable the clergyman to prepare himself for addressing the congregation, which he did from the steps of the altar. The service of the consecration having thus ended, the usual performance of the Mass took place (which is certainly quite distinct from that of the Roman Catholic Church) being interspersed with singing of hymns, reading of portions of the Prophets, Epistles, and Gospels, and the recital of the Apostles' Creed. The service was in the Armenian language and occupied about three hours and a half."

CHAPTER XXIII.

St. ANDREW'S CHURCH.

THE following is a translation of a passage from the Hikayat Abdulla:—"The place where the Church stands was the centre of a plain. When I first saw the ground the jungle had been cleared off and only small bushes remained. When cleared by Mr. Farquhar the plain was occupied for Sepoy Lines and for the residence of the principal Europeans, and continued to be so used until Mr. Crawfurd's time, when the Sepoys were removed along the road to Teluk Blanga, where lines and fine *pucka* houses were built for the men and officers. The plain then continued vacant, and was used as a place for exercising horses, and an evening lounge for Europeans to take the air After a short time, houses were built, one by one, till six or seven were finished for the Europeans. In the year of the Hejira 1234 (1838) when Mr. Bonham was Resident, and Mr. Wingrove was at the head of the police office, it became known that the Europeans intended to erect a large Church. Previous to this time they had been in the habit of attending at the small Chapel built by the Rev. Mr. Thompson. When everything was arranged subscriptions were collected from the residents, the Government, and strangers; and the work was finished as it now stands, by Mr. Coleman, the Architect."

In July, 1834, a meeting, which was well attended, was called in the vestry of the Mission Chapel by Mr. Darrah, the Chaplain, to consider a proposal to erect a suitable Church on the land given ten years before by Government for the purpose. A committee was appointed, and in October the Bishop of Calcutta arrived in Singapore, having called at Penang on his way. Bishop Wilson was the fifth Bishop of Calcutta, and first Metropolitan of India. He left England to take up the Bishopric in 1832, and was succeeded by Bishop Cotton in 1858. The Church services were at that time held in the Mission Chapel, and two days after his arrival, Bishop Wilson presided at a meeting, of which the following report was published at the time:—

"On Monday, the 6th October, a meeting of the European inhabitants of Singapore, the most numerous ever yet witnessed here, was held at the Court House, at 10 o'clock, for the purpose of taking into consideration the best means of erecting a suitable and commodious place of worship, for the use of the Protestant community of the Settlement. On the proposal of the Hon'ble S. G. Bonham, who was the Acting Governor, the Bishop of Calcutta took the chair. His Lordship stated that he understood the inhabitants had been desirous, from the commencement of the Settlement, to devise measures for the erection of a Church for their beautiful country, and he could not but feel anxiety that their wishes should be accomplished. He had had an opportunity of seeing the building which was used temporarily for divine worship, which was not at all suitable for the purpose. It would require very considerable alterations and a large outlay even if it could assume an ecclesiastical appearance; and supposing these were

managed, the structure itself was of so slight a nature, that it could not be expected to last for any length of time, and thus their money and trouble would be wasted.

"The plan he would suggest, would be something like the following:—The structure must be neat, convenient, commodious and elegant; such as would adorn the neighbourhood, and be suitable for that very admirable site which had already been allotted, and was long ago intended for the purpose. The difficulty was as to means. Now, he would suggest, first of all, that from the letting of the seats when the Church was built and opened for divine worship, a certain income would arise. This might be appropriated to the payment of the interest of whatever money it might be necessary to borrow, and to the gradual liquidation of the principal itself. This was one source. Then, what might the Government be expected to do? In former times, when measures of strict economy were less essential, he should have said they would have built a Church; but now, he hoped he might still say that they would willingly assist in building it. Already $20 a month were paid by them for the rent of the missionary place of worship to which he had referred; and, he thought that Government would gladly make such a grant for the new Church as would redeem this monthly payment. Then he himself was the depository of a sum of money from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. It was but small, but he felt authorised in offering £100 or $500, on their behalf. His Chaplain also was Secretary to the Church Building Fund for India, and he thought a small grant of Rs. 500 might be made from that fund. He (the Bishop) was encouraged, last of all, to hope that, from the appearance and high respectability of the Meeting, something might be done to give the plan a start, and to show that the inhabitants were in earnest. If this should be the case; and he would leave it to the Governor and themselves to propose and carry it into effect; a beautiful structure would soon be erected to ornament their town, daily increasing in importance, and their noble harbour; as also, above all, to promote the glory of God on the very confines of the civilized world.

The Governor next addressed the meeting by saying that, as far as laid in his power, he would strongly urge the Supreme Government to give a capital sum in lieu of the $20 a month which was now allowed. But the meeting should not be too sanguine in expecting that the recommendation would be complied with. It rested with the Supreme Government. At the same time, the question was entirely of a local nature, and he thought the inhabitants themselves should come forward, and, in a more tangible manner than by mere words, prove the desire they had for the construction of a proper place of worship, befitting the Settlement, now rapidly rising in importance.

The result of the appeal for the building fund for the Church was an instant and most liberal subscription amounting to $3,460.

The following are the names of the first subscribers:—The S. P. C. K. £100, Church Building Fund for India $250, Bishop Wilson £25, Mr. Bonham $250, Mr Wingrove and the Rev. F. J. Darrah, the Chaplain, $100 each, Messrs. Douglas Mackenzie & Co., Hamilton Gray & Co., Holdsworth Smithson & Co., Graham Mackenzie & Co., A. L. Johnston & Co., Maclaine Fraser & Co., Spottiswoode &

Connolly, and Syme & Co., subscribed $100 each firm, and Messrs. J. & G. Zechariah (Armenians) subscribed $50. The other subscribers were Messrs. J. Armstrong, R. Bruce, H. Caldwell, J. S. Clark, G. D. Coleman, T. O. Crane, G. F. Davidson, W. S. Duncan, W. R. George, S. Hallpike, Andrew Hay, W. Hewetson, W. S. Lorrain, M. J. Martin, J. H. Moor, M. Moses, William Napier, Thomas Oxley, John Poynton, John Purvis, J. Rappa, Thos. Scott, G. C. Swaabe, C. Spottiswoode, C. Thomas and J. Whitehead. There being so many Scotchmen among the subscribers, the Church was to be called after St. Andrew.

On the following morning, the 6th October, the Bishop consecrated the Burial Ground on the hill [near Fort Canning], and in the evening fourteen persons were confirmed, the first service of the kind, it is supposed, in Singapore. The Bishop left for Malacca two days afterwards, and did not return to Singapore until 1838 when he consecrated the first St. Andrew's Church.

On Friday the 16th October, 1835, a meeting was held at the Court House, to consider the erection of the Church, and several plans obtained from Calcutta were examined, and set aside, because they were not designed with verandahs or any other contrivances for shading the body of the Church from the glare and heat. A design by Mr. G. D. Coleman was approved, and it was determined to commence building at once. The body of the Church was forty-seven feet between the pedestals of the interior columns, and was semi-circular at the end next the middle entrance, which was fifty feet from the front of the chancel. The staircases, which led to the galleries, were placed in the angles cut off by the semi-circle. The chancel was twenty feet wide by sixteen feet from back to front, with a room on each side, like in the present Cathedral, of thirteen feet by ten. The whole was shaded by porticos, twenty feet wide, extending the full length of the building on each side, and making the extreme measurement one hundred and two feet by ninety-five. The porticos enclosed carriage roads, and over them on three sides were galleries. The one opposite the chancel was to be occupied by the organ and school children. The whole was to cost ten thousand dollars. The following engraving was drawn by Mr. James Miller, of Messrs. Gilfillan Wood & Co., from an old picture by Mr. Carpenter, an artist who visited Singapore about 1854, and included it in one of his views of the place.



On Monday the 9th November, 1835, a large number of persons assembled on the plain, on the site where the present Cathedral stands, to witness the laying of the foundation stone. There was no masonic or other ceremonial observed (the newspaper remarked) with the exception of a short service by the Residency Chaplain, preceded by a short address.

On Thursday, 8th June, 1837, a distribution of the sittings in the new Church was made by the Church Committee, and it was understood that Mr. White was to hold the first service on Sunday, the 11th; but at the last moment the Chaplain said that he could not officiate until he had been called upon by the community, by letter, to procure its consecration as soon as a fit opportunity offered. As soon as the condition became known, the Committee addressed the following letter on the 10th June, to the Resident Councillor, Mr. Church:—

"Sir, the new Church being completed and ready for performing Divine Service, we the undersigned, members of the Committee, request the Government to take charge of the same for the space of one year, it being understood, that the Church is not to be consecrated during that period, without the sanction of a majority of the subscribers to the building.

A. L. Johnston, R. F. Wingrove, J. H. Whitehead."

Mr. White, thereupon, commenced to officiate under an order from the Resident Councillor, the community not having consented to the conditions Mr. White had tried to impose about consecration, as it was said that in cases of there being no Chaplain, (as had been the case for seventeen months at that time) no other form of worship could be used in the building. Under these circumstances the first service took place on Sunday, the 18th June.

In August, 1838, Bishop Daniel Wilson came again to the Straits, visiting Penang and Malacca on his way to Singapore. He arrived in Singapore on Saturday, the 1st September, and conducted the service the next day. On Wednesday, a meeting was held to resume the proceedings commenced at the meeting in 1834, and after a very lengthy address and explanation by the Bishop, a petition for the consecration of the Church was signed by a good many of those present, and on Monday, the 10th September, the Church was consecrated. The paper contained no account of the ceremony.

Bishop Wilson of Calcutta, returned for the third time to the Straits in October, 1842. At his first visit subscriptions had been raised to build the Church; at his second visit, he consecrated it; and on this his third visit he sent out the following circular, on 31st October, 1842.

"The Bishop of Calcutta takes the liberty of circulating this paper with the view of ascertaining how far it may be agreeable to the gentry of this station to complete the beautiful and commodious body of their Church by the addition of a small but appropriate tower and spire, such as shall distinguish the sacred edifice from secular buildings in a manner usual in all parts of India, as well as at home. At present the Church may be mistaken for a Town Hall, a College or an Assembly Room. The strangers resorting to this great emporium of commerce have no means of knowing for what it is destined. By the

erection of a tower and spire, rising about 50 feet above the balustrade of the roof, its sacred design will be manifested, and the surrounding heathen will see the honour we put upon our religion, and the care we take to mark the reverence for the solemn worship of Almighty God by the appropriate distinctions of its outward appearance. The only four Churches in India built originally without the ecclesiastical decoration of a spire or tower, were those of Kuruaul, Agra, Ghazeepore and Dinapore. Three of these have now the needful additions, raised by the subscriptions of the several stations, and the fourth, Dinapore, has its fund ready for the same purpose. The new Cathedral at Calcutta will have a tower and spire 200 feet high. The Scotch Churches at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay have noble spires. Nor is there any station in the territories of the East India Company so likely to rise into distinguished importance as Singapore; the vicinity of which to China and the accessions of commerce which may be expected from the blessing of peace, just established in that Empire, render such an Act of piety as the due completion of their Church peculiarly appropriate. National mercy calls for expressions and acts of gratitude to the Giver of all good, and none is more suitable than this. The Bishop is indeed persuaded that he is only anticipating the almost universal wishes of the Community of Singapore in circulating this paper. And, though the sum to be raised is large, in consequence of the high price of labour and materials in this place, yet he feels confident that the united and hearty and generous subscriptions of all classes of persons will overcome the difficulties of completing the Sacred Edifice now, as the difficulties in the commencement and progress of the work were overcome before. One unanimous final effort will now crown the preceding labours and give to Singapore a Church scarcely inferior to any in the Eastern world."

Mrs. Balestier, the wife of the American Consul, gave a Bell to the Church, which was afterwards used in the present Cathedral until the peal of bells was given. It was cast by Revere at Boston, and was given on condition that the curfew should be rung for five minutes every evening at eight o'clock, which was done until 1874. It is a large and heavy bell, 32 inches in diameter and 26 inches high. The following words are cast on it. "Revere Boston 1843. Presented to St. Andrew's Church, Singapore, by Mrs. Maria Revere Balestier of Boston, United States of America." Mrs. Balestier, who had been Miss Revere, died in Singapore on 22nd August, 1847, having been thirteen years in the place. Mr. Thomas Church, the Resident Councillor, gave a Clock, which was put up on the facade of the Court House, as a temporary resting place, when the Church was pulled down.

When the Court House was being enlarged in 1901, the clock was taken down, and the opportunity was taken to find out what kind of clock it was that Mr. Church had given. It has on it the name of the makers, Barraud & Lund, Cornhill, London, very eminent clock makers, so that it is evident Mr. Church bought the best clock he could obtain. The dial is 4 feet 6 inches in diameter, the figures are 6¾ inches long, and the long hand is 25 inches. The bell is 20 inches diameter, and weighs probably about one and a half hundred weight. It has the date 1839 cast on it. It is a very well made clock, and it

is still in very good condition after over sixty years work, and seems never to have been taken to pieces since it was put up. It ought to be replaced in the Cathedral tower, for which Mr. Church gave it.

The bell and the clock were both costly gifts to the Church, and intended to remain in the building or its successors. If they had been given to the Roman Catholic Church they would have been taken care of, and would have been put up, long since, in one of the steeples of their four other Churches, if they could not have been kept, as the donors intended, in the Cathedral. The clock could easily be set up now in the Cathedral tower, facing the Esplanade, where it would be very useful; the dial could be made larger and the hands longer without difficulty. The bell is in a shed in the Public Works Store at Kandang Kerbau, and may be forgotten there till it is broken up for old metal.

Mr. Richard O. Norris, who was then a boy attending Raffles School, sent the following amusing account of his recollections of the old Church to the *Free Press* in 1885:—

"Talking about the Church which I see mentioned in your History, I can give you some old recollectons of mine, which must soon lapse into the past. In the old days we had a barrel organ, and old Anchant, as he was called, was organ turner and singer. The organ was described in the paper as having a handsome Gothic oak base, twelve feet high, six wide and four deep; forty-two keys; with two ranks of pipes in the base, and three in the treble; and four barrels of twelve tunes each. We, Institution boys, used to sing. Then Anchant died, and one of the boys was the organ man, and the rest of us used to sing without any leader as best we could. I remember at the time of the China War, Sir Hugh Gough and all his staff attending Church in full uniform, and sitting in the Governor's and Resident Councillor's seats. The transports came pouring in, all in one day, and the harbour was full. But to return to the organ; the old machine got very wheezy and went to Malacca, and a subscription was collected for a new organ, which Bishop Wilson announced in his sermon on the last Sunday in October, 1842, and the money was sent home in 1843, and an organ made by Holditch of London came out, which cost £260. This passed in course of time to the Scotch Church, and eventually in extreme old age, it was bought by Mr. G. H. Brown for old acquaintance sake, and it expired at his house on Mount Pleasant. It had one row of keys and pedals. On the opening morning, and for some time, Mr. Keasberry played it, and some ladies made a choir. Then Mr. Charles A. Dyce came from Calcutta, and was amateur organist, and eventually married one of the young ladies who sang. Then Mr. G. H. Brown came from Penang, and he initiated a choir of boys from Raffles School, and girls from the School in North Bridge Road kept by Mrs. Whittle, whose husband was a surveyor. This did not last very long. Mr. Tom Church used to sing loud, and we boys in the gallery did hear him well. Church-going in the old days was better regulated than now, as all lived within a short distance from the Church. Both services were well attended, and Christenings always took place in the middle of the evening service. The Church was lit by candles in iron stands, which were used in the new Church until gas came out in 1864. The Communion Service

was quarterly at first, and afterwards once a month, until about 1860. The notices of it, when once a quarter, used to be gummed on the walls. The pulpit was on one side, the reading desk, a little shorter, on the other, and the clerk's desk was close to the reading desk. After evening service the people walked home, and if it was a dark night, a lantern used to head the procession. I should like to mention that there were many prayer books and Bibles marked "Fort Marlborough, Bencoolen" a reminiscence of Sir Stamford Raffles, relics of the good old days, not one left now, no doubt. There were two tablets with the ten Commandments on them in gold letters, with two doves over them, at the sides of the Communion Table. They were made by man-of-war sailors during Padre White's time; they worked at them in the gallery behind the old hand-organ, but the tablets were not very artistic, especially the doves, though they were good enough for the old days. From the organ gallery we looked out upon the two pairs of gates at Mr. Coleman's two buildings, afterwards the Hotels in Coleman Street; part of the out-buildings were first covered with slates, a novelty here at the time."

In August, 1845, the steeple was struck by lightning, which splintered one of the tablets next to the Communion Table; and again on the 4th April, 1849, at about 2 o'clock in the afternoon, the spire was struck. The electric fluid descended the tower, and then took a playful direction, part proceeding to the earth down the inside front of the Church, but the greater portion took a two-fold lateral direction, then passed down the punkah rods, distant from each other about 20 feet, and destroyed the punkahs. Both currents again took a lateral direction, tearing off the mortar on the walls; that to right passed along the floor of one of the pews, and that to the left of the Communion Table escaped through and greatly injured the vestry door. The steeple, roofs and walls, down which the electric fluid passed perpendicularly, appeared as if riddled by swan shot. Fortunately the accident did not happen during Divine Service, or it is highly probable several lives would have been lost. There was no conductor fixed until after this occurence. In 1852 the Church ceased to be used, as it was in a dangerous state, and the Mission Chapel at the corner of Brass Bassa Road was used for the services. In 1854 the Grand Jury "presented" the ruinous state of the Church as a disgrace to the Settlement, and this led to the erection of the present Cathedral.

A discussion was raised in 1856 regarding the duties of the Trustees of St. Andrew's Church, and it was remarked in the newspaper that they had been spoken of as Churchwardens, which it said was as novel in Singapore as it would have been in India; that it was not sanctioned by the East India Company's charter; and was contrary to the letter and spirit of the rules laid down by the Government for the guidance of Chaplains in India. The rules made by the Governor in Council for Madras were printed at length. They provided for two lay trustees, who formed a committee of management with the Chaplain. One of them was to be the Senior Civil Servant, or the Officer Commanding the Garrison if a purely military station, provided the person appointed was a communicant of the Church of England and had no objection to hold the office. The other lay trustee was to be a

gentleman in the service of the Queen or the E. I. Company, nominated by the Chaplain with the approval of the Bishop. The following were their duties, printed in full from the newspaper:—

"DUTIES OF THE LAY TRUSTEES.

1. It shall be the duty of the Lay Trustees to present to the Bishop, or his Archdeacon, at their Visitation, or immediately by letter, and at any time on the requisition of the Lord Bishop or his commissary, any irregularity or scandal on the part of the Chaplain, or in connection with the Chaplaincy, which may have occurred within the District.

2. To aid and assist the chaplain in the performance of his duties.

DUTIES OF THE STANDING COMMITTEE OF MANAGEMENT.

The Committee of Management shall take charge of the School and Charity Funds connected with the Chaplaincy; see that the Church Yard and Burial Ground are kept in becoming order: take charge of the Plate, and the care of the goods, repairs and ornaments of the Church, or other building appropriated to the performance of Divine Service, and represent to Government, through the Ecclesiastical Head, any deficiency in these particulars, which they may think necessary or desirable to supply.

The Chaplain, as President, will report to Government any vacancy in the office of Lay Trustee."

In May, 1855, the Bengal Government approved of the proposal to build a new Church, and sanctioned an expenditure of Rs. 47,000 in cash for the purpose.

The newspaper of March, 1856, contained the following:—

"On Tuesday evening the 4th March, the Lord Bishop of Calcutta laid the foundation stone of a Church intended to replace St. Andrew's Church, which was sometime ago taken down on account of its insecure condition. The ceremony took place in presence of the Civil and Military authorities and a considerable number of the community. The following is a copy of the inscription placed below the stone:—

The first English Church of Singapore, commenced A. D. 1834 and consecrated A. D. 1838, having become dilapidated, this first stone of a new and more commodious edifice, dedicated to the worship of Almighty God according to the rites and discipline of the Church of England, under the name of St. Andrew, was laid by the Right Rev. Daniel Wilson, D.D., Lord Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan, on the 4th day of March, 1856, in the 24th year of his Episcopate.

The Hon'ble Edmund Augustus Blundell, being the Governor of the Straits Settlements,

The Hon'ble Thomas Church, being Resident Councillor of Singapore,

Lieut.-Col. Charles Pooley, of the Madras Army, Commanding the Troops,

The Reverend William Topley Humphrey being Chaplain,

And Captain Ronald Macpherson, of the Madras Artillery, being Architect.

The building to be erected at the charge of the Hon'ble East India Company.

Full estimate of cost, Co.'s Rupees 120,932 or with use of convict labour 47,916 Rupees."

An account of the building of the present Cathedral is to be found in Major McNair's latest book published in 1897, "Prisoners their Own Warders," written in conjunction with Mr. W. D. Bayliss, who was Superintendent of Works and Surveys and Superintendent of Convicts. He says that it was designed by Colonel Macpherson, who was Executive Engineer at the time, and reproduced to some extent the character of old Netley Abbey in Hampshire. Mr. John Bennett, a civil and mechanical engineer, who had come out to Singapore to seek employment as a young man on Mr. A. L. Johnston's recommendation, of whom he was some connection, was largely concerned in the erection, and did most of the detail work of the building. He had been for a time a partner with Thomas Tivendale and James Baxter as shipwrights on the River near the Court House, as appears from an advertisement in 1852. He afterwards went to Burmah and the Andamans and occupied an important position there.

The building is 225 feet long, by 115 feet wide, with a nave and side aisles, and a north and south porch, having somewhat the appearance of transepts, which carriages can enter. The roof is of teak and slates. There is a gallery at the west end, approached by a circular iron staircase which was entirely made by the convicts, by whom the whole Church was erected, and it was said by Dr. Mouatt, the Inspector-General of Jails, Bengal, in a paper read by him before the Statistical Society, that the Cathedral built by Major McNair, entirely by convict labour, struck him as one of the finest specimens of ecclesiastical architecture which he had seen in the East, and a most remarkable example of the successful industrial training of convicts. The interior walls and columns were coated with a composition which has kept its colour, and has set so very hard that it is almost impossible to drive a nail into it. Major McNair's book gives the particulars of it, which we reprint, as an engineer in Singapore was very pleased when it was pointed out to him in the Major's book, and said he had often wished to know how it had been made:—

"It is Madras chunam made from shell lime without sand; but with this lime we had whites of eggs and coarse sugar, or "jaggery" beaten together to form a sort of paste, and mixed with water in which the husks of coconuts had been steeped. The walls were plastered with this composition, and after a certain period for drying, were rubbed with rock crystal or rounded stone until they took a beautiful polish, being occasionally dusted with fine soapstone powder, and so leaving a remarkably smooth and glossy surface." The Major does not give the height of the spire, nor does he relate what was said at the time, that he was on the top when the large iron cross was put in place, and slipped, or one of the lashings gave way, and he might have fallen, but he shut his eyes and held on for a few seconds where he was, and then quietly got into a safe place and came down.

It was originally intended to carry up the tower, but the foundations (which gave a good deal of trouble and are very deep, on account of the swampy nature of the ground) were found insufficient, and it was decided to put a light spire from a certain height. Search has been made among the old plans in the Government Office to try to



To face page 294.

ST. ANDREW'S CATHEDRAL AND RAFFLES MONUMENT ON THE ESPLANADE.

find the original plan and the proposed height of the tower, but without success. Before erecting the spire the same weight was piled up on the top of the tower to test the strain, and as it was found to stand, the spire was constructed of hollow bricks. A few years afterwards the foundations of the tower settled down further, and a crack gradually formed in the side walls of the aisles a few feet from the tower. The walls were then, about 1865, cut through and separated from the tower. The crack so made was filled in, and iron bands or ties inserted, and no further settlement has taken place. The height to the top of the cross has been given as 125 feet in one book and as 225 in another book about Singapore, and other measurements of the building have been stated equally incorrectly. The following details have now been carefully taken by the Public Works Department, and are correct.

The building is 181 feet 4 inches long, internal measurement from the west door, when closed, to the wall behind the Communion Table. Including the tower it is 226 feet 3 inches from the exterior points of the building. The nave and side aisles are 55 feet 4 inches wide. Including the two porches the building is 114 feet wide, internal measurement. The spire to the centre of the iron cross is 207 feet 6 inches from the ground. The tower is 38 feet 9 inches square at the base. The handsome chancel arch is 55 feet 6 inches from the floor-level to the apex, and 20 feet 4 inches wide at the foot. The interior height of the nave from floor to the under side of ridge is 74 feet. The enclosure or compound is about 660 feet by 540. A monument to Colonel Macpherson stands on the side towards the sea. He was buried at the cemetery at Bukit Timah Road.

Mr. John Cameron in his book speaks of it as a noble pile and one of the largest Cathedrals in India; and Major MacNair remarks that owing to the simplicity of its tracery and mouldings it really appears much larger than it actually is, and being built upon an open space, its proportions at once strike the eye of every visitor to the Colony. In another book it is spoken of as the most striking and beautiful Church east of the Cape of Good Hope.

In December, 1860, the building was ready to be used, and there was some correspondence in the paper about the delay in opening it. It appears from this, that the Mission Chapel which had been used for the Church services after the old Church was unsafe, was too small to hold the congregation, and two services were held, one after the other to make room for all, and it was also suggested to hold two evening services on Sunday. The reason for the delay was said to be owing to the windows and lamps not having arrived from England, which some of the congregation thought was a bad excuse, and offered to pay for temporary screens until the stained glass windows arrived. There was such a great demand for seats that a ballot was held at the Masonic Lodge for their disposal, and there was an advertisement in the *Free Press* in September, 1861, signed by Mr. John Colson Smith, as Treasurer, in which it was said that applications could be made for seats at $1 or 50 cents a month, according to their position. The seating at present with broad, wide seats, accommodates about 300; but on the occasion of the Memorial Service on the day of Queen Victoria's

funeral, on 2nd February, 1901, when chairs were as far as possible substituted for the large seats, and advantage was taken of every inch of floor space, and over 300 persons occupied the gallery, there were about 1,400 persons in the congregation.

The Church was opened for service on 1st October, 1861, and was consecrated by Bishop Cotton of Calcutta, on Saturday, 25th January, 1862. The seats were first placed facing the east, as at present, but at one time, about 1871, they were placed towards the centre facing each other, and the pulpit was put at the pillar nearest the central gangway on the north side. In a few months it was found unsatisfactory, and the seats were replaced as at first. The Governor's seat properly speaking is on the south side of the centre passage, and was always so used until Sir Cecil Smith became Governor and preferred to remain in the seat he had occupied while Colonial Secretary, which is the corresponding seat on the opposite side. It really arose in consequence of the Chief Justice having been accustomed to sit at that time in the Governor's seats, as the Governor was a Roman Catholic, and Sir Cecil did not like to ask him to move, as he had become accustomed to the place. Consequently the alteration has been perpetuated, which is a mistake, as strangers properly expect to see the Governor in the right position, on the south side, as in other places.

The organ, which is an unusually good instrument, was built by John Walker of London, a first class maker, and was paid for by subscription at a cost of £600. It had the following specification :—

Swell Organ.	Great Organ.
Clarion	Trumpet
Oboe	Mixture, 4 and 5 ranks
Cornopean	Fifteenth
Mixture, 3 ranks	Twelfth
Fifteenth	Principal
Principal	Flute
Stopped Diapason	Stopped Diapason
Open do.	Dulciana
Double do.	Open Diapason
Couplers	Bourdon
Swell to Great	Pedal Organ
Pedals to Swell	Violoncello
Pedals to Great	Open Diapason 16 feet,

Mr. Terry, a very accomplished organist, who is now a manager in a very large Music establishment in Bond Street, London, came out with the organ, and first put it up between two of the pillars next the northern porch. Soon afterwards it was moved up into the gallery. In a few years it was decided that the small choir was too far away from the Congregation, so a subscription was made and a smaller organ was ordered from Bryceson Brothers, London, which cost £252.9.0 It had one manual, with seven sets of pipes and open 16-feet pedals. It was placed in what is now the northern vestry, with a reversed keyboard, so that the player sat facing the choir in the chancel. It was sold to the Penang Church when the large organ was again moved,

and is the foundation of the organ now in use there, having been considerably enlarged. The money received for it was spent in repairing the large organ. In 1888 Walker's organ was again moved downstairs, and placed where it is now at the east end of the north aisle. At the same time the floor level of the chancel was extended to the end of the organ case.

In 1889 a peal of eight bells, cast by the famous makers, Taylors of Loughborough, who founded "Big Ben" of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, was given to the Cathedral. The bells are of large size, the tenor, the largest, being as big as the No. 8 in the peal at St. Paul's. A clergyman of Oxford, an authority on the subject, said that they were in remarkably good tune and an excellent peal. The names of the donors are recorded on a brass near the west door as follows:—

† To the glory of God
The Peal of Bells
In this Cathedral Church
Of S. Andrew was dedicated
In Memory of
John Small Henry Fraser,
Captain H.E.I.C.S.
By His Heirs
William Henry McLeod Read,
K.C.N.L., C.M.G.
Amelia Sophia Saunders
Arthur Frederic Clarke
Lucy Julia Beamont
Denison Leslie Clarke
Anna McLeod Luttman Johnson
On the Seventieth Anniversary
Of the Foundation of the Settlement
6th February, 1889.

A special form of prayer was used on the afternoon of Wednesday, 6th February, at the dedication of the Peal of Bells and the Pulpit, which is mentioned further on.

In the earliest days of the Settlement Captain Fraser commanded one of the large sailing vessels of the East India Company, the *Marquess of Huntly*, and about 1826 and 1827 owned land in various parts of the town, in Kling Street, Boat Quay, High Street, and the whole of the piece of land on which the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank now stands. In course of years it passed to those whose names are mentioned on the tablet, the five last being the children of Mr. and Mrs. Seymour Clarke. Mrs. Clarke was the daughter of Mr. C. R. Read, and came out with her mother in 1824, as has been mentioned on page 155. Mr. Clarke was the first Manager of the Great Western Railway, the pioneer of railways, and afterwards of the Great Northern Railway, and had a great deal of influence, which he used in promoting the Transfer of the Settlements in 1867. Queen Victoria never liked to make a railway journey unless Mr. Clarke went with the train, and the watch he always wore had been given to him by her. The Rev. Arthur Clarke is now Archdeacon of Lancashire. When the property was sold, the value had then advanced very largely, and those who had benefited by it presented the Bells.

There are three fine stained glass windows in the Apse, which were erected at the same time as the Church, and cost a large sum of

money. That in the centre has at the foot the following inscription:—"To the Memory of Sir Stamford Raffles, Kt., the illustrious founder of Singapore, A. D. 1861."

The window on the north or left hand side of that one has the following:—"To the Honour and Glory of God, and as a testimonial to John Crawfurd, Esq., Governor of Singapore from 1823 to 1826, whose sound principles of administration during the infancy of the Settlement formed a basis for that uninterrupted prosperity which the Colony thus gratefully records." Mr. Crawfurd was then alive.

The third window, that on the other (the right hand) side has the following words:—"To Major-General William Butterworth, C.B., who successfully governed these settlements from 1843 to 1845, this window is dedicated by the citizens of Singapore." There is an unfortunate mistake in the second date, which should have been 1855, not 1845, as pointed out by Major McNair in his book. The tablet close by on the wall of the Sacrarium on its South side prevents any misunderstanding. It has the inscription:—"Sacred to the Memory of Major-General William John Butterworth, C.B., of the Madras Army, for nearly twelve years Governor of Prince of Wales Island, Singapore and Malacca, who departed this life on the 4th November, 1856, at Millhead House, Guildford, in the County of Surrey, England, in the 56th year of his age, distinguished alike in his civil and military career for courage, zeal and integrity."

Opposite this tablet on the north side is one with the following words:—"Sacred to the Memory of the Reverend Edward White, M.A., of the Bengal Establishment. His unwearied devotion to His Master's service, during the eight years he was chaplain at this station, mingled with his singular personal humility, won the deepest respect and affection of his flock. Forgetful of self in zeal for their good, and unmindful of the frailty of a constitution exhausted by previous attacks and long residence in India, he sank under a brief illness and in simple trust in Him who is the Resurrection and the Life. He breathed his last in perfect peace on the 7th April, 1845, at Singapore, in the 52nd year of his age. In sympathy with the bereaved widow and fatherless children, and as a token of respect for their own loss, this tablet is placed here by those who were allowed the benefit of his ministry and the advantage of his example." He was buried with military honours, and Mr. Church read the service. Over the door at the west end of the building is a window, the subject of which is the Four Evangelists, put up in 1872 in memory of Colonel Macpherson who designed the Church.

At the west end of the north aisle there is a window with the inscription: "In Memoriam David Rodger, obiit October 11th, 1867, ætat 37." He was a partner in the firm of Martin, Dyce & Co. Two tablets to Naval Officers were removed from the old Church and placed in the walls near the east end of the aisles; one was erected by the Commander and Officers of H. M. Sloop *Harlequin* in Memory of George Samuel Berens, an Officer who died at sea, on 11th September, 1843, aged 25 years, and was buried off Tanjong Dattoo, Borneo; and another tablet to the Memory of Commander William Maitland of H. M. steamer *Spiteful*, who died in the Roads of Singapore on 10th August, 1846, aged 40 years. There are

a few other tablets of modern date, but the construction of the building, with so many openings for windows, does not lend itself conveniently for the purpose, and they detract from the appearance of the building.

The handsome brass lectern was the gift of Mr. Thomas Shelford in 1873, in memory of his first wife, and the brass rails in front of the Communion Table were given by his family after his death in 1900. The pulpit was given by Sir C. C. Smith, when he was Governor, on 8th February, 1889. It was made in Ceylon. The set of choir stalls was given by Mr. J. J. Macbean in 1900. A handsome Communion Service was given by Mr. Arnold Otto Meyer and his son Edward Lorenz Meyer to the congregation. And an illuminated paper, hung in the vestry, says that it was "a thank offering and in remembrance of the goodwill and prosperity experienced by the House of Behn, Meyer & Company, during fifty years, on November 1st, 1890." Mr. Norris says that when he was a choir boy and Mr. G. H. Brown was organist, Mr. A. O. Meyer used to sing in the choir.

Until 1869 the Straits Settlements had been in the diocese of Calcutta, and on the consecration of the Ven. W. Chambers, Archdeacon of Sarawak, as Bishop of Labuan and Sarawak in that year, the Settlements were transferred to that diocese.

The Rev. F. T. McDougall, M.A., of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, and a Fellow of the College of Surgeons was, in 1847, appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London to be the head of a new Mission to Sarawak. He was afterwards consecrated Bishop at Calcutta in 1855, which was the first consecration of a Bishop of the Church of England, out of England. He was styled Bishop of Labuan and Sarawak. He resigned in 1868, the year of the death of Rajah Sir James Brooke, and was succeeded by Archdeacon Chambers, advantage being taken, as has been said, of the vacancy of the See, to withdraw the Straits Settlements from the Diocese of Calcutta and include them in that of Labuan and Sarawak. St. Andrew's Church was then formally declared the Cathedral of the See, on 20th December, 1870. Bishop Chambers retired in 1879, and was succeeded in 1881 by the Ven. G. F. Hose, of St. John's College, Cambridge, who had been Colonial Chaplain and Archdeacon in Singapore. The style of the Diocese was then changed to Singapore, Labuan and Sarawak, being intended to give prominence to the position of Singapore, as the head-quarters of the work.

The St. Andrew's Church Mission was begun with one catechist at Whitsuntide, 1856. Bishop McDougall of Sarawak had joined with Mr. Humphrey, the Chaplain, in its establishment, and it was carried on by a committee. The Bishop, when in England, recommended the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to assist the local mission by sending out an ordained missionary, and about the beginning of 1862 the Rev. E. S. Venn was sent by the Society to Singapore. On 11th May, 1863, at a meeting of the subscribers to the mission held at the Raffles Institution, at which the Governor, Colonel Cavenagh, presided, and Bishop McDougall was present, it was decided that it would be desirable to join the local mission with that of the S. P. G. to bear the name of the St. Andrew's Church Mission to the Heathen in connection with the S. P. G.; the united mission to be under the

management of the S. P. G. in communication with the Residency Chaplain. Mr. Venn, of Wadham College, Oxford, was the first missionary of the Society to the Straits. He died in Singapore on 19th September, 1866. After his death there was no resident missionary until 1872, when the Rev. William Henry Gomes was appointed. He was born in Ceylon in 1827, was educated at the Bishop's College, Calcutta, and went to the S. P. G. mission at Sarawak in 1852. He left Sarawak in 1867, and was appointed Acting Colonial Chaplain of Malacca. In 1868 he returned to Ceylon, and after working among the coffee planters there, he came back to the Straits in 1871 as acting Chaplain of Penang. In June, 1872, he became S. P. G. missionary at Singapore. In 1878 the Archbishop of Canterbury bestowed upon Mr. Gomes the decree of a Bachelor of Divinity of Lambeth, in recognition of his missionary and literary services. He translated the Prayer Book and a number of Hymns into native languages, Chinese, Dyak, and Malay, which were printed in Singapore at his own expense, aided by contributions from the congregations. The last edition of the Chinese Prayer Book was published with the sanction of the Archbishop of Canterbury under the auspices of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Mr. Gomes died on the morning of Sunday, 2nd March, 1902, 75 years of age, from failure of the heart, after being ill for a year. He was very much respected in Singapore, and his loss was much felt.

The Chapel in Stamford Road was built in 1875, the house for the missionary in 1877, and the school house in 1900. They all stand on the ground on the side of Fort Canning Hill, given by the Government to the Society for the purpose. In 1882 Mr. Gomes opened a branch mission for the Chinese living at Jurong, and a Church was built there. It is about fourteen miles by road from Singapore on the west side of the island.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1836.

ON New Year's Day, there was a regatta in the harbour, in which six yachts took part, and there were a number of boat races. An Artillery man, in firing a gun at sunrise, shot away his right arm.

On Monday, the 25th January, a private meeting was held, at the Reading Room, of the Mercantile community to consider the question of the imposition of duties, about which the following correspondence had taken place:—

"To

The Hon'ble KENNETH MURCHISON, Esquire,
Governor of Prince of Wales' Island,
Singapore and Malacca,
&c., &c., &c.

"Sir,—We the undersigned, Merchants of Singapore, having heard that the Supreme Government has it in contemplation to levy duties at this port, and being of opinion that such a measure will materially affect the trade of the Settlement, respectfully request that you will inform us if such be the case; and if so, that you will be pleased to favour us with the particulars of such instructions as you may have received on the subject, in so far as you feel yourself at liberty to communicate the same.

We are, &c.

Joaquim d'Almeida.	A. Guthrie.	S. A. Seth.
Jose d'Almeida.	J. Hamilton.	W. D. Shaw.
E. Boustead.	A. Hay.	W. Spottiswoode.
C. Carnie.	R. C. Healey.	J. Stephen.
T. O. Crane.	A. L. Johnston.	S. Stephens.
J. S. Clark.	W. S. Lorrain.	J. H. Whitehead.
W. S. Duncan.	T. McMicking.	J. Wise.
J. Fraser.	G. Martin.	G. Zechariah.
W. R. George.	T. Scott.	I. Zechariah.

Singapore, 11th January, 1836."

"To Messrs. A. L. Johnston & Co., and the other Merchants of Singapore.

"Gentlemen,—In reply to your letter to my address, dated the 11th instant, I have the honour to apprize you that the Supreme Government has directed me to submit the draft of an Act and Schedule for levying a duty on the Sea Exports and Imports of the three Settlements, to meet the expense of effectually protecting the trade from Piracy.

The above comprises the directions of the Supreme Government; the rate of the duties will be regulated by the estimated expenses of a Flotilla and a Custom House, on neither of which points can I, at present, give you any precise information. I may, however, state, that

on the best procurable information, I am of opinion that a duty of 2½ per cent. on the articles enumerated in the annexed List (square-rigged vessels under foreign colours being liable to double duties) will raise a sufficient fund to meet the object in view. In framing the Schedule now laid before you, it has been my endeavour to render the system of duties as little obnoxious as possible to the local peculiarities of the Trade, and I shall be happy to pay every respect to any observations your experience may suggest upon points in which alteration or modification may be advantageously applied.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

K. MURCHISON,

Singapore, 13th January, 1836." *Governor.*

A public meeting was then called on the 4th February, by the Sheriff, Mr. Wingrove, as was the custom in those days, and the following is an account of what took place:—

"A. L. Johnston, Esq., having been unanimously called to the Chair, briefly stated the object of the meeting, when the following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to:—

1st.—Proposed by Mr. J. Hamilton, and seconded by Mr. J Fraser—That it is the opinion of this Meeting that this Settlement owes the commercial eminence it now enjoys to its having been established and continued a Free Port.

2nd.—Proposed by Mr. W. D. Shaw, and seconded by Mr. E. Boustead—That it is the opinion of this Meeting that the Imposition of Duties will be productive of serious injury to the Trade of this Settlement.

3rd.—Proposed by Mr. A. Guthrie, and seconded by Mr. R. C. Healey—That having been informed that the Supreme Government have it in contemplation to levy Duties here, it is the opinion of this Meeting that means should be taken for the purpose of obviating the purposed measure.

4th.—Proposed by Mr. T. McMicking, and seconded by Mr. R. C. Healey—That it is the opinion of this Meeting that the best means that can be adopted for the end, would be to petition both Houses of Parliament and the Supreme Government on the subject.

5th.—Proposed by Mr. J. Stephen, and seconded by Mr. E. J. Gilman—That Messrs. Johnston, Boustead, Hamilton, Guthrie and Shaw be appointed a Committee to draw up Petitions in conformity with the resolution now passed.

(The Petition having been previously prepared was read by the Chairman.)

6th.—Proposed by Mr. W. S. Lorrain, and seconded by Mr. José d'Almeida—That these Petitions having been adopted shall lie for signature ten days in the Singapore Reading Room, and that the one to the House of Lords be forwarded to Lord Glenelg, that to the House of Commons to the Members for Manchester and Glasgow, and that to the Supreme Government, direct.

7th.—Proposed by Mr. J. Fraser, and seconded by Mr. A. Guthrie—That a copy of the Petition to the Supreme Government be transmitted to the Local Government, with a request that, if they concur in the views of the Petitioners, they will second the prayer of the Petition.

The following was the text of the Petition :—

"That your Petitioners having learnt with great regret that it is the intention of the Supreme Government to establish a Custom House and levy duties at this place to provide means for the suppression of Piracy in these seas; a measure, in the opinion of your Petitioners, that will have a most injurious effect on the commercial prosperity of the place.

"That your Petitioners are confidently of opinion that the present commercial importance of Singapore is entirely owing to its having been continued a Free Port, without any obnoxious restrictions on its Trade; that most of the Native Traders have been induced to this Port, in preference to others on the Island of Java and elsewhere, solely on that account.

"That your Petitioners humbly beg to bring to your notice the advantages of Singapore as a commercial depot, both to Great Britain and British India; the imports being composed to a large extent of the Produce and Manufactures of these two Countries; and considerably promote the national industry of both in various branches. The return exports are composed of articles which pay a large amount of duties and thus add considerably to the revenue of both countries.

"That your Petitioners further beg to represent that a considerable branch of the Trade here is the transhipment of goods sent solely for the purpose of being forwarded to their ultimate destination; which branch would be completely destroyed by the imposition of any duties whatsoever.

"That the Dutch Port of Rhio is but one day's sail from Singapore, and is a Free Port. Your Petitioners, therefore, humbly submit that the levying any duties on the trade of this place would have the effect of transferring a considerable portion of the native trade to that port. For, though by the schedule furnished by the Honourable the Governor to your Petitioners, the native boats are freed from paying duties, it would be necessary, to prevent smuggling, to subject them to the forms of a Custom House establishment, which would be nearly as obnoxious to them as the payment of duties.

"Your Petitioners also represent the large expense that would be incurred by having a Custom House with an efficient establishment to prevent smuggling, and submit that from local causes the facility of smuggling would be so great, that a very large proportion of the amount of Duties collected would have to be expended in the Custom House establishment.

"Your Petitioners submit that this settlement has, since its establishment, been rapidly increasing in Population and Revenue; that the former has doubled itself within the last seven years, and the latter for the official year ending 1834-35, shews an excess of Rs. 40,000 over the preceding year.

"That many of your Petitioners have been induced on the faith of this Settlement being continued a Free Port, to invest large sums of money on buildings for commercial and other purposes, the value of which will, in their opinion, be much deteriorated by the falling off of the trade consequent on the imposition of duties.

"Your Petitioners are of opinion that a Steam Boat would be most efficacious in suppressing Piracy, and might also be employed occasionally

in the conveyance of the Court on Circuit and other Government purposes, thereby saving the Government a considerable amount annually expended for these purposes.

"Your Petitioners, therefore, humbly pray that the valuable Trade of Singapore may not be endangered by any duties being imposed thereon; but that it may be allowed to remain in the same free state it has hitherto done."

In this year the Fives Court was established, owing to the exertions of Dr. Montgomerie, who was a very popular man in Singapore. The Fives' Players gave him a dinner in February, in testimony, as they said, of the obligation they owed him for the introduction of such a wholesome and exciting sport. At that time they used to play fives in the early morning, instead of going for the usual constitutional walk. The Court was where part of the building of the Government Offices now stands, and in later years, and down to the year 1866, or thereabouts, there used to be always a dozen players in the Court between five and half-past six o'clock in the afternoon, and there were some very good players. In the course of time, the Court was pulled down to make room for the new buildings, and a Court was built in Armenian Street by the Government to replace it, but it was the death-blow to the history of Fives, and was pulled down in 1886 to make room for St. Andrew's House.

In March two strangers arrived from Borneo, being a pair of *Orang Outans*, brought from the interior, which excited a good deal of curiosity. The paper this year contained accounts of what Lieutenant Waghorn was doing to establish the Overland Route, which was called a very visionary scheme. He had persuaded an English woman to open an inn in Cairo, and steam-packets were started between Malta and Alexandria. He proposed to charge $60 for each passenger, without wine, for going from Alexandria to Suez, and he appointed Agents at Jedda, Cairo and Alexandria, and proposed to reside at Suez himself. The charge then for the postage of a letter from Plymouth to Alexandria was three shillings and sixpence, and a letter through Egypt to Bombay cost, in some instances, as much as £4. The paper does not mention what the weight of the letters was, but does not say anything to show that they were unusually heavy.

In May there was a fire at Kampong Glam, which burnt down a number of attap-roofed houses, occupied by Chinese shop keepers. The Convicts were quickly on the spot, and prevented the fire from spreading; without their help it was thought several streets would have been destroyed.

The *Singapore Free Press* on 12th May, said:—"The Supreme Government have authorised pensions to the family of the late Sultan of Johore. The family consists of two sons and two daughters, and the pension is $70 each, a sufficiently liberal allowance, but merely a gratuity to which no claim could be made with any shew of right. The Company, however, having lately granted pensions, $4,200 yearly, to the family of the late Tumongong, that of the Sultan is of course entitled to the benefit of the precedent. To the families of these two princes the Company is now paying $8,160 per annum."

On the 24th May, a public meeting was held at the Reading Room to form the Singapore Agricultural and Horticultural Society,

with a subscription of $2 quarterly, to meet at seven o'clock in the evening of the first Saturday of every month. A Committee was appointed with the Governor as President, and Messrs. Balestier, Montgomerie, Almeida, Brennand and T. O. Crane, as members. The meetings were held regularly at the houses of the Members of Committee in turn, for some time, papers being read upon various subjects, one, the first, being by Dr. Oxley on the objects of the Society, and one by Dr. Montgomerie on the expense of clearing and draining the jungle to increase the cultivation in the island.

The paper of 2nd June, contained a very long article by Mr. J. Clunies Ross of the Cocos Islands on the formation of the Oceanic Islands, which were spoken of as "his very remote and isolated abode."

In June, Mr. Bonham, the Resident Councillor, was joined in a Commission with Captain Henry Ducie Chads, of H. M. S. *Andromache*, to arrange measures with a view to the suppression of piracy in the neighbouring seas.

In July, Boustead, Schwabe & Co., were advertising in the newspapers, bills on London or Manchester at 3 or 6 months' sight; and the Government advertised Bills on Bengal for sale at exchange 219.

A notice was inserted in the newspaper on 16th July, by the creditors of Mr. Mackertich Moses, signed by most of the principal Europeans firms in the place, saying that reports had been circulated that Mr. Moses was kept in the jail for the purpose of oppressing him, which was not the case. He had made no offer to compromise or settle with the creditors, but had shut himself up in his house and held them at defiance. He was entitled to no indulgence, but if he would do as many Chinese merchants had done, and give a proper statement of his affairs with a fair offer of a composition, and security that he would not go away until his affairs were arranged, the creditors would let him out of jail. He was no relation of Mr. Catchick Moses.

Soda water was first advertised for sale, made at the Singapore Dispensary, on 31st August, the price was $1.50 a dozen, without the bottles.

In August, Lord Glenelg wrote to say that he was much gratified in presenting the petition already referred to, and that he was happy to say the measure which it deprecated would find no countenance from the home authorities; and in November, the East India and China Association in London, which had taken the matter up on behalf of Singapore, wrote to Messrs. C. R. Read, T. Fox, and E. Boustead that they had learned from the India Board that despatches were being forwarded to India directing the Government to suspend, if not already enacted, and to repeal, if enacted, the proposed impost.

On the 15th September, Dr. M. J. Martin was married to Miss Bell, of Westmoreland, by Mr. Bonham, the Resident Councillor. There was, presumably, no Chaplain in Singapore.

In October, Mr. Gilman published an account of the adulteration he had found in a parcel of tin he had purchased direct from a boat from Pahang. It had been usual to cut the slabs in half, but he happened to have two split open at the sides, and found the centres of all the slabs filled with dross, dirt, and a great number of Tringanu

pice, which were made of spelter or lead. Tin was then worth $20, and lead $6. Another lot in another boat was found by the purchasers of it to be just the same, and it was taken to the Police Office and melted down to get the tin separated.

There were very many complaints about the defective state of the regulations regarding the disposal of Government land, and the Agricultural Society drew up a petition to the Governor-General, which was brought forward by Mr. Balestier and Mr. Boustead, and was sent to Calcutta through the local authorities. It was as follows:—"That your Petitioners lately formed themselves into a Society for the purpose of promoting and encouraging undertakings of an Agricultural and Horticultural nature generally in this Island.

"That your Petitioners humbly represent that their efforts in the above object are checked by reason that waste and vacant lands on this Island cannot be obtained either by purchase or on long leases.

"That your Petitioners are satisfied, from recent experiments, that the soil of this Island is generally adequate to the successful cultivation of cotton, sugar, pepper, nutmegs, the finer spices, and other articles of tropical produce, of which the increased production would eminently contribute to the general interest of the Settlement.

"That your Petitioners beg to represent that a great portion of the Island is likely to remain, as at present, an impervious jungle, unless a more liberal system as respects the sale or leasing of lands be adopted, which, in the opinion of your Petitioners, is essentially necessary, if the operations of agriculture are ever to be considered as of any importance in promoting its general welfare.

"Your Petitioners, therefore, humbly pray that your Lordship in Council will be pleased to take the premises into consideration, and to authorize the sale or leasing of lands at this Settlement or the leasing thereof for a term not less than ninety-nine years."

On St. Andrew's Day a public dinner was given, and the company finally broke up at sunrise after having partaken of a third supper.

It was towards the end of this year that the new Recorder, Sir William Norris, came into the Straits, and in his first charge to the Grand Jury, he took the opportunity of expressing his preference for the system of a public prosecutor instead of a Grand Jury, as was the case in the Colonies which had formerly been in the possession of the Dutch or French. There was no regular Bar in those days, none of the law agents having been professionally educated, and the Magistrates did all manner of work besides their own. The Recorder said that no permanent good could be expected until the interests of the stipendiary Magistrates were limited to, and their energies concentrated on, the discharge of their duties. The usual sitting Magistrate was a civil servant, who by the occasional absence of his superiors, acted sometimes as Judge, and always as Commissioner of the Court of Requests; and the remaining Justices of the Peace were mercantile men, who attended occasionally when the presence of two Justices was required by law. The Prisoner's Counsel was not allowed to speak on behalf of his client, nor was the prisoner allowed even to have copies of the depositions made by the witnesses against him; he had to rely upon his own memory.

It was at this time that gambier and pepper plantations began to be of importance in Singapore, the yearly production of gambier being about 22,000 piculs, and of pepper about 10,000. The largest gardens producing about 200 piculs of gambier, and 100 of pepper. On a plantation producing from 100 to 110 piculs, the average size of the gardens, six coolies were employed, at wages of $4 to $4.50 each. The price of gambier was then about $3 a picul. Complaint was already being made about the jungle being all cut down for firewood, and about plantations being deserted and allowed to run to lalang grass, while a fresh plantation was made in the nearest favourable site, and further devastation commenced.

Mr. John Palmer who was called "The Father of the Indian Mercantile Community," and whose name has been mentioned in the earliest days of the Settlement, died at Calcutta in 1836, seventy years old.

On the 17th November, Mr. Murchison, Governor of the Incorporated Settlements, left Penang for Calcutta on his final departure for England. Mr. Bonham acted in his stead, and Mr. Wingrove was sworn in as Resident Councillor of Singapore.

On 22nd November Captain John Poynton, the Harbour Master, died, aged 35 years. He had been in the Navy, and then joined the East India Company's service, and served with distinction. In 1822 he was Deputy Harbour Master in Penang, and was in the war at Rangoon in 1824, when Captain Marryat (the novel writer) of H. M. S. *Larne* gave him great credit. In 1832 he was appointed Harbour Master of Malacca, when William Scott was the same in Singapore, and being friends, as everyone was with William Scott, they exchanged places with each other. He left a widow and several children, and W. S. Lorrain and James Stephen settled up his affairs.

On New Year's Day in this year, at Canton, a party of gentlemen had made an attempt to proceed to Whampoa in the steamer *Jardine*, ostensibly for the purpose of having her measured and examined by the Chinese. The whole of the Europeans had tried to obtain permission from the Chinese authorities for the steamer to ply with passengers between Canton, Whampoa, Macao and Lintin. They went up the entrance of the Canton River, and one of the forts at the Bogue commenced firing upon her, but it was supposed the guns were not shotted. Three of the gentlemen got into a boat with four lascars and pulled to the fort, where there was a formidable turn out of the war-boats and junks. They were taken to the Admiral, and asked him to send up for orders that the steamer might be examined there, instead of at Whampoa, but he said his orders were express and he could not do it. He was invited on board, and came with about one hundred attendants, and the curiosity of all was unbounded. He was towed to and fro in his own vessel in the presence of thousands of spectators, and said he was quite satisfied it was only a passenger vessel, and unarmed, but he could not disregard his orders. As soon as the Chinese had left the vessel, she returned to Lintin, and the passengers proceeded to Canton in sailing boats. At night the forts at the Bogue were still firing, and the war junks exchanging signals and rockets and making much ado about nothing.

So the steamer was sent to Singapore for sale and arrived here on the 28th February, 1836, and was described in the shipping report for the day as a British schooner. They had not had a steamer to notify before this, as far as is known, as the *Diana* did not come until 1837. She was advertised for sale by A. L. Johnston & Co. The *Jardine* was 115 tons, builder's, or 56 tons steam, measurement, and 48 horse power, and was "considered to be the finest steam vessel hitherto built." Her speed was something over seven knots. The paper spoke of her as being a nine days' wonder, and every voice was raised against her, nothing but denunciations being expressed against her qualities. The reason of this was her misadventures on a trial trip she made, which was the first steam picnic in Singapore. The following passages from a letter written at the time contain an account of what had happened:—

"You must know we got under half steam (for the kettle did not boil) at about 6 A.M., on Friday (ominous day) and steered (lop-sided) direct for Goa Island [this is near St. John's Island]. Found the wood fuel too heavy, so threw a great part of it overboard; this eased her much, and we afterwards steamed away (for the kettle now boiled) very merrily; when, I suppose, the Captain wanted to make a short cut, and consequently stuck us in the mud. All hands were immediately employed in getting out an anchor and heaving off, which, after some trouble, was accomplished, and away we steamed again; but whether the tide was against us, or what else was the matter I know not, but certain it is, we did not get on so fast as some of us expected, and there were consequently a few black looks and a little growling; when, behold, as if to punish us for our impatience, snap went the newly repaired lever, and there we were, helpless. Misfortune never comes alone, for, besides the fracture to the lever, one of the iron boat davits broke and let the only boat we had into the sea (that is, only part of her, as she held on by the other davit). There was now nothing for it, but to get sails bent, when we discovered that lots of ropes were wanting, we had no clue-lines, and no many other things. Nevertheless amidst all our misfortunes, we did not forget good living, and beer, champagne, claret, &c., were in great request; our larder, too, was well supplied, so that we did pretty well in that particular. We got back to our homes in the *Snipe* and *Miss Maggie* [two yachts] which came out from the harbour to our rescue."

In March a circular was issued proposing to purchase the *Jardine* by a company in shares of $100 each and to run her between Singapore and Penang, and in May the paper contained an account of a trip to Malacca. The Company was not formed apparently. The paper contained the following account:—"The steamer *Jardine* has frequently been under steam for a few hours during the week, and we learn with much satisfaction that her engine is found to work admirably, which reflects great credit on Mr. Hallpike, who, with very inadequate means, has succeeded in putting the engine in the best of order. The *Jardine* starts this evening for Malacca with a party of gentlemen, and is expected to be back here on Monday morning. The *Isabella Robertson* has arrived since our last, but without bringing the new levers. They may, however, be expected very shortly."

And the account of the second voyage of this wonderful steamer, on a trip to Malacca, on Thursday, 26th May, is contained in a letter from which we make the following extracts:—

"We did not get off till nearly six. At half past seven, the moon rising, we struck hard, and ran, I should say a dozen yards, on a coral reef, I think off Pulo Sala; Mohamet said he went down to change his baju, and while off deck the course was altered. Captain Greig went out in the boat to sound, and found deep water on each side and behind us, backed her off with the paddles; this detained us twenty minutes. We had supper about nine, and shortly afterwards all of our party lay down to sleep, some below and others on deck; but Greig, Hallpike, and I remained up. About half past three on Friday morning, the 27th, Hallpike and I talking, the boat stopped, I said, 'Whatever is the matter now.' We ran to the engine and found the men below just rousing from sleep. They had let the fires get so low that the steam was off. We soon got on as well as ever. About half past six we were abreast Formosa. At a little after eight, most of us were dressed, and talking about breakfast in high spirits, and some said we should be in by 10, others 11, others 12. By this time Moar was before us, probably distant eight miles. We observed smoke coming out of the fore-hatch, from the engine room and the deck on each side of the main hatch, a little forward; it looked like steam at first, but it was soon found that the vessel had caught fire.

"All the passengers and servants ran aft and assisted to lower the boat into the water, the only boat we had. It was a common ship's boat, and I think would not have floated with more than about half our number. We pumped an immense deal of water into the engine room. I tried, and saw others try, to go forward at first, but the smoke was so suffocating that I was driven back, the deck forward was very hot. We got the awning down with very great difficulty, and covered the main hatch with it and soaked the water on it; we also kept the fore hatch to the engine room, a skylight, and the companion to cabin, covered with sails and tarpaulins. We had about seven buckets. McMicking and some of us went into the cabin (he first) and we stood by to haul him up, thinking it would be full of smoke if the flames had not yet reached it, but to our surprise and delight there was no smoke, and the bulkhead was quite cool. Before this, the deck was burst in on each side of the main hatch with the long heavy iron lever which sets the engine going, and we threw water down. I think the fire was out by half past nine to ten o'clock. Hallpike went down at the beginning, and got several bottles of gunpowder which were thrown overboard; he also secured some dollars that he had, saying that they spoke a language understood all the world over. The Captain tried to stop the engine and could not; she stopped of herself, from what cause I know not.

"When the fire was out, I saw what was the means of saving us aft of the boiler; a strong bulkhead, thick planking lined with tin on both sides, and with a space in the middle, and the fire had no strength to get through this, as there was no draught for it. What time we sat down to eat, I cannot tell, but we did, and then set to work and lighted the fires to get steam up as soon as the water was pumped

out. I think about half past three or four the steam was got up; she went for seven minutes, then stopped. Water was pumped in, the fires made fierce, and the steam got up again, and then she went for five to seven minutes; we went on this way, probably 10 to 15 times, until we got to windward of the outer Water Island, and the fires were raked out to my great delight at about half past seven to eight o'clock. We supped and sang, and all went to sleep. We anchored a long way out, I think in 6½ fathoms, at four o'clock. The report boat came and I went in her, to my great joy, and got on shore by a quarter to seven." The paddles and paddle boxes were afterwards unshipped in Malacca and the steamer came back to Singapore under sail.

In this year the descendants of a male and female Jackall, that an individual had brought from Bengal, became very noisy and troublesome animals, and killed fowls in people's compounds, and were said to be the progenitors of mongrel dogs here in the jungle.

Captain William Scott, the harbour master who has been spoken of in this chapter, was one of the most respected residents here, whose worth, gentleness, charity, and disinterested benevolence were widely known over the Far East. He was a first cousin of Sir Walter Scott the Novelist, and was the son of Mr. James Scott, the pioneer settler of Penang, who was the close friend and adviser of the first Governor and founder of the Settlement. He was born on 3rd May, 1786, and died 18th December, 1861, in Singapore and is buried in the old cemetery on Fort Canning. He was a very benevolent, hospitable, kind-hearted man, and all Singapore were his friends. As a boy he was in the Edinburgh High School, and, as a young man, was in the Volunteer Cavalry and Royal Archers of that city. Misfortunes came upon his father's house, whose estates passed into other hands, and he came out to the East. He was the Harbour Master and Post Master and was very regular at his office work. The best time to see him was in the early morning, cutting, planting and gardening in his plantation, at the corner of what is still known as Scott's Road, at the corner of Orchard Road opposite the Police Station and extending up to the Tanglin Club. He lived in a small attap house called Hurricane Cottage, close to where Hurricane House is now. He grew there all kinds of fruits, native and exotic, the purple cocoa, the graceful betel-nut, a maze of rambutans, dukus, mangoosteens and durians, besides sea-cotton, arrowroot, and many more. His garden afforded one of the most picturesque, shady, pleasing retreats that could be imagined, illuminated as it was by the old man's lustrous blue eyes, silver hair, and warm hearty welcome. In the times of Sir George Bonham he was a constant guest at Government House, who had the training and experience to appreciate the value of such a man, and felt that his hospitality was graced by the presence of the cousin of Sir Walter. But times altered, and a new Governor "who knew not Joseph" a son of a shop-keeper, spoken of as "a compound of ignorance and pomposity," could not appreciate these things. It sounds paltry to speak of it, but the fact remains that Captain Scott one day, in 1847, walked into the Governor's Office, which was next to his own, in his usual every day suit of plain white clothes. This was considered



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ABRAHAM SOLOMON.



a mortal affront; and the old faithful servant was ousted, and a young man, with peculiar interest, put in his place, and the older man's means of livelihood swept from under his feet. These sentences are abridged, but without alteration of words, from an old account by one of his friends, who were legion, and he added that Captain Scott felt the injustice most acutely "for he had a great deal of Sir Walter in him." The plantation is now sold for building purposes, but some of the old cocoa plants which Captain Scott introduced are still there. Scott's Road was named after him, and he was the uncle of Mr. William Ramsay Scott, who left Singapore to reside in England many years ago. The *Free Press* remarked at the time of Captain Scott's death, after speaking of his great kindness of disposition, that his long residence in the Straits made him an authority on all matters connected with its history, while he possessed a fund of anecdote regarding its earlier annals which rendered his conversation at once instructive and entertaining. And it said that his features bore a great likeness to his celebrated cousin, Sir Walter Scott. His portrait is in the Freemason's Lodge.

It was about this time that an Oriental Merchant, Abraham Solomon, came to the place. He was born in Bagdad, and after being about five years in Calcutta he came to reside permanently in Singapore. He lived on the river side, about the middle of Boat Quay, and died on 19th May, 1884, at 86 years of age, and was buried in the Jewish Cemetery in Orchard Road. It was said of him by Mr. Thomson, that he might have sat to a sculptor for a model of the father of the faithful. He dressed in the long flowing robes of the East, with a large turban; and his beard, as large and long as is seldom seen, flowed down over his breast. He was a man of large stature, and a notable person in the place. He was a leading man among his tribe and had much to do with the synagogue, and took an enthusiastic interest in the manners, customs, and literature of the East. He used sometimes to entertain Europeans, but was careful to remark that he could not dine with a Christian, so it was not a frequent occurrence. He did not speak English and conversation was carried on in Malay, which would not be the case at the present time. His children were educated at English teaching schools here, an advantage Bagdad did not offer to Abraham Solomon.

The European vessels in these days always engaged Malay sampans to wait on the ship, to avoid making the European crews row backward and forwards in the sun. The Malays learned to build very perfect boats, about twenty feet long and four feet in width, very unlike the tubs they had used before the Europeans came, and they were able to hold their own against European boats, which it was said never beat them. They had a crew of three to five men, and the charge was sixty cents a day. For $30 they would convey letters to Penang, nearly four hundred miles.

In Mr. Earl's book is a description of a Sumatra Squall, which is well worth reproducing. He said "The Sumatra squalls which were formerly, and are still in some degree, the terror of those who navigate the Straits of Malacca, are caused by the South-west Monsoon being obstructed in its course by the mountains of Sumatra. The appearance

of the squall is betokened by a dense black cloud which rises from behind the opposite island of Battam and soon overspreads the sky, casting a dark shadow over the Strait, within which the sea is lashed to foam. Its effect is first felt by the ships in the roads, which heel over and swing to their anchors. There is always as much bustle on the river as on shore, for the cargo boats manned with noisy Klings come flying into the river before the squall, and putting up kadjang mats before the descent of the rain. The squalls seldom last more than half an hour, when, after a smart shower, the sun again breaks out and the wind subsides to a pleasant sea-breeze, leaving an agreeable freshness in the atmosphere."

These squalls prevail during the south-west monsoon between the beginning of April and the end of October. The north-east monsoon, Dr. Little remarks (2 Logan's Journal, 451) blow more steadily and with more force than the south-west, which he attributes to less high land intervening being the China Sea and Singapore, while the south-west Monsoon has to pass over Sumatra. He says the temperature of Singapore is lower by one or two degrees during the north-east monsoon (October to March) than during the south-west (April to September) and that more rain falls between October and March for the same reason.

CHAPTER XXV.

1837.

THE first paper for this year contained a long account of the New Year Sports. A meeting was held in the vestry of the Mission Chapel to open a branch of the British and Foreign Bible Society to be called "The Singapore Bible Auxiliary." The Resident Councillor, Mr. Wingrove, was President, and Dr. Oxley and many others joined the Society. In the number for October, 1884, of the Monthly Reporter of the Society, it says that the Rev. F. B. Ashley of Wooburn, in England, joined the Association in Singapore, when he was commanding the Artillery here, and the first contribution of £100 was sent to London in 1838.

The following paragraph about Chinese crackers at the New Year appeared in the *Free Press* in February: it shows how much worse matters were then than they are now, in this respect. "It has been brought to our notice that the firing of noisy crackers by the Chinese, with or without the permission of the Police, in the streets of the town during this season of their New Year's festivals, occasions so much alarm to the owners of carriages, that they are compelled to forego their use, unless they prefer to risk their necks. The burning of large heaps of gilded Joss-paper in the middle of the street may be a very harmless amusement and no wise dangerous to pedestrians, but firing crackers which resemble and equal in report a *feu de pelorin* is rather a more serious matter, and may very easily lead to damage of limb, if not to loss of life, especially as the little Chinese urchins, like little boys everywhere else who are allowed to have their own way, think it a very fine piece of fun to plant one right in the track of your passing or advancing vehicle. This ought not to be permitted, or if it does seem meet to shew respect for the 'customs of the natives,' they should be restricted at least to particular hours and places."

On the 8th February, at a meeting of the merchants, agents, and others interested in the trade of Singapore, convened by circular and held at the Reading Room for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of establishing a Chamber of Commerce at this Settlement, A. L. Johnston in the Chair, it was proposed by Ellis James Gilman, seconded by R. C. Healey and unanimously resolved:—

(1) That an Association be formed under the designation of "The Singapore Chamber of Commerce" for the purpose of watching over the commercial interests of the Settlement.

Proposed by E. Boustead, seconded by W. S. Lorrain, and unanimously resolved:—

(2) That all Merchants, Agents, Ship-owners, and other interested in the trade of the place, be eligible to become Members of this Association.

Proposed by Thos. Scott, seconded by J. S. Clark and unanimously resolved :—

(3) That a Provisional Committee be now appointed to draw up Rules and Regulations for the government of the Chamber, and to report thereon to a General Meeting to be convened as soon as the same are prepared.

Proposed by W. S. Duncan, seconded by Lewis Fraser and unanimously resolved :—

(4) That the said Provisional Committee consist of the following five gentlemen :—Messrs. Edward Boustead, Thomas McMicking, Alexander Guthrie, Ellis James Gilman, and William Renshaw George.

On the 20th February a set of regulations was drawn up. Mr. Johnston was the first President, and the Committee were T. McMicking, R. C. Healey, E. J. Gilman, Syed Abubakar, Kim Guan, I. Zechariah, E. Boustead, J. Balestier, Gwan Chuan and A. Guthrie. The regulations may be found printed at length in Mr. Newbold's book. One of the first acts of the Committee was to take up the question of the infringement by the Dutch of the treaty of 1824 by a prohibition of the introduction of British manufactured goods into Java, and a petition was forwarded to England on the subject. The papers were full of the question for some months. At a meeting of the Library Committee in the News-room it was decided, in consequence of the reduction in the price of newspapers in England, to reduce the rate of subscription to $24 a year.

In March, Mr. Bonham (afterwards Sir Samuel George Bonham) was appointed Governor to date from 25th December, 1836, when Mr. Murchison left for Europe; and Mr. Church was appointed Resident Councillor of Singapore from 4th March.

In the same month some Europeans played cricket on a Sunday afternoon on the Esplanade, which was objected to.

The rainfall in 1836 had been only 59.7 inches for the year. The following remarks upon the rainfall were written in April.—"The oldest European resident in the Settlement does not recollect any year, the first quarter of which can be compared with the last three months, so very unusual has the season been. Instead of heavy and continued rains, which might have been expected, particularly during January and February, the drought has been unprecedented even for our least rainy months : and we understand that a similar deficiency of rain has been experienced both at Penang and Malacca, these Settlements being even worse off than ourselves. The total fall of rain here from the 1st January to the 31st March amounted only to 6 inches and nine-tenths, whereas the table for the first quarter of 1835 exhibited a fall of 31 inches : and that of 1836 something less than 18 inches. During the past month dense fogs covered the face of the country almost every morning until two or three hours after sunrise, a rather unusual appearance with us."

In May, the Reverend Edward White, newly appointed Chaplain to the Settlement, arrived from Bengal. The Rev. F. J. Darrah died in Madras on the 29th September following.

In the same week, the first Annual Meeting of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society was held, Dr. Oxley in the chair, and it was decided to keep only the horticultural garden, under his management. The Society had held regular monthly meetings during the year, and had obtained cotton seeds for distribution to planters, and issued a letter to the Chinese containing suggestions and advice regarding planting other produce besides gambier and pepper. Dr. Oxley, Dr. Montgomerie, and Mr. T. O. Crane, the Secretary, were the prominent members of the Society.

In July, two Chinese, members of the Chamber of Commerce, were expelled from it, for having sold to a Jew four cases of opium, after putting in spurious contents of an inferior quality and weight.

A Memorial was sent by the Merchants and Mariners to the Governor-General asking that lighthouses might be erected near Romania Point and the Coney Island. On 30th July the Rajah of Selangor came to Singapore in his own brig, and was received with a salute of 15 guns. The Sultan of Lingga paid a visit to Singapore at the same time, so the *Free Press* remarked there were "two crowned heads" in the place: but both more than suspected of giving countenance to piracy.

The following is an account of a visit, probably the first of its kind, to Rhio, in the steamer *Diana*, Captain Congalton. "I was one of the party that went a steaming to Rhio on Monday last. It was a very rainy morning when those who had slept on board the steamer during the night were awoke by the arrival of those who had slept on shore. It was a very wet morning but we got under steam, notwithstanding, at a little before five o'clock, there being no less than nineteen of us altogether. We now proceeded gaily along, each step of our progress bringing us in sight of some piece of scenery worthy of notice, and most beautiful certainly was our sail through the Straits, where the eye wantoned over the glories of a smooth blue sea washing the sides of islets which sparkled in all the green and luxuriant verdure with which the imagination of a poet may be supposed to array the dwellings of the Fairies. We anchored at one o'clock. The place looks pretty, and H. N. M. Frigate *Ajax* lying at anchor in the roads did not, of course, detract from the beauty of the scene. The party were not long in landing, some of us proceeding to pay our respects to the Resident, some to take a look at the fort, and we were everywhere met with civility and polite attention from all the gentlemen of the station whom we met, and I believe we saw them all, for there is no great number of them. We then, all in a body, made our way to the house of the China Captain, accompanied by several of the Dutch military Officers, where a splendid tiffin awaited us, to which every one shewed his readiness to do honour. But the recall gun from the steamer broke in upon the harmony of the entertainment and compelled us to retrace our steps on board, leaving our worthy host, Ban Hok, filled with regret at our departure. I ought not to forget that on our visit to the fort the troops were turned out in honour of the visitors, and put through sundry well-executed manoeuvres, and also that a salute of nine guns was fired. We were also shewn the Government School, where, among

other things, the children are taught music, and gave a proof of their proficiency by singing with great sweetness, an accomplishment of which, by the way, I would recommend the acquisition in the schools here, if the thing is possible, as besides having an excellent moral effect upon the children, we might have a little decent singing in Church of a Sunday. We returned to the steamer, and got under way for Singapore at four o'clock."

On Monday, 26th August, the first meeting was held of the Singapore Temperance Society, which began very successfully, with Lieut. Ashley of the Artillery as Secretary, and the Hon. T. Church as President, and the clergy and Dr. Oxley on the Committee. Three months afterwards Mr. John Gemmill, who was then a store-keeper and the first auctioneer in Singapore, published the following amusing advertisement:—

CIRCULAR.

The Temperance Society is making such rapid strides in this Settlement that it is useless to advertise Brandy for sale, although I have got some very good of an old stock, which I wish to get rid of, and leave off selling the article, there being little, or no consumption of it since the above society has commenced operations, and so effectually so that the spirit trade is very unprofitable, at least so I find it, and if all here tell the truth they will confess the same. Nevertheless, may the Temperance Society go on, and prosper, say I, although it hurts my trade. I have, however, just received a superior lot of very old Malmsey Madeira, that I can confidently recommend, also a fresh batch of genuine old Port Wine for sale by

JOHN GEMMILL

A Malacca Temperance Society was formed about the same time, with the Resident Councillor as President. There was an advertisement in the *Free Press* in August by Syme & Co., that they were prepared to advance in cash to the extent of nine-tenths of the value of Produce consigned to their Agents in London or Liverpool.

A new Cattle disease, which was very fatal, was first noticed at this time, and it was thought to be caused by the animals swallowing a small poisonous insect when eating grass, which produced violent irritation of the stomach. It caused great distress among the cattle-owners.

On Saturday, the 16th September, news was received by H. M. Sloop *Zebra* from Penang, of the death of King William the Fourth; and on Sunday, at 1 p.m. seventy-two minute guns, the year of his age, were fired from the battery on shore and from the *Zebra* in the roads. On Monday, at noon, a Royal salute was fired in honour of the accession of the Princess Victoria to the throne. The following was the proclamation, which is interesting to those who have not seen it before, from its quaint legal language. The form was followed on the death of Queen Victoria in 1901, being found printed in the original of these papers.

"Whereas it has pleased Almighty God to call to His Mercy our late Sovereign Lord King William the Fourth, of Blessed and Glorious Memory, by whose decease the Imperial Crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland is solely and rightfully come to the High and Mighty Princess Alexandrina Victoria, saving the Rights of any issue of his late Majesty King William the Fourth which may be born of his late Majesty's Consort: therefore, the Governor and Members of Council

of Fort St. George in Council assembled, do now hereby, with one Voice and Consent of Tongue and Heart, publish and proclaim that the High and Mighty Princess Alexandrina Victoria, is now, by the death of our late Sovereign of Happy Memory, become our only lawful and rightful Liege Lady Victoria by the Grace of God, Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Territorries in the East Indies, Defender of the Faith, saving as aforesaid: to whom, saving as aforesaid, we do acknowledge all Faith and constant Obedience, with all hearty and humble affection: beseeching God, by whom Kings and Queens do reign, to bless the Royal Princess Victoria, with long and happy Years to reign over us.

Given at Fort St. George this twenty-fifth day of August, in the year of Our Lord One thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven.

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN.

All the pages of the *Free Press* were put into mourning borders for three weeks, and a notification was issued that the Governor in Council requested that mourning should be worn by all British subjects residing in the Presidency.

On Saturday, 30th September, the *Singapore Chronicle* issued its last number.

A Government notification appeared on 18th October, giving the reasons for passing the Indian Act No. 20 of 1837, regarding the transmission of land. It said that land could only be lawfully bequeathed and inherited according to English law, but in practice that had been little regarded. Freeholds had been equally divided between the members of a family instead of descending to the heir-at-law; and also bequeathed by will not executed with the formalities of a devise; and immigrants from different countries had introduced their own natural usages. If the English law were enforced under these circumstances great confusion, distress, and insecurity would result. It was desirable therefore to secure the present holders of land in their possession; all land in the Eastern Settlements (the Straits) would be treated as being, and as having always been, of the nature of personal property. At this time all the lands in Singapore were of a leasehold tenure (*Free Press*, 19th October, 1837) and the irregularities mentioned in the notification or preamble to the Act, had no existence here, it was only then applicable to Penang and Malacca.

Gambling was rampant at this time, and two cases of suicide by women in consequence occurred. It was remarked by the newspaper that the police peons were looked upon and generally found to be the most substantial people of any of their walk of life in Singapore, and were as inefficient as they could be; which was all that was got in exchange for the abolition of the gambling farm.

Prince William Hendrick Frederick, son of the Prince of Orange, a lieutenant on board H. N. M. frigate *Bellona*, came to Singapore in October, the first Royal Visitor, and after a complimentary reception, he visited Penang and Malacca on his way to Calcutta.

The Chamber of Commerce held a meeting on the 24th October, to protest against a proposal of the Supreme Government at Bengal to introduce a Rupee circulation. The following resolutions were passed:—

1st. That it is the opinion of this meeting, that the plan proposed by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council in a letter to

the Hon'ble the Governor of the Straits Settlements, dated 16th August last, of substituting Company's Rupees as the only legal currency of these Settlements, in place of Spanish dollars and Dutch guilders—the present currency—would be highly injurious to the commerce of the said Settlements, besides entailing considerable expense on the Government.

2nd. That it is the opinion of this meeting, that the present currency is better adapted for the trade carried on at this place than any which can be substituted; Dollars and Guilders being almost the only coins which pass current in the neighbouring native states.

3rd. That should the Government carry into effect the proposed measure of making Company's Rupees the only legal tender, it is the opinion of this meeting that they would still not become current, nor remain in the Settlement, but be shipped to Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay as remittances, when the Government Treasury is shut, or when open at an unfavourable rate of exchange.

4th. That should the measure be adopted, this Meeting is of opinion that it would cause numerous difficulties to the Merchants in their intercourse with the native traders bringing produce to the place, who will receive payment in dollars and guilders only, and it would thus be productive of endless disputes and litigation.

5th. That it is the opinion of this meeting, that Government might issue a copper currency for the Straits, consisting of cent, half-cent and quarter-cent pieces (the Bengal copper coins not being adapted) with advantage to these Settlements; the present copper currency, either from short supplies or from the monopoly of the native shroffs, being subject to great fluctuation, which is severely felt by the labouring and poorer classes of the community who are usually paid in copper.

6th. That should Government issue a new copper currency for the Straits, it is the opinion of this meeting, that it would be necessary, in order to prevent, as far as possible, any fluctuation in the value of the coin, to have a considerable stock at each Settlement to enable the local Government to keep the market steadily supplied.

7th. That this meeting is of opinion that no means should be taken to prohibit the importation of copper tokens as an article of commerce, for the supply of the neighbouring native states, but that the Company's coin only should be permitted to pass current in these Settlements.

At this time the local Government officially recognised for copper coin, only the old coin struck for Bencoolen, and cents made for Penang, and all sorts of spurious and worthless coins were used for small change.

At the end of October, the number of cattle carried off by the disease we have mentioned, rose to considerably over five hundred, and a subscription was made for the natives who owned them, as they were reduced to destitution.

The Government having given way as to the imposition of duties, turned from the miscarriage of that plan to injure the trade of Singapore, to the formation of another. The second scheme of taxation was a tonnage duty on all square-rigged vessels coming to the port, whether with cargo or as a port of call. It was supposed that it would produce an annual revenue of Rs. 50,000. It came to nothing, but it was allowed by the mercantile community at the time that if it were suggested for the

purpose of maintaining a light-house in the Straits for the security of navigation, they would not hesitate to recognise the propriety of it, but there was no light-house then, and no pilots, and no dock establishment in any of the three Settlements, nor any establishment maintained to carry on surveys in the neighbourhood, which the occurrence of frequent accidents proved to be necessary, and nothing had been done for the benefit of the class of shipping it was proposed to tax.

Sir Benjamin Malkin who had been promoted to the Calcutta Bench as Chief Justice died there in October. He had left the Straits on 29th June, 1835. The *Englishman* spoke of him as a man of extensive learning, and ever ready to open his purse-strings for useful and charitable objects.

From time to time various suggestions were made about steam communication, and in November a proposal was originated in Singapore to establish a line between Calcutta and the Straits, and the following outline of the scheme was published:—

"It is proposed to establish a monthly communication by Steam between this Port and Calcutta, and thus to extend to the Straits, and in some degree also to China, the benefits of the communication opened between England and India by the Red Sea. To effect this desirable object, a plan is now in circulation to form a Joint-Stock Association. It is intended to purchase a steam vessel fitted up chiefly for the accommodation of passengers, but to carry also a small quantity of freight. The time occupied in the voyage between Calcutta and Singapore, allowing her to touch for a few hours at Penang and Malacca, would not much exceed eight days, and would certainly not be more than ten. She would then have five days to remain here and fifteen days for her return voyage (touching, of course at Malacca and Penang) and for her stay at Calcutta before the month was finished. The time of her departure from Calcutta would be regulated by the arrival of the Mails by the Red Sea. If time permitted it, and freights or a sufficient number of passengers offered, she might touch occasionally at any of the ports on the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal, or her voyage might be extended to Java, but such deviations would only be permitted, if they could be made without fear of their interrupting the regular monthly communication between Calcutta and the Straits.

"The benefit which the scheme, if it succeeds, will confer on the settlers in the Straits, are too obvious to require to be pointed out; to the residents in Bengal they would be also great, but of a different nature. It is believed that if the advantages which the climate of the Straits and the voyage hold out to the Indian invalids were more generally known, and a regular monthly communication once established, the numbers who now resort here would soon be greatly increased. The certainty of being able to get back within the month would induce numbers to visit the Straits in search of health, who now remain in India, until a voyage to the Cape or Europe, and an absence of many months, or even of some years, is rendered necessary. Besides, there are many who, for recreation, would gladly absent themselves from Calcutta for a month, but who now cannot do so, on account of the uncertainty of getting back again within a reasonable time.

"No hopes are hold out to subscribers that much profit will at first result from the undertaking, though it may reasonable be expected

that after the first year, the increased number of passengers would enable it to pay pretty well. It is hoped that the Government of India will pass an Act limiting the liability of the subscribers to the amount of the sum subscribed, as is to be done for the Association in Calcutta for building the Bonded Warehouses. If such an Act cannot be obtained, it is proposed to make it one of the fundamental rules of the Association, that should the debts ever exceed a certain portion of the Joint-Stock funds, the Association should be at once dissolved, and its affairs wound up. It would be made incumbent on the directors to publish quarterly a statement of the accounts. The amount of the shares is fixed at 600 Rupees each, and would be called for in three or four instalments, with intervals of two or three months between the payment of each instalment."

This was followed in March, 1838, by Messrs. Syme & Co., being appointed Agents of the New Bengal Steam Fund, and up to that time 2,475 shares had been subscribed for in England and India by 706 individuals and firms, and it was proposed to put on a small steamer between Bombay and Socotra to complete a regular mail every fortnight between England and India. The end of this was that, in 1841, the Committee of the New Bengal Steam Fund made an agreement with the East India and Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Companies, and the Shareholders took a transfer of their shares to the P. & O. Company, and that important undertaking arrived at a definite point, and held its first half-yearly meeting in that year.

A buffalo started off in a furious state one Saturday evening, and after injuring a number of persons and tossing Mr. Catchick, the Armenian Priest, and goring him severely, it attacked a pony and gharry in St. Andrew's Church compound and killed the pony, and was shot by the police the next day in the jungle, a mile from the town. On St. Andrew's Day, Dr. Montgomerie was Chairman of the Scotch dinner, the Stewards being Messrs. Carnie, Fraser, Charles Spottiswoode (partner in John Purvis & Co.) and Davidson.

Up to this time, no Chinese woman had ever come to Singapore from China, and the newspapers said that, in fact, only two genuine Chinese women were, or at any time had been, in the place, and they were two small-footed ladies who had been, some years before, exhibited in England. The Bugis trade in the season for this year, which lasted from July to November, was 169 boats from Bali and the Celebes, in equal proportion; the total tonnage was nearly 5,000 tons, and the number of men 5,038.

Mr. Thomas Scott and Mr. Charles Spottiswoode joined Mr. John Purvis in December and the firm was then called John Purvis & Co.

In this year Mrs. Whittle had a Boarding and Day School in North Bridge Road, the charges for Boarders were $12 and for day Scholars $5 a month.

In this year Mr. Benjamin Peach Keasberry came to Singapore. He was the youngest of the three sons of Colonel Keasberry, who was appointed Resident of Tegal, in Java, during the British occupation. Mr. Keasberry was born at Hyderabad in India 1811. His father died when he was a few years old, and the widow married a merchant in



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MAP, DATE ABOUT 1835 TO 1838.

Soerabaya named Mr. Davidson. The three boys were sent to school at Mauritius and afterwards to Madras. When they grew up the elder brothers went to Soerabaya, and the youngest stayed in Singapore and opened a store. As it did not do much good, he went to Batavia, and was a clerk in a firm there, but making the acquaintance of Dr. Medhurst, of the London Missionary Society, he went to live with him, and joined him in his work, learning printing, bookbinding and lithography, which he found very useful afterwards in Singapore. About 1834 he received some money from his father's estate and he went to America, where he studied at College for three years, and in 1837 married Miss Charlotte Parker of Boston. He came to Singapore with his wife as Missionaries to Malays under the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. He remained in Singapore until his death.

The two brothers John and Alexander Stronach of the London Missionary Society were in Singapore then, and also Messrs. North, Dickenson, Tracy and Travelli of the American Board. In 1839 the American Board removed their men to China, and Mr. Keasberry joined the London Missionary Society, and learned Malay from Munshi Abdulla. He then started a small school at Rochore, where a few boys were taught printing, &c., under agreement to remain for a certain period. Preaching in Malay was carried on in an attap building in North Bridge Road nearly opposite where the Chinese Gospel House is now. Mr. Keasberry lived in the house still standing on the plot in Brass Bassa Road behind the present Raffles Hotel.

In 1843 by his exertions in collecting subscriptions in Singapore the Malay Chapel in Prinsep Street was built and opened. The opening sermon was preached by the Rev. Samuel Dyer of Penang, and the second by Dr. Legge, afterwards well-known at Oxford, both of the London Missionary Society, at that time on their way to China. The jubilee of the Chapel was held on the 7th February, 1893, when it was associated with the memory of Mr. Keasberry, as one of the earliest, most respected, and most well-known pioneers in mission work in the Peninsula. Although it was eighteen years after his death, the Chapel was crowded with those who had known him in Singapore.

In 1846 Mr. Keasberry, being a widower, married Miss Ellen Scott, a niece of Captain William Scott, and when, in 1847, the London Missionary Society ordered all their men to China, Mr. Keasberry would not leave Singapore, as he had some boys bound to him for several years, and was doing so much useful work in the place. So he severed his connection with the Society and remained from 1847 as a self-supporting missionary, occupying himself with his school, his preaching, and the printing establishment by which he supported the school. He held regular services in the Chapel and visited the neighbouring islands and the Carimons in his sailing boat.

There is a letter among the papers in the Raffles Institution which he wrote on 2nd July, 1847, to the School Committee of the Singapore Institution, in which he asked the patronage of the Committee for his boarding school for Malay boys which he had established eighteen months before, in connection, he said, with the Mission

of the London Missionary Society. He had expected that Society to support his School, but they declined, owing to the state of the funds, and he was obliged to rely upon local resources. He said that he had not room for more than the thirteen boys he had, which caused an expense of $250 a year, some of the boys paying $2 a month, and the printing establishment partly supporting the School. This was the beginning of the house at Mount Zion at River Valley Road. It was a plank and tile-roofed house, which was pulled down and rebuilt in 1851 with some money left to Mr. Keasberry by his step-father Mr. Davidson. In the original bungalow were several Malay youths of good birth. Governor Butterworth sent the two eldest sons of Tumongong Ibrahim to school with Mr. Keasberry, and the elder, the late Sultan Abubakar of Johore, always spoke with the highest respect and gratitude of "Tuan Keasberry" and erected the monument over his grave. In 1858 there was a Malay girls' school taught by Mrs. Keasberry, at Mount Zion. About 1862 Mr. Keasberry opened a Mission station at Bukit Timah, and a chapel was erected there, which was supported by the members of the Malay Mission until his death when the Presbyterian Church was asked to take charge of it.

Mr. Keasberry wrote a number of books in Malay, and printed the Bible in Malay. His press was always resorted to by the European merchants to print their bills of lading, policies, &c., and Mr. Keasberry was always at work in the Square in the printing office, which was called the Mission Press. It eventually passed to to Mr. Neave and afterwards became Fraser and Neave, Limited. Mr. Keasberry's name had become a household word in Singapore. He died quite suddenly while preaching in the Malay Chapel on 6th September, 1875, after a residence in Singapore of 38 years, at the age of 64 years.

Mr. George Windsor Earl's book, "The Eastern Seas in 1832-34" was published in London in this year. He had been a sailor, in command of vessels, and in 1832 he came from Western Australia to Java. The greater part of his book contains descriptions of Batavia, Soerabaya, Borneo and Siam. The last three chapters relate to Singapore where he arrived for the first time from Batavia on 6th February, 1833, and after a short voyage elsewhere, remained in Singapore from June in that year to February, 1834, when he sailed for England. The reviews remarked that his statements were not always accurate, especially regarding the amount of trade. The height of Bukit Timah was stated at 1500 feet (it is really about 500) and the paper pointed out other mistakes of fact regarding the dates of building the Roman Catholic and Mr. Keasberry's Chapels. Mr. Earl said in the book that it was the custom on the morning of Christmas Day before the merchants came into town (they did not apparently keep a holiday) for the boatmen to deck the entrances of their town houses with plantain stems and green boughs, which was not done with a view to a Christmas Box, as the residents rarely knew by whom it was done, and the godowns of those who were in the habit of treating them with rudeness were sometimes neglected. Mr. Earl returned to Singapore in 1856 and practised in High Street as

an Advocate and Law Agent. On 1st June, 1857, he was appointed Police Magistrate in Singapore. In 1859 he was Assistant Resident Councillor and exchanged offices with Mr. Willans at Province Wellesley; he then acted for Mr. Braddell in Penang and returned to Province Wellesley in 1860, and was Resident Councillor there and in Penang until 1865, when he died, two days after leaving Penang, on his way home.

Mr. Moor's Notices of the Indian Archipelago and adjacent countries, a book of about 300 pages with charts and maps, printed in Singapore, was published in December. It was a compilation from papers in the Singapore newspapers, and contains a great deal of information which (as the *Free Press* remarked in reviewing the book) would have been entirely lost but for the industry of Mr. Moor. It contains very little that relates to Singapore, but contains much information about the states in the Malay Peninsula and neighbouring countries.

The commercial activity of the Chinese was always greatly excited on the arrival of the junks from China. The first junk generally arrived a little before Christmas, and the vessels remained in the harbour from December until June. Boats were always going to and fro among the shipping, giving the roads, Mr. Earl says, the appearance of a floating fair. As a large junk came in, the boats used to go out when a long way off and as she neared the town she gained an accession of bulk at every fathom, until at last the unwieldly mass slowly trailed into the roads surrounded by a dense mass of boats. The Chinese master strutted about on the top of the thatched habitation on the quarter deck, with all the importance of a mandarin. For a day or two little business was done, as the time was spent in building roofs over the vessels to shelter the goods which were to be exposed for sale on the decks.

The arrival of the first junk was a time of great excitement. It was most anxiously looked for, and when a Malay sampan, which had been on the look out to the eastward, brought the news that a junk had been seen, there was a tremendous bustle among the Chinese community, running in all directions to tell their friends, so that they might hasten off to the vessel to learn the news from China. Some of these junks were very large vessels, up to seven hundred tons or more, manned and navigated entirely by Chinese.

Some of the small junks, varying from one hundred and fifty to three hundred tons, were fast sailing craft and came down expressly for opium, for which they paid in silver. They used to leave early in May, and smuggle the opium into Canton by bribing the Mandarins. All the large junks sailed on their return voyage by the end of June. In 1841 a few of them waited till the middle of July, hoping to get opium cheaper when the others had left, but they got into the monsoon, and one or two were lost with valuable cargoes, and the lesson was not lost on their successors. The Chinese in Singapore sent remittances by them to their families in China, usually of money, but sometimes rice and various useful articles. The servants used to want an advance for this purpose, and it was said that the masters of the junks, who received a percentage on the sum transmitted, were extremely honest in the transactions.

The Bugis Traders used to arrive in October and November, with coffee, tortoise shell, or gold dust, which they sold to the Chinese. About two hundred of these boats used to come annually, each manned by about thirty men. They used to walk all round about the place before making a bargain and buying the return cargo of opium, iron, piece goods, gold thread, &c.; they seldom, if ever, took money away with them.

Native vessels also used to come down from Siam and Cochin China. The rajahs there fitted out square-rigged vessels and loaded them on their own account. They brought principally sugar and rice, and gamboge which was shipped to London, and cocoanut oil for Singapore use.

A large number of Arab vessels under the Dutch flag came from all parts of Java, fitted out and owned by Arabs residing in Java. They were credited with notorious smuggling, for which the numerous small rivers in Java gave many facilities. They were built of teak, ranging from 150 to 500 tons, and were fine vessels.

From May to October used to come boats from Sambas and Pontianak and Borneo, bringing pepper, camphor, rattans, &c., but they were greatly hampered by piracy until Sir James Brooke and Captain Keppel in the *Dido* gave them a check they could not get over, as Mr. G. F. Davidson remarks in his book, from which many of the above statements are taken.

There was an extensive trade also between Calcutta and Singapore throughout the year. Vessels brought raw-cotton and cotton goods, opium and wheat, and carried back tin, pepper, sago, gambier, and especially treasure; dollars were often very scarce after two or three of the clippers had left.

Mention has just been made of the junks in 1841 having tried to beat up to China against the monsoon. Mr. W. H. Read says in his book that it was in 1832 that the opium clipper *Red Rover* first accomplished this. The story is as follows:—"In January, 1832, a vessel called the *Red Rover*, commanded by Captain Clifton, started from Calcutta, and, touching at Singapore, plunged into the unknown terrors of a strong north-east monsoon, in the hope of reaching Whampoa in due time. Bets were heavy as to whether she would reach her destination or not. One morning, about a month after her departure from Singapore, the mercantile community was thrown into a state of considerable excitement by the appearance of a crippled vessel, flying a St. Andrew's white cross on a blue field—'Jardine's private flag.' Her main-top-gallant mast was gone; the fore top-mast, evidently a jury one, had a royal set for the top-sail. The mizen mast looked all askew, and, in fact, the 'bonnie barkie' was a wreck. Of course, the 'I told you so' were triumphant. 'Impossible, we knew it.' Their opponents were as dejected as the others were jubilant. Meanwhile, Captain Clifton came on shore to breakfast with his agent. The worthy skipper's face was a picture of melancholy. He was limp with fatigue. He threw his hat on a table, tumbled into a chair, and seemed as if about to burst into tears. His host and others tried to cheer the mortified mariner, who refused to be comforted; but, like many others on similar occasions, he rather

overdid his part. A suspicion was raised in the mind of one of those present, who, quietly rising from his seat, went into the verandah and examined the cast-away hat. withdrawing from it a Macao newspaper only a week old. The 'gaff was blown,' as the vulgar expression is; the secret was out, and the wily captain burst into a hearty laugh. He had beat up against the monsoon in eighteen days without losing a spar; all the ravaged look of his vessel was a comedy, and the 'I told you so' party, frightfully 'sold,' suddenly collapsed. The end of the *Red Rover* was sad. After many adventurous but successful voyages, she disappeared in the Bay of Bengal."

Mr. Thomas Church who had been appointed Resident Councillor in this year, had been, in 1819, a young assistant Magistrate at Bencoolen under Mr. E. Presgrave. On the abolition of the Bencoolen Government he was transferred to Penang, and in 1828 he was at Malacca as Deputy Resident, and went up to the Penghulu of Naning to try to settle the dispute which afterwards led to the so-called war in 1831.

He had been Police Magistrate and Assistant Resident in Penang and Malacca for five years, and was higher in rank than Mr. Bonham. He had retired from the service in 1835 and gone home, but he soon got tired of it, being a very active man, repented of his resignation, and petitioned the Company to be allowed to rejoin, which was done on condition of his being placed at the bottom of the list for promotion. He went to Calcutta, on his way to the Straits, and waited on Sir Charles Metcalfe, then acting Governor-General, who asked him for a record of his previous services. Mr. Church, unfortunately for himself, was, to say the least, reticent about his previous resignation, and Sir C. Metcalfe, supposing that he was older in the service than Mr. Bonham, sent him on to the Straits to relieve that gentleman of the acting Governorship. He did so and administered the Government in Singapore for a few months. But then matters were cleared up and positions reversed, which led, naturally, to a great deal of talk in the place. Mr. Bonham was confirmed as Governor in 1837 and Mr. Church received the appointment under him of Resident Councillor, and Singapore was, for the first time (Cameron, page 21) made the permanent residence of the Governor. Mr. Bonham was Governor until 1843, when Mr. Church according to practice, should have succeeded him, but the story went that it was known in Calcutta that he did not give good dinners (so it is written) and the difficulty was felt to be insurmountable. At any rate Governor Butterworth was appointed.

Mr. Church was in charge of Singapore while Colonel Butterworth was absent on leave from 1851 to 1853, when Mr. Blundell acted for the Governor, but remained at Penang. Mr. Church wrote to the Governor-General stating his claims to act for Governor Butterworth, but Lord Dalhousie on 9th January, 1852, replied that the Government of India fully appreciated his ability, energy, the success of his services in Singapore, and the value of his long experience and intimate acquaintance with the Settlement; and would have reposed the charge in his hands with perfect confidence. But as Mr. Blundell had once before been Governor of the Straits, and when he was removed, it

became the subject of a despatch from the Court of Directors, the terms of that despatch were such that the Government could not have declined to appoint him to act again, without obvious disregard of the views of the Honorable Court and consequent injustice to Mr. Blundell. Lord Dalhousie added that though his letter might not remove Mr. Church's disappointment, yet it would satisfy him that Mr. Blundell's appointment arose from no other cause than his peculiar claims, which gave him the preference; while the Government highly and justly appreciated Mr. Church's long, able, and valuable services in the same sphere.

Mr. Church was distinguished by a most assiduous discharge of his public duties, giving up his whole time and attention to them for many years. In addition to his other labours, he disposed of the greater part of the civil business of the Court at Singapore, the visits of the professional judges being rare and hurried. Mr. Church was a very useful public servant, thoroughly familiar with the duties of his office, punctual and laborious in their discharge, and unaffectedly anxious for the welfare and advancement of Singapore, which owed a great deal to him. In August, 1856, he sent in his resignation, having been Resident Councillor for nineteen years, at the time when such an energetic, practical, and unassuming head of affairs was peculiarly valuable.

The following address was presented to him by the Chamber of Commerce, and was very much more than a mere formal compliment. "Sir,—The Singapore Chamber of Commerce, having learnt that your official connection with Singapore is about to terminate, desire respectfully to express the high sense they entertain of the zeal and assiduity with which you have discharged your public duties during the many years you have filled the office of Resident Councillor at this station.

"The Chamber have fully appreciated the ready attention you have at all times given to the representations of the mercantile community; and your conciliatory behaviour to all classes, and particularly to those native traders on whose presence so much of the prosperity of the trade of Singapore depends.

"The great facilities which you have afforded for the transaction of business by a liberal interpretation of official rules and requirements, and the disposition you have ever shewn to dispense with unnecessary formalities which might give rise to vexations, obstacles, and delays, deserve the fullest acknowledgment on the part of the mercantile community. But, in a more special manner, their grateful thanks are due to you for the important assistance rendered not only to them but to the whole community, by your voluntarily taking upon yourself the punctual and laborious discharge of judicial duties for so many years, when the absence of a resident professional judge would otherwise have been very detrimental to their interests.

"Although differences of opinion may at times have existed between you and the mercantile community on particular subjects, the Chamber fully believe that you have at all times been actuated by a conscientious sense of duty and have ever had the sincerest desire to promote the commercial interests of this place.

"The Chamber regret that failing health should have been the immediate cause of your leaving this Settlement, in the prosperity of which they doubt not you will still continue to take much interest, and, in conclusion, the Chamber beg to offer their best wishes for your future welfare and that your health may be benefited by a return to your native land.

Signed in name, and by authority,
of the Singapore Chamber of Commerce,

C. H. HARRISON,
Chairman.

A. LOGAN,
Secretary.

A Malay letter written to him by the Tumongong expressed his earnest thanks in eastern phrases for the help and advice Mr. Church had given to him, which had converted his country "into a populous country again." And the law agents of that time, Messrs. W. Napier, A. Logan, R. C. Woods and A. M. Aitken, addressed Mr. Church with warm acknowledgments of the great labour and responsibility he had undertaken on the Bench, outside his own proper duties, and the high opinion they had entertained of his impartiality and judgment. The letter was of more value as it was written in October, 1855, on the occasion of his having stated in Court that he found it would only be possible to take peculiarly urgent cases, as he found it caused too serious an interruption to the discharge of his other work. And yet (in spite of a very careful turn of mind that will be spoken of presently) nothing is heard of any suggestion of extra salary, or of any other desire than to do all the good he could in his station.

Mr. Church's reply, dated 12th October, 1855, is worth recording:—

"Gentlemen:—

"I have had the honor to receive your obliging communication of the 8th instant. The anomalous constitution of Her Majesty's Court of Judicature in the Straits combined with the peculiar position of this Station induced me to undertake duties involving weighty responsibility necessarily attendant on the administration of justice.

"In the infancy of the Settlement the judicial business was comparatively light and simple, and no material interruption in the performance of the executive duties was experienced for some years. Singapore has, however, annually assumed a greater degree of importance. Commerce and population have vastly increased, and consequently the judicial business also; it is a source of satisfaction to find the Home Authorities have at length determined to nominate a professional Judge to this important Station, a measure calculated to prove advantageous to the public and a great relief to the Executive.

"The testimony borne by gentlemen who, from professional position, are the most competent to form an opinion of the benefit which has resulted to the Community by my holding Civil Sittings, is particularly welcome and gratifying, and more than a compensation for the additional labour and mental anxiety which I have occasionally undergone in my earnest desire to impart substantial justice, and come to a right judgment.

"To you, Gentlemen, individually and collectively, I request to tender my cordial thanks for the valuable assistance afforded during the protracted period I have presided in Court and for the kind expressions towards me recorded in your letter under acknowledgment."

The social side of Mr. and Mrs. Church's life was a source of never failing amusement to the community, in a very amiable spirit. It is related that Mr. Bonham, when Governor, was found in his office one day with a large bottle of fluid magnesia on his table. "Not sick, I hope" said a friend. "Oh, dear no," said the Governor, "but I am going to dine with Tom Church to-night." Mr. Church always lived at the house, now standing, at the corner of Coleman Street and the Esplanade, opposite the Cathedral. It was afterwards the Masonic Lodge until the present Lodge was built in Coleman Street; then it become part of the Hotel de l'Europe, and is now part of the land that was bought for offices for the Municipality in 1899. In 1844 Mr. Church gave a dance and the Hon. Captain Keppel sent his band from the *Dido*. He was always famed for the band on his vessels. The brandy supplied to the band was not to their taste, and the Captain's Diary (we know now from the Admiral's last book) remarked at the time "Band got drunk." A few days after Mr. Napier gave a dance, and after it was over the band (who got good drink and enough of it, or more) marched away to Tom Church's, a trifle out of their way, and played the Rogues' March in the Compound, and then walked down to their boat on the beach (there was no sea-wall then) and went off to the *Dido*, which sailed at daybreak homeward bound.

Another well-worn anecdote was this. One forenoon in the office, a Kling tamby came and offered Mr. Church a very nice looking fowl pie, which Mr. Church bought as a great bargain, as he thought, to please Mrs. Church, for a dollar. But on reaching home, it was not a success, for he found Mrs. Church had sold it to the tamby for fifty cents, as it had not been cut at a party at their house the previous evening. It was further related that on one occasion when a very high official functionary came from Calcutta, he was placed in a small room on the lower floor, and the wash-hand stand was a cracked basin on an empty case stood on end.

One day there was a fire in town, at which some sailors rendered valuable assistance, and one of the old residents, a Magistrate, highly respected, took upon himself to give them some refreshments which they had well-earned. The bill, which amounted to some $6 or $7, was sent in the next day to Government, but the Resident Councillor, who was more than economical, refused to pay a cent; "it was absurd to throw away such a heap of money for nothing." So the worthy J. P. sent round a circular, asking for subscriptions, of not more than five cents each. He, of course, obtained the money at once, and sent the receipted bill and subscription list to Mr. Church to be kept among the Government records. An old Singaporean writes "Poor Mr. Church was a good-hearted, and in some things generous man, but liberality was not his forte." His handsome gift of a clock to the Church has been described on page 290. Mr. Church's eldest son Major Robert Church, of the Madras Army, now a retired Lieutenant Colonel, was

Private Secretary and A.D.C. to Governor Butterworth. His second son, now Major General Thomas Ross Church, C.I.E., was married to Miss Florence Marryat, daughter of Captain Marryat, the famous sea-novelist, in whose steps she followed as a novel-writer, but of a very different type. The notice of the marriage appeared in the *Singapore Free Press* of 23rd June. 1854, as follows:—"At Penang, on the 13th June, by the Revd. E. R. Maddock, T. Ross Church, Esq., 12th Regt. M. N. I., to Florence, the Fourth Daughter of the late Captain Frederick Marryat, R.N., C.B." Captain Marryat had died in 1848; he had been promoted and made a C.B. for his services in the Burmese War, but when H. M. S. *Larne* was here in 1840, Captain Blake was in command of her, and not Captain Marryat. It has been said that Captain Marryat was known in Singapore, and some circumstances seem to point to it. He was certainly in command of H. M. S. *Larne*, when she was on the station in the Burmah War, as has been said on page 281; and it used to be said that some of the stories in his novels, particularly O'Brien's famous duel in "Peter Simple" were founded on occurrences in Singapore, as a very similar duel took place many years ago in North Bridge Road, where a billiard room and public house stood, long since pulled down to build shop houses. This is however, quite uncertain, as no confirmation has been obtained up to the time this chapter is written. It is also thought that the children of Mr. Church and Captain Marryat were brought up, or at school together, in England.

Mr. Church died in London at 2 Hamilton Place, St. John's Wood, on 10th August, 1860. Singapore may well wish to see his like again. Mrs. Elizabeth Church returned to Singapore, and though possessed of large means, lived in the most frugal manner possible, and kept all her money, a very large sum indeed, in deposit notes in the Oriental Bank, on the failure of which the amount was necessarily somewhat decreased. She died here on 31st October, 1884, in Killiney Road, at the age of eighty years. She was only known to people in general, because she used to drive out in the evening in a very old pony gharry: and turning over the newspaper of that time, it is found that no notice whatever was taken of the occurrence, though she was certainly a part of the history of the place, for her husband was one of the most hardworking, conscientious men that ever came to Singapore.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1838—1839

1838.

IN January a number of small lots of ground on the northern side of Brass Bassa Road were sold by the Government at auction under the New Land Regulations, the term of 999 years having been abandoned. The longest term for any of these leases was 99 years, with a proviso that substantial buildings should be erected; or for 60 years when the nature of the building was left to the option of the purchaser. The result of reducing the term was that only one-third was realized of the price for which such land had been sold six or seven years before under a system of permanent leases, as they were called, for 999 years. In consequence of the defective state of the communication between the locality of the lots that were sold and the mercantile part of the town, the newspaper urged that the money received from the sale should be applied to local improvement.

This change in the regulations had been made by Mr. W. R. Young, the Land Commissioner who was sent from India. There were many complaints about the great expense to the Settlement, Mr. Young's salary alone being Rs. 3,000 a month; and about the futile result of his proceedings. The Bengal Government had been asked to allow waste jungle land to be cleared and planted, and at a great expense sent the Commissioner to say that it would be allowed on payment of an annual quit-rent for 20 years, and the land would then be resumed by Government, which created much dissatisfaction. Mr. John Crawfurd wrote a very long letter on the subject to the East India and China Association which was reprinted in the *Free Press* on 11th October.

The old question of a gambling farm was raised again in this year and was advocated by the press, one of the principal grounds being the connivance of the police; for the paper said that if it was otherwise the whole force must have been blind, as a short walk in town would show twenty shops where gambling was carried on almost openly every night.

Small-pox was very bad in the middle of the year, over three hundred persons dying within three months, and it was proposed to establish a Vaccination Society, which the Recorder suggested in his charge to the Grand Jury, referring to the benefit vaccination had conferred on the population of Ceylon.

In June, the Chamber of Commerce petitioned the House of Parliament against the heavy duty on tin imported into Great Britain from the Straits. The quantity of tin exported to London and Liverpool in 1837, had been 10,688 cwt.

In July, the steamer *Diana* left for Malacca and Penang, and it is a curious sign of the times that complaints were made by some of

the merchants that they had not heard of her intended departure and had missed the opportunity to write. So it was suggested that it would be a good plan to circulate a notice among the merchants when a steamer was intended to leave. The *Diana* was the first steamer employed in the Straits; and besides going after pirates, for which Captain Congalton became very famous, she took the Recorder on circuit; so the views of Singapore became quite changed about the utility of steam-vessels, the paper remarking that "the use of the *Diana* afforded signal example of the advantageous and useful purposes for which steam-vessels could be employed in the Straits and that it was desirous that it should be extended and its powers more variously employed in every direction round Singapore. By means of steam-vessels the influence round the Peninsula might be strengthened, so as to be used at all times with benefit and effect; while commerce would increase under the security which it would afford; and steam navigation appeared to the writer to open up prospects, both political and commercial, embracing the most happy results."

In August the Government authorised the building of a new bridge to supersede the old bridge which had been so troublesome; it was to be placed further up the river, near where the Powder Magazine was then standing, the road at the foot of Government Hill (now called Hill Street) being intended to lead across it. It was expected to be completed in eighteen months.

In September the Chamber of Commerce succeeded after some delay in getting the Government to allow letters for England to be received at the Post Office for transmission by the overland Mails *via* India. The postage through India was paid here and the steam postage was collected in England.

The following are some passages from a letter written by Mr. Waghorn to the merchants here and in China about his proposed scheme for the overland route and mails to China:—"The time then is come for you to establish a chain of steam communication between Canton and Galle, and thus identify and connect China with the Calcutta line at that place. There are many advantages attendant upon such an establishment, not only to your own commercial pursuits but also to every other relation connected between Europe and China, all so evident to the politician, merchant, and individual, that it would be loss of time my dilating or dwelling upon them. I therefore will at once go to the outline of a plan, in my opinion, best adapted for the outset of steam navigation between China and England. One vessel is sufficient to begin with, making quarterly trips between Galle and Canton, in dates suited to meet the Calcutta steamer at Galle. Such a vessel should be about 800 tons, with engines of 220 horse power, and space for 100 tons of valuable freight, touching both ways at Singapore for fuel, letters, passengers, &c., &c. Raise £50,000 in shares, to pay for this first vessel, and for a year's coal at Galle, Singapore and Canton. Let this vessel be built by first rate builders and fitted by a first rate engineer; let any future vessels that you may be disposed to put upon the line be exactly upon the same principal and size, &c., &c., so that what is serviceable for one of your steam-vessels may always be applied to the others.

"Of course, the Calcutta line cannot long remain with one solitary steam-vessel between there and Suez. Another and another will soon be put on, and after they are, it will be for yourselves to put on a second vessel, and have more frequent trips between you and Galle. Java, as a matter of course, will connect herself with your line at Singapore, so will New Holland, and by-and-bye Australia, and many other places in the East. Steam navigation has already added as much, perhaps more, to England's greatness, than any other science, except education, that God has given to man. Its advantages to our Chinese connections are yet to be practically developed; in my opinion the sociality it will bring about, will, ere some thirty years hence, induce a British Viceroy of India to pay a visit of friendship by steam to His Celestial Majesty in China.

"When the writer began his advocacy of steam navigation between England and India, he found the Directors of the East India Company opposed to anything of that nature with India. He found Her Majesty's Postal Department averse to steam-vessels as packets. He found the Admiralty of opinion that the Government thought of doing away with theirs, because they were not safe in bad weather. He found himself deemed a visionary, nay, a madman, by the Government Officials, for maintaining that steamers could go easily in 50 days between India and England, *via* the Red Sea. It must not be surprising if some little egotism has crept into his own opinions, now that he has lived to see the matter compassed with ease in 40 days, and speedily it will be reduced three days more in Egypt, when the Government and Company do the needful in that Country.

"The above statement is made to give you an earnest of his future labours, to assist and devote himself to such an object with China, as in like manner he devoted himself to get it to India. Having seen it done to India, he now looks onwards to China, and hopes to see you all "doing" towards its being done, between Canton and London in 55 days, *via* Galle. My wish is to be entrusted with placing a first steam-vessel between Galle and Canton (as I would call at Galle on the way out) to bring you the first mail by the Red Sea. All this would be gratifying to me, and I particularly wish to be instrumental in doing it."

The Singapore Community continued to bestir themselves on the subject of steam communication, and the following is a report of a public meeting that was held on the subject:—"At a public meeting of the inhabitants of Singapore held at the Reading Room on Monday, the 17th December, 1838, for the purpose of taking into consideration the suggestion of the Madras Committee for establishing a steamer between Ceylon, the Straits, and China, in connection with steamers to be established between India and Suez, in the event of the comprehensive scheme not being carried into effect, Mr. W. D. Shaw having been called to the Chair, the following Resolutions were unanimously carried:—

First.—That this meeting views with feelings of satisfaction the disposition on the part of the Bengal and Madras Committees to co-operate cordially on the subject of steam communication between India and England.

Second.—That in the event of the comprehensive scheme (namely, an unbroken communication by steam between Calcutta and London, *via* Suez) not being carried into effect, the Madras plan for forming a Company to perfect the communication on this side of the Isthmus, is the best that could, under the circumstances, be adopted.

Third.—That this meeting, from such a view of existing circumstances as they are enabled to take, are of opinion that the establishment of a branch steamer between Galle, the Straits, and China, would eventually succeed.

Fourth.—That a Committee be formed for the purpose of procuring every information relative to the establishment of steam communication between Point de Galle, the Straits, and China, with a view to ascertain how far the undertaking would be likely to succeed with reference to the outlay and probable returns, and for the purpose of corresponding generally with the Committees of Bengal and Madras.

Fifth.—That the said Committee consist of the following seven gentlemen, three to form a quorum:—

Dr. Montgomerie, Messrs. Balestier, Napier, Connolly, Boustead, Brennand and MacDonald.

In August a waterspout passed over the harbour and town, dismasting one ship and sinking another and carrying off the corner of the roof of a house in its passage landward. It is referred to in 3 Logan's Journal, page 628.

1839.

In this year, we find the first account of the complete New Year's Day Sports on shore and on the water, which did not differ much from those of the present day, except that it was then a day set apart by the mercantile community to amuse the natives only.

The following was the account of the Sports in the *Free Press*. "The European Gentlemen of the Settlement have for some time back observed the laudable practice of ushering in the New Year with sports and pastimes among the native population, in which suitable rewards are appropriated to those who compete. Boat-racing is the most favourite and most attractive of these diversions. Indeed it is remarked how very few games or exercises of an active and athletic nature the Malays have; even boat-racing, as a sport, is an exotic: and the only games peculiar to them appear to be a sort of foot-ball and kite-flying, the latter being an exercise practised in various ways in many parts of the civilized world, in a manner of which the poor Malays have not the smallest idea. In their sampans, however, whether pulling or sailing, they beat in their own waters every competitor. The first race was a pulling match, the reward for the winner was $15. The next was a sailing match between Malay sampans, about ten of them mustering for the race. They made a beautiful start of it: their long light, sharp hulls, cutting through the water under a fresh breeze in the best style—

'So shoots through the morning sky the lark,
Or the swan through the summer sea.'

"The run was about four miles, which was accomplished in a very short space of time, the first boat being rewarded with a prize of twenty, and the second with one of ten dollars. A race of common Malay sampans, manned with Kling boatmen, was then well contested and excited a considerable degree of interest.

"After these were over, the Sports on shore commenced with a pony race mounting native riders. A very grotesque congregation of men and horses assembled at the starting post, very few of whom reached the winning post. Some wrestling then ensued, in which the only competitors were Klings, who made far better work of it than we ever saw done by the more lusty Chinamen, whom we have sometimes seen vying with each other in the same contest. A great deal of foot-racing, &c., &c., then became the order of the day, and continued until four o'clock, when the ground began to get clear of its various multitudes, all of whom seemed equally delighted with the Sports, not the least interesting or important of which were the scrambles for copper pice which some lively young gentlemen were ever and anon projecting into the air. The weather was delightful, cloudy and breezy."

In January a facetious individual put an advertisement in the paper offering $1,000 reward to any person who could succeed in making a safe and easy conveyance to travel over (or rather through) the road leading to the Sepoy Lines in particular, and the Singapore roads in general; iron and wood having been found too weak, and springs and wheels impracticable.

The beginning of Banks in Singapore was an adventure of John Gemmill's, who issued in January the following original advertisement:—

"The undersigned will cash good Bills, the drawers and acceptors being residents of Singapore, or will advance money on Goods deposited with him, at such rate and terms as may be agreed upon.

"Deposits in money in sums of not less than $100 will be received by the undersigned, bearing interest at six per cent. per annum, if allowed to remain at least one month, when, after three days' notice, the principal and interest will be paid if demanded, but if withdrawn in less time, no interest to be allowed but the principal only be repaid at three days' notice.

"John Gemmill trusts that the merchants and other gentlemen of the Settlement will facilitate his views in thus publicly circulating capital, although on a small scale, as they may tend to shew the necessity of a Singapore Bank, of the expediency of which he has had even a little experience himself.

"As he does not presume to cash all the Bills, &c., that may be required, a Journal will be kept to shew what extent of specie transactions might be done."

The twentieth anniversary of the foundation of the Settlement was commemorated by a public ball on the evening of the 5th February, and a dinner on the 6th February. The *Free Press* remarked:—"It was curious to find in Lady Raffles' Memoirs that the 29th February was given as the day on which the British flag was first hoisted at

Singapore, an error probably of the printer's devil, as there was no doubt as to the 6th being the day, having often been commemorated here by gentlemen who themselves witnessed the ceremony of hoisting the flag by Sir Stamford Raffles." Several United States ships were in harbour, with a Commodore, and there were several public entertainments given; ending with the flag-ship, the United States frigate *Columbia*, giving a large dinner and dance on board the frigate.

The planting of gambier and pepper was increasing very much, and the following article, which shows how it was then carried on, was published in March:—"The increase which has taken place in the cultivation of gambier and pepper by the Chinese settled in the interior, requires that we should give some account of the extent to which it has now advanced, as it is the only cultivation on the island which has yet assumed any degree of commercial importance; and the following particulars have been obtained as well from parties who are themselves owners of plantations, as from those whose course of business engages them in extensive transactions with the planters. It is well known to our local readers that the cultivation of pepper and gambier is always carried on in conjunction, the support which they mutually afford each other being, it seems, indispensable to the existence of either of these plantations, commonly termed *bangsalls*. There are now altogether about 350 in the island, which we may divide into plantations of the first, second, and third class.

"A plantation, or *bangsall*, of the first class, occupies an area equal to about 350 fathoms square for its gambier, and generally employs from ten to eleven men, the proprietor included. Its average monthly produce is equal to between 17 to 18 piculs a month, or about 210 piculs annually. To supply firewood for the boiling-house it is necessary to have a tract of jungle in the immediate vicinity; and it is a serious objection to any locality for gambier-growing if it has not, at the commencement, an available extent of jungle for fuel equal to the area which is occupied by the plant, and which it is computed will supply firewood for a term of 25 years. Thus, a plantation of this size will consume in that space all the fuel which can be supplied by an extent of jungle 350 fathoms square. The annual produce of pepper on a plantation of this description is about 125 to 150 piculs. It seems that there are at present rather under than above thirty bangsalls, which severally yield these quantities.

"Plantations of the second class average about 150 piculs of gambier annually, and about 80 piculs of pepper, employing eight or nine men; while those of the third class, about 100 to 120 piculs of gambier, and about 50 piculs of pepper, there being seldom more than seven men to the latter. The same remarks regarding fuel apply, of course, to these as to the larger bangsalls.

"The aggregate produce of the whole 350 bangsalls in gambier and pepper is stated at fully 4,000 piculs a month, or 48,000 piculs annually, of the former, and 15,000 piculs a year of the latter. This is more than double the quantity of gambier produced in 1836, during which year it began to experience the effect of favourable prices in England, and is fifty per cent. in advance of the quantity of pepper stated to have been produced during the same year.

"Nearly all these plantations were commmenced by individuals without capital of their own, who began on small advances from the Chinese shopkeepers in town, on the security of a mortgage of their ground: and out of every three of them it is probable there are two which are subject to encumbrances of this description, the advances sometimes running on at a very high rate of interest, and often made in clothes and provisions at higher than the market rates: and the consequence is that instances are of daily occurence in which plantations are changing hands, and the original settlers often absconding, leaving considerable debts behind them. Notwithstanding all this, however, the Chinese in town who support the planters, and the better class of planters themselves, affirm that a plantation is almost sure to clear off the original advances, and finally yield a fair profit, if the planter is steady and industrious, and abstains from gaming and opium-smoking, both of which are the besetting sins of that class of Chinese who settle in the interior of the island, every third man of whom, it is admitted by themselves, is an opium-smoker, while the infatuation of gaming often produces the most ruinous consequences. In the interior, too, the practice of gambling on credit is common, and the unfortunate sufferer in those blind games of chance, to which they are so strongly addicted, is often induced to grant his promissory note for what he has lost, which, in due course, will assume the form of a mortgage over his plantation, after which an action at law, and a sale by the Sheriff, very soon leaves him altogether minus. On such occasions, the plantations generally pass into better hands, and are bought by men who have some little capital of their own; and it is astonishing how far a small sum of a man's own money will go towards making him become a comparatively extensive proprietor. It was only the other day that the bangsall of one of those improvident characters above referred to was sold by auction for $1,400, and was purchased by a party who had only $200 of his own money, obtaining the additional requisite advance by agreeing to mortgage his new acquisiton for the accommodation.

"Many of the old gambier plantations, and there are some, it seems, 18 years old in the island, have, it is stated, considerably diminished in value of late years, as well from the soil being partly exhausted, as from the want of firewood, all the jungle in the neighbourhood having been cleared away, and requiring them to proceed to a considerable distance to bring it. This is the great drawback, and in consequence of it alone, many plantations have declined one third from their original value: and from the same cause several bangsalls have been given up altogether, and the ground abandoned to that inveterate enemy of all cultivation, the lallang grass. On these occasions, the boiling of gambier is altogether discontinued, and the pepper vines are allowed to drag on, until, deprived of the aid the soil receives from the boiled leaves of the gambier, they die away entirely. According to the Chinese, the leaves of the gambier, which are merely strewn over the ground in which the pepper vines are planted, rather protect than enrich the soil, and the rain, they say, washes a substance off it into the earth which prevents the growth of any noxious weed to interfere with the vines.

"Whether or not pepper would succeed here with the aid of some other manure besides gambier, is an experiment which has not, we believe, been tried, but it is manifest that gambier would never pay, if grown by itself, at present prices. The gross value of the annual produce (210 piculs) of the most extensive plantation of gambier on the island at the market rate of $2 per picul is only $420 which would barely suffice to pay the mere wages of the ten men engaged on it, if taken even at $3.50 a month, although the proper average is perhaps $4 per month for each man. Even joined together, gambier and pepper are certainly not an enriching cultivation, and if it requires little outlay of capital, taken all in all, it brings little in. Thus, taking the price realised for 48,000 piculs gambier at

$2 per picul we have	$96,000
for 15,000 piculs pepper at $5 per picul ..	75,000
value of the total annual produce of both ...	$171,000

which, if we allow altogether 3,000 Chinese, and it is probable there is fully that number, to find work on the plantations, gives exactly $57 a year to each individual engaged. Rating the wages of each at $4, this would amount to $144,000 a year, which deducted from the above sum of $171,000 leaves $27,000 to be divided among 350 proprietors, giving an average of profit for each plantation of only $77 and a fraction annually, without making any deduction for interest of capital laid out, materials used, carriage, and a variety of *et ceteras*. According to the statements of the Chinese themselves, the best of these plantations, when clear of all encumbrances, yield the proprietor an annual profit of about $400, while the lowest barely pay their way. There seems not the least doubt, however, that the cultivation of gambier and pepper will go on increasing from year to year, until the island is bare of fuel to boil the former, unless some decline in the price of the article should take place, which now seems unlikely, or unless Government should interpose with what some would account an injudicious, and some a judicious, measure to check its progress. There is, in the meantime, one beneficial result accruing from the activity with which the cultivation of gambier is now prosecuted in the interior, that it finds employment for numbers who, in a different state of affairs, were formerly found leaguing themselves together in bands for the purposes of midnight robbery and depredation, often causing the greatest alarm even in the immediate suburbs of the town."

In April, first originated the strange notion that has been heard of several times since in Singapore. The Chinese community imagined that the blood of thirty-six men was required for the sanctification of the new Church, and that the Government had actually set on foot a system of Thuggee for the secret apprehension and sacrifice of the required number of victims. Respectable and intelligent Chinese made enquiries about it, and believed that nine heads had been already secured. It was thought at the time that the report had arisen from the church-yard having been enclosed, but we know now that the same singular notion has occurred several times since, and also in

Calcutta, and in Hongkong in 1886 when 500 children were said to have been buried to secure the completion of the Taitam Water Works, so that reason was not the true one. The neighbourhood of the Church got an extremely bad character among the lower class of the natives, and all manners of stories were in circulation about people being carried off on the road by the side of the Brass Bassa Canal, so that none of the natives would venture out after dark. There is an account of this to be found in Mr. Thomson's translations from the Hakayit Abdulla. There is an amusing account of another scare, and of a circular issued by the head Chinese related in the record of the year 1853. In 1885 it occurred again, and natives in the town, especially children, were afraid to go out at night. The Malays said that heads were required for the New Market at Teluk Ayer, as the Government could not build it without one hundred heads. A very well known Arab gentleman said that it had sprung from two murders, lately committed, in one of which a woman's head had been cut off.

On the 28th May, in the Shipping Report appears the arrival at Singapore of the British Schooner *Royalist*, Captain Brooke, 142 tons, from the Cape and England. The paper took no notice of it, and no one anticipated what was to spring from the first visit of Mr. James Brooke to Singapore. On the 28th July, the *Royalist* sailed on a cruise to Borneo. She returned to Singapore in October, and the *Free Press* of the 24th of that month contained a long letter from Mr. Brooke describing his voyage to Borneo.

In July the Government proclaimed a reward of $50 for every tiger brought into the town, it had been previously $20. Four men had been carried off within two miles of the town in three months, in the neighbourhood of Serangong Road, which induced the Government to increase the reward. A few days after the reward was offered, several more lives were lost. One was that of a woman killed near Sandy Point; the other a Chinaman who was carried off at three o'clock in the afternoon while working in his gambier plantation. The other coolies immediately raised a great clamour, beating gongs, &c., to alarm the tiger, and on going a little way into the jungle the dead body was found, very much mangled.

The month of August was the most rainy month then on record in the place, there were 26 rainy days during which 28 inches of rain fell, although the average for a whole year was only about 84 inches. In the first fifteen days, twenty-one inches fell, and sometimes more than four inches in the day. In one heavy thunderstorm the raingauge, which held only two and a half inches, overflowed in the course of an hour.

An analysis was made in Calcutta of water brought to Singapore from the famous hot springs at Ayer Panas, in Malacca, with the following result:—It was found to contain a small portion of sulphuretted hydrogen, with traces of carbolic acid and azote: 500 grains of the water, evaporated to dryness, left only 1.09 grains of dry residuum, which contained the organic matter called Glairine, sulphate of lime, muriate of soda, with traces of silicate and iron. It was said to be only valuable for its thermal, and not for its medicinal qualities. At the springs, the temperature was about 130 degrees of Fahrenheit. When cold it is very palatable drinking water.

In the *Free Press* for this year, a large part of the first page of the paper was taken up at a various times by the publication, in native characters, of translations of proclamations, and of some of the newly enacted Indian Acts.

Much attention had been given during the preceding five years to coffee planting, and the following account, showing how history repeats itself, of the formation of a company sixty years ago, was of interest about 1884, when similar projects were frequently started, but did not succeed.

In October, the Singapore Joint Stock Coffee Company was started, the author of which was a M. Le Dieu, a French resident in Singapore, and the prospectus was published at full length in the paper, but is too long to reprint. After a long preamble about the prospects of agriculture in Singapore, it went on as follows:—"These reflexions proceed from the consideration of a proposal to establish a joint stock company in this place for the cultivation of coffee, which cannot fail to have the most auspicious influence on the prosperity of the Settlement. Agriculture is yet in its infancy in Singapore; but the results already obtained have been sufficiently advantageous to induce several families to invest considerable property in the soil. Coffee seems to be one of the productions most calculated to succeed, as it is estimated to make a return of the full capital expended in four years. To what a pitch of agricultural and commercial prosperity would not then Singapore attain if we saw the half of the island covered with plantations of Coffee? In limiting the produce of each plant to only one pound in the year, and ten dollars per picul as the price of the coffee, this would yield an annual revenue of $2,488,320.

"It is proposed to establish a Society for the cultivation of Coffee in Singapore, under the authority of Government, to be called the (National) Agricultural Society of Singapore. The Capital to consist of one hundred shares of dollars 100 each."

During the next year, several calls were made, and a good deal was written to the paper about it by the shareholders and also by the promoter. The end of it was that some of the Committee sent the following address to the paper, and in October, 1841, the plantation was sold at auction:—"An Advertisement in the last number of the *Free Press* calls on us to pay up the third instalment of shares pursuant to the resolution passed at a Meeting held on the 25th January, but it being generally known that had there been a fuller meeting (twelve persons only being then present, including M. Le Dieu with his three votes) and had proxies been allowed, there would have been a great majority against any further payment towards the coffee plantation, and even as it was, strong dissatisfaction regarding the excessive expense already incurred was manifested by those who have had ample experience in planting, and are well capable of judging what ought to have been effected with the sum already expended." At the same meeting a Committee of five persons was appointed to superintend further operations, which were to be conducted with the greatest economy. This Committee met by appointment four days after the general meeting at the house of the new Secretary, Bishop Courvezy,

and after various separate calculations submitted by two or three of the members, a resolution was passed that the whole concern should be disposed of to the best advantage.

The paper in noticing the sale said that the result did not speak well for the agricultural capabilities of Singapore, but that it would soon publish some remarks by an old Straits hand on the subject, and the writer referred to, in alluding to coffee planting in the island, wrote as follows:—"The Coffee plant thrives well here when judiciously shaded from the sun. But this essential application, it is to be feared, has been neglected by the planters. The cultivation hitherto has been a failure. The coffee tree, if properly shaded, thrives in the Penang Settlement even on the poorest soils, and on soils of every description, but fails on the hills where it is not sheltered from the sun. The chief objection taken to the cultivation here, at Singapore, lies, as in the case of cotton, in the irregularity of the crops. In the same plantation the trees will be found in every stage, from budding to fruiting. When I say that the attempt has failed, it is with these reservations. By selecting appropriate soil and by judicious shading, the trees may perhaps be brought to a fair average condition. The soil here, which seems best adapted to the tree, is that where the peat and sand are mingled in due proportions: next to this description of soil, the most preferable would seem to be the slightly undulating lands and the slopes at the base of the hills, and the hollows, not the swampy hollows, and especially the spots admitting of this description where the soil is reddish. But after all it will depend on the quantity of such soils, whether the speculation will not be a losing one. To cultivate coffee successfully a large expanse of land is required.

"The coffee plants on the tops and upper slopes of the hills do not give much promise of success. Like those which were planted on the Penang hills, which for two or three years throve better, owing to the superior elevation and shelter, than they have done on the hills here, they manifest a strong tendency to overgrow themselves in the centre shoot, and to decay prematurely. Topping is, under such circumstances, the only chance they have of surviving, and where the tree is luxuriant it is a measure both of convenience and necessity at all times and in all situations. If Coffee is destined to thrive on the higher lands, it will probably be shewn by the spirited example of Dr. d'Almeida, who has selected a gently undulating and broad ridge for his plantation, with a soil of a friable texture and which may prove also available for cloves. The late Coffee Company had also a plantation on the same description of soil. This soil contains from 65 to 70 per cent. of silex. The plants in both of these localities are not old enough to permit a decided opinion to be given as to their chance of success. There may be, perhaps, about five hundred acres under coffee cultivation, but not exclusively so, as the plants are intermixed in some estates with other cultivated trees. The Coffee produced is all of fair average quality: I have not obtained any estimate of the quantity of coffee now produced."

The Coffee Company's plantation was on the left hand side of Serangoon Road, about five miles from town. It was never successful.

The first vessel built at Singapore was launched by Mr. Melany at his yard in May. It was a schooner of about 100 tons, called the *Sree Singapura,* built for a European firm called Shaw & Stephens.

Gaston Dutronquoy, a painter, arrived in March and advertised that he would paint miniatures, portraits, &c. In May he opened a hotel called the London Hotel which was first in High Street and afterwards where the Hotel de l'Europe is now at the corner of High Street and the Esplanade.

The *Free Press* said that on 12th October the Right Reverend Father in God, Paul, the Armenian Bishop, with Mr. Deacon Martirus, embarked under a salute from the shore of eleven guns, on board a Dutch brig, which also saluted him with eleven guns, on his way to Batavia. This is mentioned on account of the salute to an Armenian Bishop.

A native advertised that he had been curing horses in Singapore for upwards of thirteen years, and that he would undertake the cure of all diseases. This may have been the man who sent in a bill many years afterwards, "for curing your horse till he died."

On Monday the 25th November, Sir William Norris, the Recorder, opened the Assizes in the New Court House which was then used for the first time, on which he congratulated the Grand Jury, and also on the prospect of a proper house of correction being built soon.

This New Court was part of the present Court House. It had been built by John Argyll Maxwell, the merchant, in 1826 and 1827, under the superintendence of Mr. Coleman, the Architect, and was sold by him on 1st September, 1829, to John Cockerell and George Gerard Larpent. On 1st September, 1841, it was advertised for sale by auction by Guthrie & Co., and was bought on behalf of Government by Mr. Church. It was transfered to him on 26th October, 1841, for $15,600, and on 10th October, 1842, by him to Governor Bonham, on account of the East India Company. The boundaries on two sides were High Street and the Singapore River, the area was 82,080 square feet, and had a river frontage of 240 feet.

CHAPTER XXVII.

1840.

THE first China junk of the season arrived on the 9th January, and the junks in the first fortnight brought down ten thousand chests of tea. The junks took back produce to China in exchange.

In January, the assessment on houses in town was fixed at eight and a half per cent. and on property of a like nature situated outside the limits at five per cent. The tax on horses and carriages was then imposed for the first time, at which there was a good deal of remonstrance, but as the roads were very bad, and continual complaints were being made about them, it was hoped the money so raised might be all applied in repairing them.

On the 14th January, the British brig *Brigand* which had come in from Calcutta two days before, sailed for China. On the following night, while off Pedra Branca, Captain McGill, her master, who was well known and esteemed in Singapore, was murdered by two of the crew, John Williams, a European sailor, and Florentine de la Cruz, a Manilaman. They threw the body of the Captain overboard and asserted that the second mate, who was missing, had been lost overboard by accident in the disturbance. The body of the Captain was never found, and nothing could be proved of the fact beyond some remarks made by Williams when the Captain and second mate were found missing, and the poop, where the Captain was asleep, covered with blood. Williams confessed his guilt before he was hung. The trial was held on Wednesday, the 4th March, from 10 a.m. to 8.30 p.m. and both men were executed on Friday the 6th.

Each month an account appears in the paper of deaths by tigers, and in April the first hunt took place, of which the following account was published in the *Free Press*:—"A Singapore Tiger Hunt.—A friend of ours, when out snipe-shooting a day or two ago, in that jungly locality behind Buffalo Village [this would be about where the Race Course is now], rather unexpectedly came upon what was nothing more nor less than a tiger, very harmlessly employed in taking his morning siesta beneath the shade of some bushy underwood with which the ground is there completely overgrown. Finding himself unperceived, and feeling no disposition to intrude further upon the privacy of the dangerous slumberer, as his gun only contained a charge of snipe shot, our sportsman made as hasty and noiseless a retreat as he could. Returning into town, the rencontre was forthwith made known to several of his friends, who very soon became convinced that a

crusade against the tiger was the best employment in which they could be engaged for the day, and the Mantons and Mortimers of four doughty sportsmen, who felt certain of demolishing their grim antagonist, were in immediate requisition. A detachment of some five and twenty convicts, variously armed, was also procured, and although a considerable time was expended in all this preparation, not a doubt was entertained but that the tiger would be found snug in the same berth in which he had been seen in the morning. As they approached the spot, the hopes of the party were considerably raised by meeting with a grass cutter, breathless with exhaustion, who said he had been, but a few minutes before, within an ace of scraping acquaintance with the gentleman they were in search of. But unfortunately, the tiger was not found, although most diligent search was made for him."

In May, the first vessels of the China expedition for the "Opium War" began to arrive, and the troops disembarked and encamped on the plain where the esplanade is now, until the whole expedition was ready to proceed up the China Sea. The plain was covered with tents, and various temporary structures were put up. The following is an article in the newspaper of the 21st May:—

"There have been various rumours within the last few days regarding the intended departure of the force assembled here; and there is no doubt of an early movement, although it may be judged necessary to wait for the arrival of the *Marion* with the Staff on board, before anything is definitely arranged on the subject. Eighteen troop and store transports are already in the roads: but detachments of H. M. 18th Regiment and of the Volunteer Corps have still to arrive, and may be expected in the course of a few days, which will then complete the whole of the land forces, with the exception of the small addition expected from home, to be employed in the expedition. The full extent of the naval armament is not exactly ascertained, but from all accounts, the more formidable portion of it is still on its way from home, and the Cape Station; although we have already in China, the *Druid*, 44, *Volage*, 28, *Alligator*, 28 (on the way up), and *Hyacinth*, 18; and here the *Wellesley*, 72, *Larne*, 28, *Cruizer*, 18, and *Algerine*, 10, besides the *Conway*, 28, and *Favorite*, 28, still to join. There still remains however, the *Melville*, 74, from the Cape carrying the flag of Admiral Elliot, and several corvettes from the same station: with the *Blenheim*, 72, the *Blonde*, 44, *Pique*, 42, *Andromache*, 28, *Nimrod*, 18, from home. In this estimate, we do not include the steam vessels, which it seems will be supplied entirely from the steam flotilla in India, to consist of the *Atalanta* and *Madagascar*, already in the roads, and the new steamers *Queen* and *Sesostris*, the former of which is daily expected from Calcutta."

On the 4th June, the *Free Press* wrote as follows:—"On Saturday forenoon the 30th instant, H. M. ships-of-war *Wellesley*, *Cruizer*, and *Algerine*, troop-ship *Rattlesnake*, and H. C. Steamer *Atalanta*, with sixteen sail of transport vessels, got under weigh for China presenting a fine and animating spectacle as they steered out of the roads in three divisions, with one of Her Majesty's ships at the head of each. They were followed next day by the steamers *Queen* and *Madagascar*, into the former of which the staff from the *Marion* had been trans-

ferred; and of the two ships-of-war remaining in the roads, the *Conway* will, we understand, move forward in the course of to-day: the *Larne* waiting to take on the April mail, which may now be expected almost daily to arrive from Calcutta by the steamer *Enterprise*. We are not aware whether any day has been specified for the departure of the other transports, now in the harbour, but the *Marion* must, of course, remain until she repairs the damages sustained in her masts and rigging during the voyage from Calcutta. It has been very generally surmised that the preliminary operation of the expedition will be to batter down the Bogue forts: and we believe there is no doubt that such are the instructions of Sir Gordon Bremer. But we understand the campaign is to be opened by also taking possession of Macao at the same time, we presume under some arrangement effected at home between the British and Portuguese Governments."

On Tuesday forenoon, the 16th June, H. M. Sloop-of-war *Pylades*, anchored in the roads from the Cape on the 27th April, announcing the approach of the *Melville*, 74, bearing the flag of Rear-Admiral the Hon'ble G. Elliot, Captain the Hon'ble R. Dundas, which entered the harbour in the course of the same day, followed by H. M. Frigate *Blonde*, 42, Captain Thomas Bourchier, both having left the Cape on the 30th April.

On the following day, the Admiral landed under the salute due to his rank, as Commander-in-chief of Her Majesty's Naval Forces to the eastward of the Cape. It was stated that Admiral Elliot received notification of his appointment to succeed Sir Frederick Maitland, who died, only three days before he left the Cape, during which interval the *Melville* made up her full war complement of men, made every requisite addition to her ammunition, &c., and took in the necessary supply of stores and provisions.

The paper also referred to the seizure of some Chinese junks in the following article:—"Almost immediately after the appearance in harbour of the Squadron that has just arrived from the Cape, a China junk that had got under weigh on her return homeward, was followed and overtaken by H. M. Frigate *Blonde*, and taken possession of by a party sent from on board that vessel, a proceeding which was shortly after followed by the seizure of three other Chinese Junks (being all that were then in the roads) much to the surprise of the European community of the Settlement, and greatly to the consternation of the Chinese, as well on board the junks as on shore, many of the latter being interested to a large extent in their cargoes. Yesterday, however, Admiral Elliot directed the release of the junks, and they are now at liberty to proceed on their voyage, at least if their apprehensions as to what may befall them on the coast of China, will permit them. According to the information we have been able to obtain on the subject, there is no doubt that Admiral Elliot was acting merely in pursuance of his orders in taking possession of the junks. But, as the Chinese here had sometime ago received something like an assurance from the local Government that their junks would not be molested, we may infer that on being made acquainted with the fact, Admiral Elliot assumed the responsibility of setting them again at liberty, in preference to detaining them under such circumstances."



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CATCHICK MOSES.

On the 2nd March, the firm of Sarkies & Moses was established by Aristarchus Sarkies. He had come to Singapore in 1820, and began business on his own account on 1st August, 1828. Mr. Catchick Moses, his nephew, came from Calcutta in that year and was in the office of Boustead, Schwabe & Co., as an apprentice, for five years. Then he made some trading voyages to Calcutta and back on his own account, and in 1840 he joined his uncle in the firm of Sarkies & Moses. Mr. Sarkies died when 65 years old on 8th March, 1841, at his house in Armenian Street, which is still standing and now called Zetland House, opposite St. Andrew's House. Mr. Catchick Moses died at his house the Pavillion on Oxley Hill, when 80 years old, on 2nd October, 1892; his widow died on the 17th September, 1895. The family now consists of three sons, two of whom carry on the firm of Sarkies & Moses, the name of which has never been changed, and two daughters one of whom is married to Mr. Jacob Carapiet. Mr. Catchick Moses was a man of a very kind disposition, and was much respected in Singapore. The natives in former days used often to go to his house in the early mornings for advice, and to settle their differences. He was a good billiard-player, using his left hand, and he had the curious habit of shaving himself with his left hand, while walking up and down the verandah of the house, without a glass. He made his will about seven years before his death, and gave it to his children to read, so that they could ask him about it if they did not understand it, so as to avoid any discussion after his death. During the later years of his life he did not conduct the business, but he used to come down to town and sit in the office, and go back home at four o'clock in a small palanquin which had been built for him by Mr. G. H. Brown some generations before. He was one of the three local residents who alone wore tall black beaver hats. The other two were Mr. Christian Baumgarten, the Registrar of the Court and afterwards a practising lawyer, and Mr. M. J. Carapiet, an opium merchant. The joke used to be that Mr. H. M. Simons used to present the last with his hats, and that they passed round among the three until they were altogether past wear. It was in Zetland House that Mr. R. C. Woods lived when he started the *Strait Times* newspaper. Mr. Moses was one of the last of the old residents of the place.

The following is the first account we have met with of a Chinese procession in the town: it was published in April:—"For some days past, the town has been resounding with the clangour of Chinese gongs, and the streets crowded with processions of this noisy race, in honour of a goddess, or the statue of one, that has been recently imported from the Celestial Kingdom, but the procession which took place on Monday was really something worth looking at. It extended nearly the third of a mile, to the usual accompaniment of gongs, and gaudy banners of every colour, form, and dimension. But what particularly engaged the attention of spectators, and was the chief feature of the procession, were the little girls from five to eight years age, carried aloft in groups on gaily ornamented platforms, and dressed in every variety of Tartar and Chinese costumes. The little creatures were supported in their places by iron rods, which were concealed under their clothes, and their infant charms were shewn off to the greatest advantage by the rich and peculiar dresses in which they were arrayed, every care being taken to shield them with umbrellas

from the effects of the sun's rays, which shone out in full brightness during the whole time the procession lasted. The divinity herself was conveyed in a very elegant canopy chair, or palanquin, of yellow silk and crape, and was surrounded with a body guard of celestials, wearing tunics of the same colour. We have not been able to ascertain the various attributes of the goddess, but it seems she is highly venerated: and a very elegant temple, according to Chinese taste, has been built in the town for her reception. She is called by the Chinese Tien-Seang-Sing-Bok, which, we believe, may be translated Holy Mother of the Gods, being the deity who is commonly termed the Queen of Heaven. She is supposed to be the especial protectress of those who navigate the deep; at least, it is to her shrine that the Chinese sailors pay the most fervent adoration, there being an altar dedicated to her in every junk that goes to sea. The procession, we are informed, is regarded as a formal announcement to the Chinese of her advent in this Settlement, and the exhibition, with the feasting attendant thereon, is stated to cost more than six thousand dollars."

The Singapore Institution School was growing larger, and a Mr. Dickenson of the American Mission was engaged as second Master. There was an American Mission School for Chinese and Malay boys on what was known as Ryan's Hill, the expense of which was met by the Board of Foreign Missions in America. There were a few Malays and some Chinese, who had to be bound to the Manager to remain at school for a certain period. Ryan's Hill was on the way from the then Jail, now the site of the Central Police Station, towards Tanjong Pagar, it was afterwards called Dickenson's Hill, then Bukit Padre, and is now known as Bukit Passoh.

The *Free Press* of the 11th June contains a long letter from Mr. James Brooke about his voyage in the *Royalist* to the Bugis countries and the Celebes. At this time, C. Goymour, who came out with Mr. Brooke in the *Royalist* as steward, opened a public house in the Square which he called the Royalist Hotel. Afterwards he took the house in High Street, which the Guthries, and at that time Mr. and Mrs. James Guthrie, had occupied, and opened it as the Adelphi Hotel. Goymour used to ride in the races, ponies in those days, and so obtained a certain notoriety, but he was an illiterate man, not much appreciated.

The tigers were continually becoming more bold, and in July, five men were killed, all within two miles of the town, in the course of eight days, and in November, the first one was caught alive in a pit of which the following was an account:—"The news of the capture and death of a tiger, last Saturday night, on a Chinaman's plantation close to that of Mr. Balestier, the American Consul, gave general satisfaction, being the first of these destructive animals which they had succeeded in catching alive. A pit was dug, where his track had been observed, the mouth of which was lightly covered over, and two or three dogs tied as bait; the ruse luckily took, and when advancing to his imagined prey he was himself precipitated into the pitfall, where he was very soon despatched, being pounded to death with stones. He was a large animal, measuring 9 feet 2 inches from the nose to the tip of the tail, which was only 35 inches long: the circumference round the fore arm being 26 inches. The captors have claimed and obtained from the local authorities the promised reward

of a hundred dollars, besides having sold the flesh of the animal itself to the Chinese, Klings, &c., (among whom its virtues are much celebrated) for six fanams a catty, by which they realised about seventy dollars more."

In June new regulations were issued as to the occupation of Agricultural land. Leases were offered for twenty years, renewable for thirty years at the option of the lessee, but free for two years, then three years at four annas an acre, five years at eight annas, and afterwards at one rupee an acre a year. It was said that such short leases did not give any encouragement to agricultural undertakings.

Mr. Balestier's godown on the river bank was robbed by a sailor, presumably an American, who secreted himself in the godown after he had been shipped before the Consul in the office on that day by the Master of an American Vessel in the Roads. He robbed a drawer of about $100, and was trying to open the iron chest (primitive safe) when he was heard. It was about nine o'clock and bright moonlight. He made his escape over the roof and dropped into the mangroves on the river side, when all trace of him was lost. Two days afterwards his corpse, fully dressed except his shoes, which he had left on the roof, was found among the piles of the new bridge which was being built. He proved to be a notorious fellow who had been discharged from jail some time before.

On the 30th October, the H. C. S. vessel *Nemesis* arrived, being the first steamer round the Cape. She was 168 feet long, 29 feet beam, 650 tons and 120 horse power. She carried two 32 pdr. guns, and a crew of fifty seamen. She was nearly flat bottomed, and could be lightened to four feet, but had two wooden false keels of six feet depth, one aft and one forward, which could be let down through the bottom of the vessel. The paddle floats could be unshipped for sailing. She had left Portsmouth on 8th March, and was a show vessel at the ports she had called at, the Governor of the Cape and a large party having visited her there. She was the first of her construction which had rounded the Cape, being of iron, and greatly astonished the natives of Singapore. She was a famous vessel against the pirates in Singapore afterwards.

In December in this year, cholera broke out in Malacca, and soon reached Singapore. At Malacca, the Revd. Josiah Hughes, the Residency Chaplain, and the Revd. John Evans, the Principal of the Anglo-Chinese College, died of it within three days of each other.

There was no jollification at all on St. Andrew's Day this year, which caused some remarks in the newspaper. There is an advertisement in the paper, in December, by Boustead, Schwabe & Co., that the letter bag of a sailing vessel for London was to be closed at their office at 4 p.m. on a Saturday afternoon, and another that the books of the Singapore Reading Room were to be sold by auction. But it was proposed to start it again subsequently. The paper for this year contains many references to the advances of Russia towards India, and to their proposed expedition to Khiva.

In December, 1840, the total population of the Island and its dependencies amounted to 39,681, including both the floating population and the military force of the Station, and the body of Convicts

from India. The previous Census published had been for 1836, when the total inhabitants amounted to 29,984, exclusive of the floating population, military force and convicts: and as without these, the new Census numbered only 33,969, the increase in the fixed population during the four years that had elapsed since the former was taken, amounted to little above 4,000, of which fully three-fourths were Chinese, but it was believed the Census was rather under than above the mark. There were in the interior of the island 477 gambier and pepper plantations, while in 1836 there were only 250. There were in use on the island, during the year, 170 four-wheeled and 44 two-wheeled carriages: 266 ponies, and 77 carts. The total amount of taxation paid to Government, which consisted solely of the Farms and the Assessment, amounted to $106,125. and the total rental of the island, estimated according to the rate levied as assessment, amounted to $136,129, of which $7,600 was the proportion of what was termed the country.

Dr. Robert Little, M.D. (*Edin.*), arrived in Singapore on the 11th August in this year in the vessel *Gulnare*. He lived at first in the Dispensary in the Square, and Dr. M. J. Martin lived in the adjoining building which still forms part of John Little & Co.'s premises. From 1843 to 1846 Dr. Martin lived at Annanbank in River Valley Road, and Dr. Little, his partner, afterwards lived at Bonnygrass House, and did so for nearly forty years. It was originally built by Mr. Adam Sykes, of Robert Wise & Co., who lived close by with his wife. In 1846 Dr. Little was one of those who took steps to form a Presbyterian Congregation here. In 1848 he wrote a long paper in the second volume of Logan's Journal on the use of opium in Singapore: and in the same volume and in the fourth, his long papers on fever being caused by coral reefs, which led to much animated discussion; and in the third volume he wrote a treatise on the diseases of the nutmeg tree in Singapore. In October, 1848, the *Free Press* said:—"On Friday last a special Court was held by the lay Judges, for the purpose of swearing in Mr. R. Little, Surgeon, as Coroner. The appointment of Mr. Little to the office cannot be looked upon but as a very judicious one, and it is to be hoped that the Government will, in their appointments generally, seek to carry out the principle which seems to have guided them in this instance, namely, to nominate those possessing the best qualification for office, instead of allowing other considerations, not connected with fitness for the required duties, to have a paramount influence."

In June, 1855, Dr. Little issued a circular and advertisement asking the European community to meet at the News Rooms at 2.15 on the 30th June, to take the necessary steps to establish a sanitarium on Gunong Pulai, but nothing came of it, and it has been proposed several times since with the same result.

It is the highest land within thirty miles of Singapore, and Dr. Little coveted the top, and wanted the East India Company to make a road to it. In those days the Bengal Civilians thought Singapore to be the very place to come to for health, and the Doctor pictured to himself villas, hotels, billiard tables, and soda water manufactories on the very top of his elysium, with mail-coaches to arrive there. A

party of six was got up, of which J. T. Thomson, the surveyor, was one, and he has left us an amusing account of it. They went up the river Skudai as far as possible in a boat and then walked all day through the jungle, sighting a tiger on the hill, and just at dusk reached a small hut made by the convicts who had gone on ahead. After a meal of hot rice and jam (and whisky) they sang to a violin which an Irishman had brought with him. They did not sleep much, and in the morning they toiled up to the summit, only to find that they had gone to the wrong place and the highest point was on another much higher hill, and there was a great gulf fixed between. On arriving at the summit they had a clear view of the coast of Sumatra and of Bukit Timah. The thermometer was only five degrees below that on the plain, and their provisions were run out, so they all came down again.

Near the foot of the hill a large animal was heard close to them, and ten minutes afterwards, in winding round the ravine, at the bottom of which was a clear flowing rivulet, Mr. Robert McEwen (of W. R. Paterson & Co., afterwards of McEwen & Co., and then of the Borneo Co.), espied a large animal and near it another of a similar kind. Immediately the gun was cocked, every breath hushed, bang went the piece, and a roar was heard. Another ball followed, and the animal tried to mount the hill, but another brace of balls from the same hand turned him, and he made for the other side; by this time one of the convicts came up, but his gun was not loaded, which, however, was soon done, and, with a Malay servant who had seized a Chinaman's *parang*, followed the animal. The convict hit him again, still he rushed, crushing all before him, but his fore leg being broken by the first shot, he made but little progress; at last, he stood near a tree, and the Malay boy with his *parang* only, rushing on him to have the first stroke, he turned round and charged him, the boy jumped behind the tree, and in an agony of pain the mighty beast, blind from his fury, struck his horn against the trunk, snapped the end off, and receiving a ball from the convict, who had again loaded, he fell.

Having cut off his ear, the Malay boy rushed through the wood, and having found the party, who were trying to find him, he proclaimed with a shout of exultation that it was a rhinoceros. It was the female, the male having escaped, and it may be worthy of note that the bullets were made of tin and lead, and fired from a smooth bore. As soon as the *parang* could do it, she was decapitated, then shorn of her feet and ears, and lastly of her tail. The interior was examined, and the contents of the stomach found to consist of partially digested grass and leaves; the examination, however, was but a brief one from fear that the male would return, and there being only two balls remaining; nor was this fear an ideal one, as he made his appearance next day to the Chinamen who went to skin the body, and routed them out. Loaded with the skull, which was carried by the convicts, they made the best of their way to the Punguloo's house, which they reached in three hours, so that they had come from the top of the hill in four and a half hours, excluding stoppages, having taken a whole day to find their way up. At 2 p.m., they got into their boat, twenty souls and luggage to boot, and rowed down the river,

much assisted by a rapid current which, however, owing to the tortuous nature of the stream, and the sunken and projecting trees, endangered their safety frequently, for had it not been for the strength of the boat, the alertness of the steersman, and the dexterity of the gun-boat men, six or seven times they would have been upset. Two of the party, Mr. Thomson and Dr. Little, had arranged to ride across the island from Kranji by the road then just newly finished (1855). Their horses were expected to be at the first gambier *bangsal*, to which they found their way in the dark through thick, high scrub. The Chinese had lately been attacked by some Malays, and had just built a stockade round their house, and thinking the two travellers were Malays, they came out, in a fright, with spears and swords, and the Doctor (who Mr. Thomson says was a brave man) got nearly stuck with a spear. Then the Chinese saw his white dress and recognised him as an *orang puteh*, and welcomed them with great joy. They got into town by early morning and thus ended Doctor Little's inroad upon the jungle of the Malay Peninsula, and the first ride across the island by Bukit Timah Road. The excursion had taken four days; the head of the rhinoceros was to be seen for many years at the Borneo Co.'s offices at the corner of Malacca Street.

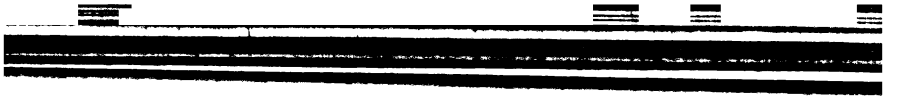
Dr. Little was one of the first unofficial members of the Legislative Council in 1867, and did a great deal of public work in Singapore. Until 1847 he was a partner with Dr. M. J. Martin, as Martin and Little, Surgeons, in the Square. In 1847 Dr. Martin left Singapore and Dr. Little continued the practice alone. In 1859 he was joined by Dr. Robertson, and it was called Little and Robertson. Dr. Little died at Blackheath, London, on 11th June, 1888.

Dr. Little was the eldest of three brothers who all spent the greater part of their lives in Singapore. Their grandfather was the minister of the village of Applegarth in Scotland, as his fathers had been for some generations before him. Their father was a lawyer in Edinburgh.

The second son, John Martin Little, and his younger brother, Matthew Little, eventually were the partners in John Little and Co., which arose out of the establishment of their cousin or uncle, Mr. Francis S. Martin, as a store-keeper and auctioneer in 1842. On 30th August, 1845, he made over his business to Mr. John Martin Little and Mr. Cursetjee Frommurzee, who carried it on as Little, Cursetjee & Co., on the same premises as those occupied by Mr. Martin, where John Little & Co., Limited, still are. Cursetjee was the son of Frommurzjee Sorabjee, a Parsee merchant who established his firm in Singapore in 1840, and died on the 17th February, 1849. Cursetjee afterwards did business on his own account, and was very popular in Singapore. He had an English wife. He died here in 1881. On 1st July, 1853, the partnership of Little and Cursetjee was dissolved, and Mr. J. M. Little was joined as a partner by Mr. Matthew Little, and the business was continued under the name of John Little & Co. In July, 1900, it was converted into a limited company, solely for the convenience of the transmission of interests in the business, but retained in the same hands. Mr. J. M. Little died at Blackheath in 1894. Mr. M. Little left Singapore in 1877 to reside permanently at



This is a reproduction of a small print of 1854, showing a portion of Raffles Square, with John Little & Co.'s premises as they were then. The building on the right is the site of the present Dispensary, where Dr. M. J. Martin, and afterwards his partner Dr. Robert Little, at one time lived.



ıstead. The three brothers had a large part in the social and al life of Singapore in its early days, and some of their children ıow in the Straits and in Borneo.

n the *Free Press* of November is a notice stating that Mr. st Behn and Mr. V. Lorenz Meyer had commenced business on st November, under the firm of Behn, Meyer & Co. They con- l as the partners until 1850, when Mr. F. A. Schreiber, who had l as a clerk in 1847, became a partner. In 1852, Messrs. , Schreiber and Arnold Otto Meyer were the partners, the latter g been a clerk since 1850. In 1857 the partners were Schreiber, Meyer and Johannes Mooyer, who had been a clerk since 1852. ıly, 1863, Mr. Ferdinand Von der Heyde became a partner.

ın November, Mr. A. G. Paterson, the agent, came to open a ıpore branch of the Union Bank of Calcutta, the first Bank in ıpore. It was open for business on the 1st of December, and the ; were from 9.30 to 3. Advances were made on goods to three- hs of the value, and ninety per cent. on bullion, &c., with interest per cent. on the former, and seven on the latter. Discount varied 8 to 10 per cent. In 1842 the Bank appointed a Committee of merchants to assist the Singapore Agent in managing its affairs, ı was strenuously objected to on the ground that they might use nowledge they gained to the prejudice of the business of their ıbours.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

1841

THE New Year's Sports took place as usual, a silver cup being given for a well contested pony race on the Esplanade.

The paper of the 14th January contained the first published accounts of the assessment, which look very small if compared with the present day. The total collection for the year was $14,196 and disbursements $12,258. The new carriage and horse tax had realised nearly $3,000. On Twelfth Night there was a Fancy Dress Ball.

In February the paper first mentions the island of Hongkong as likely to be ceded to the British. There were a few villages on it, and in the official notification Captain Charles Elliot, the British Plenipotentiary, in a circular dated in Macao on the 20th January, stated that the British Government sought for no privilege for the exclusive advantages of British ships and merchants, but offered the protection of the British flag to the subjects and ships of all foreign powers that might resort to the British Possession.

In March the paper contains the first reference to Mr. James Brooke's visit to Sarawak in the *Royalist*, and stated that he had been assisting the Rajah there in restoring order in the country, as it had been thrown into a state of rebellion, which had prevented the inhabitants from following their ordinary pursuits. Mr. Brooke had come over to Singapore, but intended to return to Sarawak.

The Opium Farm was let for the year 1840-41 for $6,250 a month, and the spirit farm for $3,750, being $1,375 over the preceding year. In 1836 when the population was 30,000 the revenue for the farms was Rs. 259,885, and in 1841, with a population of 40,000, it was Rs. 324,244. The total revenue for 1841 was estimated at about Rs. 366,000 which was thought fully adequate to meet all the charges of administration, including the expenses of the troops.

On the 30th March a tiger carried off a Chinaman from the public road within two miles from town, in the view of several persons, and dragged him into the jungle. There were a good many cases of a serious form of cholera in the town, particularly in Teluk Ayer, in April.

In November, Mr. J. T. Thomson, the Government Surveyor, came to Singapore, and the Government called upon all holders or occupiers of land to point out their boundaries preparatory to the issue of leases. The paper mentioned the matter in the following article:—"It is now, we believe, a considerable time since the Bengal Government authorised the appointment of Surveying Officer for this Settlement: and we are

glad to find a competent individual has recently been placed at the head of the Survey Department for the island, and is about to enter upon the discharge of his arduous and important duties. The object, we presume, to which the labours of the surveying officer will be directed, with as little delay as possible, will be the measurement of the lands in the interior occupied by Chinese squatters, and laying down, as far as circumstances at present will permit, the boundaries of the various lots. Under the system which has hitherto prevailed, every Chinese, who had a mind to become a planter, selected the spot of ground which he thought would suit best his purpose, and forthwith began felling the jungle and clearing as he pleased, without being called on to contribute anything in the shape of rent to the Government. At first, this very simple and primitive mode of proceeding went on very smoothly; but, as the plantations multiplied and began to approximate each other's limits, disputes about boundaries commenced, and of later years have been the constantly recurring cause of strife and contention among the Chinese occupants; and, in particular, the right to reserve a certain extent of forest in the neighbourhood of each plantation, to supply their gambier-furnaces with fuel, has been the fertile source of disputes, and sometimes of bloodshed. When such quarrels occurred between parties of the same tribe, or belonging to the same brotherhood, they were generally settled by the intervention of friends on both sides, but, as the matter now stands, there is not a single week passes without applications being made by squatters for the assistance of the authorities to protect them from the alleged encroachments of some neighbours engaged in the same kind of cultivation as themselves.

"The lands here particularly referred to consist entirely of the pepper and gambier plantations of the Chinese, of which, it is computed there are now, large and small, throughout the island about five hundred, and of which the aggregate produce is estimated at piculs 60,000 of gambier, and piculs 15,000 of pepper, and, from what we learn, the majority of the planters are desirous to hold their grounds under a grant, and become regularly authorised tenants of Government under the rent they will be required to pay, in preference to going on under the existing arrangements, which must ultimately produce a degree of confusion that it will not be easy to remedy."

Mr. John Turnbull Thomson (the name has been often wrongly spelt, in books on the Straits, as Thompson) did a great deal of work in the place. In particular he was the architect and builder of the Horsburgh Light-house, of which an account is given in a special chapter in this book. He was appointed Government Surveyor and left Singapore in 1856, as is related in that year. He called upon occupiers of land to point out their boundaries, and went to Malacca and Penang in the course of his work. He designed, Major McMair tells us, the European hospital and Tan Tock Seng's hospital at Pearl's Hill which were afterwards taken for military purposes, and the European hospital was then first placed on the swampy spot at Bukit Timah Road, and Tan Tock Seng's hospital was built on a still worse swamp in Serangoon Road, a piece of mischief which has been the cause of continual complaint and is not remedied yet. Mr. Thomson

will be remembered by the books he wrote about the Straits, with considerable pains and certainly no prospect of any pecuniary return for his time and trouble, like others who had done the same. In 1865 he wrote his "Glimpses of Life in the Far East" and in the same year the second volume of the same work, entitled a Sequel to it. The books consist of short chapters, written in an amusing way, about the ways and the inhabitants of Singapore. In 1874, while in New Zealand, he published in London a book of 350 pages being translations made by him (for he was a very good Malay Scholar) of parts of the Hakayit Abdulla, which are made more interesting by Mr. Thomson's remarks upon the Munshi's stories, at the end of the various chapters. He was a pupil of Abdulla's, who wanted him to translate his Hakayit, but Mr. Thomson said he had no leisure for such a work, which would have filled two large-sized volumes. He says Abdulla was known among the Natives as Abdulla Paire, because he was so much associated with the protestant missionaries in Malacca, and rendered them the principal assistance in translating the Scriptures for printing, but that he never changed his own views of the Koran which he was convinced were sufficient for him.

There are a number of papers by Mr. Thomson in Logan's Journal:—

		PAGE.
Vol. 1.	A trip to Rhio	68
	Remarks on the Sletar (Malays) tribes	341
„ 3.	Remarks on Singapore, Geological and Agricultural Statistics, &c.	618, 744
„ 4.	Continuation of same	27, 102, 134, 206
	A trip to Pulo Aur	191
„ 5.	Description of Johore, Pahang, &c.	85, 135
„ 6.	Essay on Lighthouse lights	94
	Long article on Horsburgh Lighthouse	376

The newspaper contained an account of the installation of the new Tumungong, Dain Kechil, on the 19th August at New Harbour in the presence of the Governor and the Bandahara of Pahang who had come to Singapore. There was a banquet afterwards at which the Governor, the Resident Councillor, and others were present.

The following statements of the revenues and disbursements of the three settlements in the years 1835, 1836 and 1837 were published in the *Free Press*. The figures which were in rupees have here been turned into dollars, as being more convenient, at exchange 218 rupees per 100 dollars, the exchange at that time:—

Revenue.	1835.	1836.	1837.
	$	$	$
Penang ...	80,312	83,944	86,237
Singapore ...	122,600	119,265	114,219
Malacca ...	29,000	29,816	24,530
Total ...	$ 231,912	$ 233,025	$ 224,986



VIEW OF THE TOWN FROM GOVERNMENT HILL, NOW FORT CANNING. BY J. T. THOMSON.

To face page 354.

Expenditure.	1835.	1836.	1837.
	$	$	$
Penang ...	122,936	101,834	136,238
Singapore ...	131,195	113,302	111,009
Malacca ...	38,073	51,375	51,834
Total ...	$ 292,204	$ 266,511	$ 299,081

The paper remarked that the charges for the troops were not included, and that the expenses were unequally distributed between the three places, but that the revenue was correct.

In November the Government issued a notification that fifty feet on the north side of the Canal from the Bridge near Buffalo Village to the base of Bukit Timah had been reserved and marked out for a public road. This is the reserve upon which the railway is now being built. The road was afterwards made on the other side of the Canal.

The following account of Singapore, with many interesting details, is taken from a Journal kept by Major Low during 1840 and 1841. The Journal is of great length, and we take the following extracts from it, as they are interesting when compared with the present time:—

"There are not many of what are commonly called sights at Singapore, but if there be no *lions*, there are unfortunately many tigers, as the facility with which these disturbers of the peace can cross the narrow channel which separates the island from the continent, will always prevent the nuisance from being entirely abated, although if the people continue on the alert they may be kept at a distance from the town.

"The absorbing sight here to a well-wisher to his native country, must be the forest of masts which graces the spacious and secure harbour, the flag-staff constantly decked with flags, and the ever busy crowds in the streets of the town and suburbs. At such a small island as this is, everything else in it becomes almost insignificant when compared with it as a prominent, although small part, in the system of Britain's widely extended maritime influence. Upwards of fifty square-rigged vessels may be seen lying in the harbour, forming the outer line of shipping. Inside these, in shallower water, may be counted, from seventy to a hundred vessels (under the denominations of Junks and Prahus), from China, Siam, Cochin-China, Borneo, and other places. The throng of boats plying in the river, to and from the shipping, scarcely ceases at night; and large passage boats are constantly passing to and from Rhio, and to and from Malacca. There are also brigs commanded by Chinese and others which keep up a constant intercourse and traffic between Penang and Singapore, touching generally at Malacca on the way. The voyage either way may average from eight to ten days. Direct, the passage is often made in five or six days.

"The merchants' warehouses are conveniently situated close to the bank of the river or creek, and a large space remains still to be similarly occupied on the branches of the creek, which are now being brought into the form of canals. The town is quite unfortified and a

few guns only are drawn out on the beach. It would necessitate a very large expenditure to fortify the place in such a manner as to protect the town in any useful degree. No works could fully protect it against the fire of ships-of-war, and the strongest would only expose it, by encouraging resistance, to surer destruction from shot or shells. Like Penang and Malacca (for the Fort of Penang is indefensible against European tactics, and that of Malacca was long ago destroyed when it was restored to the Dutch), Singapore must depend for safety in time of war upon those wooden walls which are in truth the only Colonial bulwarks which can in the long run be depended on, where the vulnerable points are sea-ports. The harbour is so large and free from dangers, that vessels can at once without the aid of a pilot take up a convenient position.

"The only English buildings of note are the church and the building in which the Government Offices and Court-house are combined. The Armenian Church is a neat, classic edifice, but unavoidably small. There is a Hindu Temple and a Mosque or two, holding out no great attractions to travellers. The Chinese Temple, which has been lately erected, will quite satisfy those who have it not in their power to visit China. It is of elaborate workmanship and very curious in its way, although the taste displayed is quite in keeping with the other tastes of the Chinese. The granite pillars and much of the stone ornamental work have been brought from China, and the latter is exceedingly grotesque. The building will, when quite finished, have cost, I am informed, $30,000. The outlay already has been $23,600. A large portion of this sum has been defrayed by the owners of Chinese Junks from Amoy, and other Chinese ports, and from Siam and Java. The interior and the cornices are adorned with elaborate carving in wood. Outside are painted tiles and edging of flowers, fruits, &c., formed out of variegated pottery, which is broken to pieces, and then cut with scissors.

"Singapore cannot yet boast of either a Theatre or Assembly-Rooms. These, it may be presumed, will be preceded by, if not combined with, an exchange.

"The Garden houses are in a handsome style of architecture and are almost invariably of two stories. But old Indians are apt to prefer the bungalow style on the score of superior coolness. The climate, however, is here so mild and equable, that any little deviation to the Venetian mode is not attended with the inconveniences it is accompanied by in India. The Chinese build their houses with brick and mortar when they can afford it, the Malays seldom or never. The streets of the town are spacious and they are crowded with native shops. A stranger may well amuse himself for a couple of hours in threading the piazas in front of the shops, which he can do unmolested by the sun, at any hour of the day. Europe shops, as they are termed, are not numerous, nor, although respectable, are they in keeping with such a mart, but the frequent investments of all sorts of supplies which are sent out to, and exhibited in, the merchants' warehouses prevents this deficiency from being felt. There are three hotels here which are well conducted and conveniently situated. A Frenchman, Mr. Dutronquoy, has opened the most spacious one of the

three. It has now become fashionable for travellers to resort to these, instead of being, as formerly, liable to be cast away, as it were, unless provided with a passport to hospitality. There are table d'hotes at these hotels and conveyances are provided.

"House-rent is not perhaps high, considering the style of building. A comfortable two-storied house with dining-room, drawing-room, and from four to six bed-rooms may be had at from 35 to 60 dollars a month, the rent varying with the site. Some have been rented at 100 dollars. But these are of the largest description and cost about $10,000 each in building, an ordinary one can be built at from 3,000 to 5,000 dollars. Singapore is rather an expensive place to reside at, everything, with the exception of English supplies, being much dearer than in India.

"Servants are a heavy item. Thus, for a moderate family, there is a butler at from 7 to 8 dollars a month, two under-servants at 5 dollars each, a maid (or Ayah) or nurse 5 to 6 dollars, tailor 7 to 8 dollars, cook 7 to 8, with an assistant, perhaps, at 5 dollars, washerman 5 to 6 dollars, two grooms at 5 dollars each, grass-cutter 2 dollars, lamp-lighter and sweeper 4 dollars, scavenger 1 dollar, waterman 4 dollars. All of these wages can hardly be less than from 66 to 70 Spanish dollars a month. But it must not be imagined that comfort is ensured by the keeping of so many servants (for excepting the ladies' maid and nurses there are no women-servants); on the contrary, a family is worse served by these than it would be in England with one-third, perhaps one-fourth of the number. Warehouses have estimated rentals of 100 dollars down to 30 or less.

"After breakfast, most of the servants walk off to the bazaars for their own pleasure, and as there are no knockers to, or names engraved on, the outer doors or gates of the houses here, and as few people sit in the lower story during the forenoon, but use it chiefly for dinner, a stranger has some difficulty, while paying morning visits, in avoiding intrusions at wrong houses, for there is often no one to announce him, and unless he makes a disagreeable use of his lungs, he must be the porter of his own card upstairs, and perhaps have half an hour's leisure to admire the prints and articles of bijouterie with which most parlour tables are plentifully garnished, before the inmates of the house become aware of his presence.

"Residents generally dine at four or five o'clock. But the hour for a large party is seven. Perhaps the former hours are the most conducive to health. The punkah cannot, on such occasions, be dispensed with, more than in India, and American ice would be a very luxurious addition.

"The Native festivals here are, of course, numerous. If every class was to have its own way, the town would be in a continual clamour by noisy and riotous processions. When the Chinese run riot, it is generally in the streets during processions. They have a wholesome antipathy to coming to very close quarters, and therefore prefer long poles to shilelahs. With these they contrive to break a few bones, and poke out some eyes, but it is amusing to see how soon the most furious onset either of Chinese or Klings can be turned aside, and the parties put to flight, by the appearance of a constable and a

few police peons. Whenever a Chinese is assaulted, those of his clan who are at hand haste to his assistance, and in five minutes a pitched battle will be got up, and bricks, stones and poles will be in full play.

"I believe the abomination of swinging on tenter hooks passed through the tendons of the back, as practised by Hindoos in India, is still practised once a year in this Settlement, as also the walking through fire. But it is to be hoped that these barbarities will be done away with ere long, as positive nuisances.

"The climate of Singapore is warm but undoubtedly salubrious. Fahrenheit's thermometer seldom rises above 82 during the hotest time of the day, in the months when rain falls copiously. February, March and April are perhaps the hottest and driest months, yet showers frequently fall during these. Indeed, a drought of six months duration would probably not only render the place very unhealthy, but destroy the whole cultivation of the island. A six weeks drought is of rare occurrence, and even during the severest drought the dews fall heavily, and the valleys at sunrise are shrouded in mist. About 90 inches of rain fall upon an average in a year, and the average number of wet days is about 170. In these two instances, the climate here agrees closely with that of the Penang station. But at the latter the rains are less dispersed throughout the year than they are generally at Singapore, and fall also more copiously within certain months, especially in April, May, August, September and October.

"The showers at Singapore are commonly very short, few enduring beyond a quarter of an hour. But they are generally heavy, which might not have been expected when the deficiency of high hills is considered. A completely rainy day seldom occurs. Thunder and lightning happen likewise much less frequently than they do at Penang, where they are often of daily occurrence for a month and longer, and happen during about one-third of the days in the year. This frequency of electric change in the atmosphere is owing, at Penang, to the mountainous nature of the island and of the adjacent coast. But although Singapore is perhaps on the whole a moister climate than that of Penang or Malacca, it is yet subject to periodical droughts: one happened this year (1841) during the months of February, March and April, which was only relieved by a few partial showers. The wells which supply the town with water to drink, and which range along the base of the hills close to it, became nearly dry, because they were wholly sustained by the filterings of these hills, or slopes. Yet the streams which drain the central parts of the island continued to yield a plentiful supply.

"The soil of Singapore may be thus classified:—First the clays: then the sandy soil: thirdly the soils composed of both these: and lastly the peaty soil covering either clay or sea mud. The hills and slopes are composed of the first and third classes, although the clay is in excess, while the valleys and plains embrace the second and fourth descriptions, and occasionally the clays, as an upper stratum. Were the peaty covering to be left out of consideration, the flat lands in the valleys would be brought within the class of clays. There is no soil in the island (sufficiently extensive to be really useful) which can be called favourable, or which exhibits a due admixture of earthy and

decomposed vegetable matter. The earthy matter is either in excess, as in the clays and sands, or the vegetable superabundant, as in the peats, and as a whole the soil of the island is of a very inferior description.

"The nucleus of the island is granite, but this circumstance is of little importance to the agriculturist, because the granite is, except at Bukit Timah, overlaid by the clays of the sandy strata: and, as at this last locality, it is not sufficiently micaceous or porphyritic to yield a good soil by decomposition. It would appear, after such an examination as the cleared portions of the island have allowed me to make, that the soil deteriorates as we advance to the interior, where, although it is more uniform than along the sea shore near the town, yet derives little benefit from the circumstance. The ridges in the neighbourhood of the bay, which forms the spacious harbour, exhibit the highest patches of the red soil, although but a few of these only are moderately fertile. The ridge, which stretches some miles from the North extremity of the Singapore plain to the Sirangoon river, has generally a light soil, with from 66 to 70 per cent. of silica or sand.

"The soil of the island graduates from the deep and iron clay, to the gritty gravelly iron soil, containing rounded and broken masses of scoreous or lateritic iron stone, either embedded in it or loosely scattered on the surface: next comes a clayey soil tinged by the oxides of iron with shades of red and yellow: and lastly there is a white and hard clay: and all of these varieties are to be found within the compass of three or four acres: owing, as before noticed, to the high inclination of the sandstone strata. Although the hills and ridges have doubtless for ages been clothed in tall forest with a close underwood, yet there is hardly any vegetable soil beyond a few inches in depth to be found on any of them. Where such has been formed, the heavy rains have doubtless washed it down to the swamps.

"The quantity of rice produced on the island is extremely small, since there is but a very small extent of rice land available, which will always prevent any large number of Malayan agriculturists from settling here. The island is supplied with rice chiefly from Siam, Java, Manila, Rhio, &c. The Malayan population has been gathered from almost every shore and island to the eastward. The greatest number find employment in fishing, petty traffic, and day-labour, and the remainder cultivate, as squatters, scattered patches of land, on which they grow sweet potatoes, plantains, Indian corn, and tropical fruits. Sugar has of late years begun to attract the attention of Singapore capitalists; and whatever may be the result, still the spirited pioneering of the new path exhibited by two members of the settlement deserves applause and success. The former, Mr. Balestier, has erected a steam-engine (besides distilling apparatus), and the latter, Dr. Montgomerie, has water-power for the machinery.

"The rate of wages for agricultural labour is not exorbitant, but ranges from three and a half to four dollars a month. But it would require perhaps more labourers to combat the clay soil of Singapore than to work the friable volcanic soil of Java or the alluvial deposits of the other countries above alluded to. Notwithstanding the numerous

attempts which have been made to decry the cultivation of the cocoanut trees on the island, it bids fair for success. No tree of this kind can be more flourishing than those in the plantations which stretch along the sea shore to the N. E. of the town, and which are growing on the island called Blakang Mati, or Dead Back by the Malays (with reference to some murders committed there as some people say, but most likely from the sterility of the southern slopes of the island, where there is no cultivation) and if they can be kept as free as they now are from that pest the elephant beetle, they will become perhaps the most valuable of any species of agriculture property on the island, because most lasting, and the least liable to suffer from the fluctuations of commerce.

"The locality first described is very sandy, and the soil is occasionally intermixed with a dark half-peaty, half sea-mud soil. The tree is also growing with vigour at the base of the hills, in clay and even in the peaty soil. The sea beach is, however, undoubtedly to be preferred. There are perhaps about 50,000 trees now planted out and occupying about 660 acres of land. Many expedients have been tried in the Straits to get rid of the beetles. Such as salt, lime, and fine sand, &c., all of which are poured in amongst the upper shoots and branches. But as these destructive insects fly at night and come from any distance and in any numbers, without being observed, nothing has succeeded perfectly except the manual process of picking them out of the trees with a long iron skewer having a barbed end. The baker here depends entirely on the cocoanut tree for toddy or yeast.

"Cotton has been tried, but although the plant thrives luxuriantly, and bears a sufficiency of pods, the climate is thought too wet for its profitable cultivation. As the pods thus ripen during every month in the year there is no regular season for plucking. So that it would be necessary to keep labourers employed all the year for this purpose. The frequent rains, too, it is said, greatly injure the cotton when the pods burst. It is not likely that it would be, even under more favourable aspects, a very profitable speculation here.

"There are now planted out in Singapore, as nearly as can be discovered and estimated, about twenty-five thousand nutmeg trees. In this number, there are about four or five hundred which have been bearing for considerable terms of years, including about two hundred or so from 18 to 21 years of age. The remainder consist of trees of all ages downwards, from about eight or ten years of age to one. The land occupied by these trees may be from about 550 to 600 acres. In the whole collective area there is only a very limited proportion of the best, but a large proportion of the worst soil.

"It has become fashionable in these Eastern Isles where the imagination, like the jungle, is so apt to luxuriate, to pitch upon some trees of uncommon growth, and situated in the most favoured spots, as standards of comparison, and as sure indices of prospective wealth, in a species of cultivation which, beyond all others, demands the soberest exercise of the judgment, and the most liberal sacrifice

of preconceived opinions and exaggerated expectations, before we can venture on a computation of the probable (certainly always more or less uncertain) results. Like most fruit trees, some nutmeg trees will bear large and others scanty corps. The annual rent will always vary considerably, for a full crop can hardly be expected beyond once in three years.

"The betel-nut tree deserves consideration for although it would not be worth the while for a capitalist to speculate upon it, still, as the nut is exportable, it is of more value than produce which must, from its perishable nature, be consumed on the spot. It is a hardy tree, and only requires to be kept free from the lalang grass and jungle for two or three years, after which it will afford sufficient shade to prevent that grass growing strongly.

"I have already noticed that Straits fruit trees promise well generally. The base of the hills and gentle slopes and undulations are well suited to them. The mangosteen seems to thrive on the flat clayey land, while orange trees, the pummelo, jacks, durians and others, will be best planted on other sites. Some of these trees, the jack for instance, thrive well on the stony red iron soil. The Cinnamon tree may yet come to the aid of the planter. It has been introduced on the island, and thrives very well, but a very small number of trees only have as yet been planted out.

"The Cocoa, or tree yielding the chocolate bean, may be advantageously cultivated here. It has been long acclimatised in Penang, and chocolate of a fair quality is manufactured for the use of the Roman Catholic Mission by its padres. It is a hardy tree, and seems to grow wherever it has been planted there, both on the hills and plains.

"The teak tree thrives at Singapore, and might be usefully employed along with the cocoa tree to line the boundaries of estates.

"The pine-apples of Singapore and the islets in the vicinity, are of a superior quality. They are large, sweet and well-flavoured, and they are cultivated in such abundance up the steep sides of these hilly islands, that they are sold in the market at three for one of a cent of a dollar, and are thus eagerly consumed by the lower classes. But it is not a wholesome fruit, and, doubtless, it assisted the cholera in the ravages it made here last spring, when it is believed from six to seven hundred natives died of that dire disease, and several Europeans seamen died on board vessels in the harbour. The pine-apple grows best on the arid rocky slopes, on the worst red soil, and it partakes outwardly of this red colour. If the pine-apple fibre comes into repute in England, which it is likely to do, then there will be a wide field here for its manufacture.

"The Agricultural Society has not effected anything as yet in the horticultural department, which, I believe, it was intended that it should embrace. The Chinese and Malays raise in their own way all the vegetables which are brought to market. These are sweet potatoes, bad yams, kaladie, or the arum colocasia (of R) which is cultivated in swampy places. The root is single, oblong and bulbous, and it is eaten as a substitute for the potato. The stalks and leaves are sold as fodder for pigs. The native vegetables are rather small,

yet they are of good quality, and for a garden of a moderate extent, a soil can readily be made to suit every species which the climate will permit to grow. From all that has been stated, it would appear that the cultivation of this island is still in its probationary period.

"The Chinese have been the chief cultivators of gambier and pepper but then they have no attachment to the soil. Their sole object is to scourge the land for a given time, and when worn out to leave it a desert. And what, we may enquire, is to become of the thus empoverished land covered with the jungle they leave in the rear on their onward progress over the island. A fifty years' fallow would barely return it to its pristine condition; and what agriculturist would be so rash as to embark on a large scale in the attempt to renovate it? In short, it seems clear that, if no general cultivation of a more permanent nature than pepper and gambier can be advantageously established, the forest must ultimately re-assume its dominion. The only remaining chance therefore would seem to be the planting of cocoa-nut, areca, and other indigenous fruit trees and incorporating them gradually with sugar cane and trees yielding an exportable produce. As the case stands, it is clear that if there should be any considerable prolonged fall in the prices of pepper and gambier, the cultivation of these articles, and consequently of the greatest cultivated portion of the island would cease. The area of the island has been stated at about 120,000 acres. But as far as the above two products are concerned, the quantity of land available for them might not be reckoned at above one-fourth of the whole, supposing that pepper and gambier must continue to be cultivated together and cannot prove profitable separately, because the proportion of pepper land is much smaller than that suited to gambier. Then a very large deduction would be required for the jungle land which must be attached to each plantation for the supply of fuel; and these plants or trees cannot, until a long period of years has elapsed, be successfully raised a second time on the same soil.

"Buffaloes and oxen are chiefly used for draft, but are very expensive, as they are subject to frequent murrains and are not reared on the island, but are brought from Malacca, Penang, and other countries. Some black cattle have been brought from the Island of Bali near Java. They are of brown colour. The horns are sharp and diverging. The head and muzzle are shaped like those of the elk. Ponies with small carts have lately been introduced; and the Chinese, in order to evade the tax on carts drawn by cattle or horses, have started a three-man cart or truck, which is propelled by them, one man guiding it by the pole, and one pushing at each hind corner of the cart.

"The conveyances used for pleasure or convenience on the island are Palankeen carriages drawn by one pony, and led, not often driven, by a groom, with an occasional out-rider behind. Four-wheeled open carriages drawn by horses or ponies are also common, as are gigs. Very good palankeen carriages are made on the island. The other carriages are brought from India. With the exception of a few Arabs, the residents content themselves with ponies. They are chiefly obtained from Java. But they are not so smart and

powerful as those from Sumatra. A good pony may be got in Singapore at from 60 to 100 dollars.

"A draftsman at Singapore will always have employment for his pencil in the specimens of his kind, from almost every corner of the globe, which he will find grouped in the bazaars. He may portray the species in most of its phrases, from the highest state of civilization to which it has attained, down to that one where matter seems almost divested of mind.

"The two chief roads are those leading to Bukit Timah, the highest hill on the island, and Serangoon, which is the name of a creek and also of a district. Each of them is about seven miles long, and without any material deviations from the right line. There are three other good roads, besides cross ones, leading into the country, of from two or three miles in length. When proceeding at sunrise, along any one of the roads leading directly towards the interior, the difference of the temperature of the air there and on the beach is very perceptible. On the latter it is warmer by several degrees. A fog floats along the valleys during some months, and at the early period of the day is dense as any Calcutta one, but it rarely lasts beyond seven o'clock. These roads are either bordered by canals, in which flow free streams of fresh water, or by dry ditches, so that some foresight and nerve are required in driving the generally badly broken-in ponies. Although the early morning is the most delightful period of the day in this climate, still one meets but a sprinkling then of seekers of health of either sex. The fashionable time for exercise is betwixt five and half past six o'clock in the evening, or till it becomes nearly dark. The ride or drive is finished off by a few turns on the Course [now called the Esplanade]. This last is an oblong square of about five hundred by seventy yards, and is bounded by the sea or harbour on one side, on the opposite side by splendid garden houses, at the southern extremity by the Court House and Public Offices, and at the northern by the Institution, in which direction the garden houses stretch away for about half a mile in a single line open to the sea. The tars from the shipping frequent also this gay square, to display their equestrian tactics on the foresaid hard-mouthed ponies; while two select bodies of local politicians frequent a convenient old battery, the low walls of which serve for benches, although our researches cannot precisely enable us to tell which are the opposition ones. [This was in the centre of the sea front and was known as Scandal Point.] The old battery beyond this one, is now a green mound, which the Institution boys use as a play ground.

"As the streets would soon be encumbered and rendered impassable were the markets not confined to one spot, a very commodious one has been erected by Government, which is subject to due regulations. It is an octagonal building of 120 feet diameter, and is let out to the highest bidder [this was at Teluk Ayer]. It is probable, however, that a second will be required ere long to meet the increasing population, for the present one is already too crowded. As it is, it requires the constant vigilance of the police to prevent the streets being blocked up by vendors of pork, fruits, vegetables,

&c. Chinese cooks with portable kitchens perambulate the streets at all hours, and distribute viands, which, however tempting to their own class, could hardly be adventured on by others, since the materials of which they are composed may, for ought anybody knows to the contrary, be the flesh of dogs, lizards, and rats, all of which come within the scope of the Chinese cook's oracle. The fish market is indifferently supplied, and perhaps this is partly owing to the luxurious habits of the wealthier Chinese, who as the fishermen are chiefly composed of their own people, can easily obtain the best fish before they go to market.

"The shipping is supplied with water by boats kept by five private individuals, or rather companies, provided with force pumps. The charge is from 50 cents to one dollar a ton, according to the place from which water is to be brought. Each boat costs originally from 500 to 1,000 dollars. The water is obtained partly from a Government aqueduct and party from wells; which last are sunk to the depth of about ten or twelve feet. These are for the most part private property. The water is good, being filtered through the sand stone and clay of the rising grounds. But after heavy rain it is turbid for a day or two. It is of a quality betwixt hard and soft.

"Singapore, Malacca, Penang and Moulmein are the Sydney, convict settlements, of India. There are upon an average about 1,100 to 1,200 native convicts from India constantly at Singapore. These are employed in making roads and digging canals; and undoubtedly without them the town, as far as comfort in locomotion is concerned, would have been now but a sorry residence. The convict whose period is short contrives to save something out of his allowance, and on the expiration of his time, he generally sets up as a keeper of cattle, or a letter-out of bullock carts, carriages and horses: and, undoubtedly, some of these men are as well, if not better, behaved than many of their native neighbours of higher pretensions. There are regulations by which the convict is encouraged by certain rewards, or remissions short of emancipation, to orderly conduct.

"Game is scarce, if we except snipe. Some quail and grey plover are found in the cleared islands. There are no extensive lakes, or tanks, and therefore few water-fowl. Wild hog is abundant in the jungle, where are also found, as before noticed, tigers; also elk, small deer, the plandok, or deer about the size of a bear, monkeys, wild cats (beautifully striped), civet cats, lemurs, flying foxes, small squirrels, &c. Happily the jackals imported from Bengal have become extinct. Flocks of paroquets of a greenish colour are occasionally found in the interior, but they keep to the highest trees, and rarely come within shot. The dial bird, or *morei* is the nightingale of the Straits. It is about the size of a lark, has a black body with some white feathers in the wings, and the half of the lower part of the body is also white. It has a rather long and sharp beak and long tail. It is a very lively bird, and it may be tamed so as to require no cage, unless to protect it from the cats, and from the large rats which infest the Straits. The male bird appears to be the songster, and he serenades the hen while she is

engaged in domestic cares. He may sometimes be heard an hour before dawn waking the grove with his pleasing notes, and he is so little afraid of man that he will sing for hours close to, or even on the top of a house; it is the most common bird to the eastward. There are one or two smaller birds whose rather plaintive notes may be occasionally heard. There are no crows on the island, nor are birds of prey numerous.

"When the Bugis vessels arrive, they hold a sort of fair on the beach, where they display for sale their sarongs, or pretty coloured plaids or peticoats, for they answer for both purposes—the chief manufacture of that country. These cloths are famed amongst the Malays for their strength of texture, but English trade has here too wrought a change; instead of using the thread wove in their own country they carry English thread back with them. The value of the plaid has thereby decreased, those made from English thread being thought less durable. These vessels also bring numbers of the parrot tribe, lories, &c., and for about a month the streets resound with the discordant screams of these beautiful birds; the usual price of an untaught bird is from six to eight dollars, but if accomplished in the *unknown* tongues, their price is unlimited.

"Singapore is not much afflicted with insects. Mosquitoes are rather numerous at times, but they can be kept off by gauze curtains at night, when they are most troublesome. The white ant is here, as everywhere in the East, the most destructive insect, although never personally annoying. Common ants of various kinds find their way into houses, but they may be got rid of by pouring boiling water into their nests on the ground floor. A very slim species of hornet constructs its clay nest on the walls and beams and behind pictures, and having deposited an egg, and laid up in it a supply for the future caterpillar, of a sort of greenish spider, which it contrives to reduce to a half torpid state, it closes the nest and leaves the spot. Scorpions and centipedes occasionally intrude themselves into the houses, but they are seldom large. The nuisance so prevalent in India of swarms of flying ants, beetles, and other insects covering the table cloth and falling into the dishes and glasses at an evening dinner is little known here.

"One of the greatest nuisances in the Settlement is the legion of dogs of most anomalous breeds which infests the streets both day and night. An annual edict goes forth against them, yet their numbers are never perceptibly thinned. Next in order come crackers and fireworks, which, in defiance of policemen, are let off without regard to place or time, to the great danger of bad riders and people in carriages with unruly horses.

"As no one thinks of shutting the door of his house during the day, and, perhaps, often not at night, he ought not to wonder if he is robbed now and then. Hawkers, coolies or porter-distributers of advertisements, and others, of various and equally erratic habits, scruple not to perambulate a house till they find some one to attend to them.

"The Chinese uphold here, as they do in other places where they have settled out of China, the *Kongsis* or Secret Societies of which the Emperor of China is so much afraid. The chief one here

is the *Tean Tay Hueh*, which boasts, it is believed, about from five to six thousand members, who are bound by oath to support each other on all occasions, and to screen their brethren from public justice: but reserving to their secret tribunal the power to punish offences committed within the society, by its own members, but not by others against it—all such being given up to English law. I have not learned what the badge of this lodge is, for everything regarding it is about as mysterious as Freemasonry, of which it is a perverted type. The meetings of this Society are held at a Temple in the outskirts of the suburbs at Kampong Glam. The Society is governed by a Council of four officers, each of whom represents a tribe. The tribes are the Amoy the Kheh, the Teouchoo, and the Macao. Some of these societies are avowedly for good purposes, such as relieving distress within the limits of the Chinese population, and this is more required now than it was when pork was taxed for the same purpose, and it is a tax which was and would be more willingly paid by the Chinese than any other, so long as the proceeds, as before stated, should be, as formerly, appropriated for the benefit of their poor. The Klings, Chinese and Bengalees are the most quarrelsome sections of the population, but the largest proportion of charges of felony is found on the side of the Chinese: who, in the main, at this island, are little better than the refuse population of China.

"Gambling is carried by the Chinese to a great height. The Police force of the island consists of the Sitting Magistrate as Superintendent, three European Constables and an Assistant Native Constable, 14 Officers and 110 Policemen. It would be reckoning very wide indeed of the mark were any one to believe for a moment that any native police can resist temptation, even when that is of a much weaker kind than it is under any circumstances here exposed to There are now about a hundred gaming establishments in the town in full play, besides many more in the Country districts. The Chinese show in China by their secret opposition to the arbitrary rule under which they groan, how strong the arm of that law must be which can check their deeply rooted vices. As the English law rests, it would be a hopeless task to attempt putting down gambling or gaming amongst the Chinese, for in the Eastern Settlements the vice presents to the jurisconsult a problem which neither European codes, nor the experience of Europeans who have been on the spot, have as yet satisfactorily solved. It is the aim of the law to check an evil or a crime, or if it cannot be checked, to modify, abate, and neutralize it by legislative expedients. But the law, as it here exists is inadequate in this instance to accomplish either."

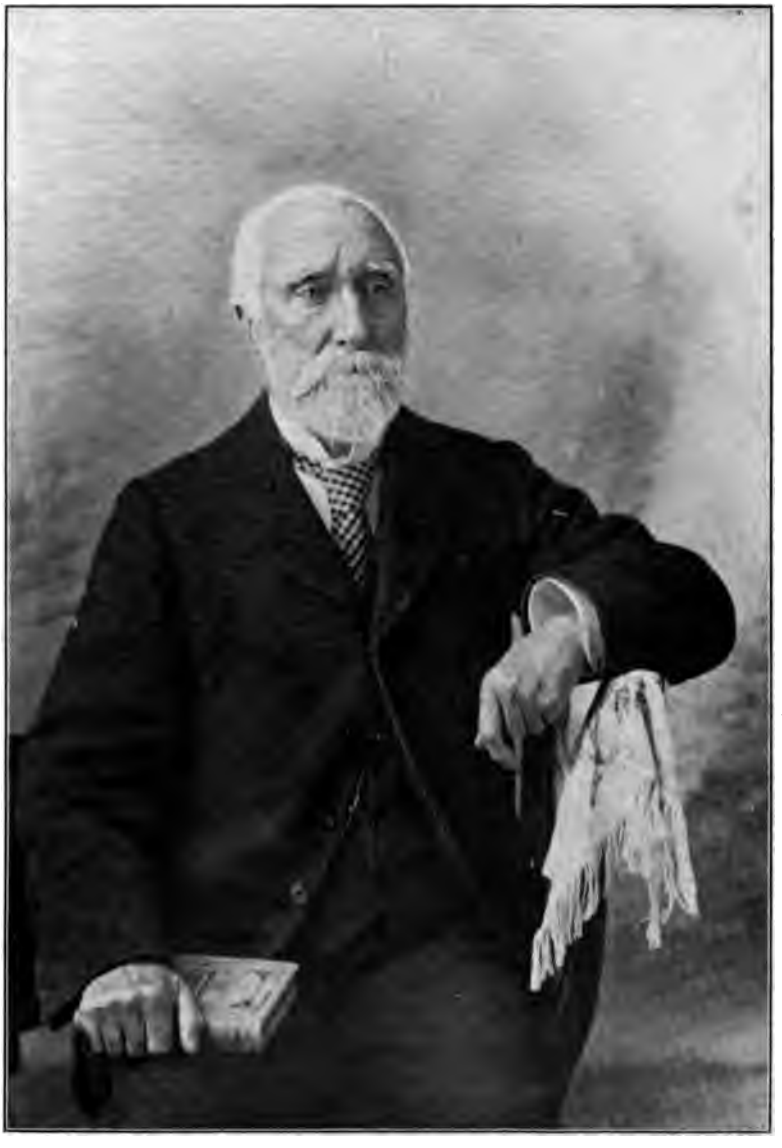
Major, afterwards Lieut.-Colonel James Low, of the Madras Army, was for many years employed in the Civil Service in the Straits, as Magistrate, head of the police, etc., and in political missions, principally in Penang, from where he finally quitted the Straits for Europe in March, 1850. He wrote numerous articles on the agriculture, geology, antiquities, and history of the Straits and the Malay Peninsula and Siam, which shewed his great perseverance and zeal in the pursuit of knowledge. The first five volumes of Logan's Journal contain no less than thirteen of his papers, and he published

several pamphlets which are now unobtainable. He left Singapore in March, 1844, and it seems to have been thought for the last time, as the *Free Press* of 4th July contained the following account (shortened) of a farewell dinner that was given to him:—"It was not the intention of the community to allow Major Low to leave the Settlement, without carrying with him some suitable manifestation of their sentiments and feelings in his favour; and it was decided to give him a public dinner on his retirement from his present duties, in consideration of his long and useful career in the Straits and of the good feelings entertained towards him by the country. The dinner took place on Saturday last, at the house of the Recorder, and a numerous assemblage, including nearly every one of the principal gentlemen of the Settlement and many military officers of the station, sat down to table, J. Balestier, Esq., being in the Chair, and Lieut. Elliot, of the Madras Engineers, officiating as Croupier. The health of Major Low was proposed from the Chair with appropriate remarks, and was received with cheers which could not fail to have been highly gratifying to the worthy Major, who returned thanks. The toasts and speeches usual on such occasions followed, and the evening wore on amidst the uninterrupted enjoyment of all present, until the company broke up about three o'clock."

It was in this year that Mr. William Henry Macleod Read came to Singapore. He left England in the sailing vessel *General Kyd* on 18th March, and arrived in Singapore on the 12th September. Mr. Johnston left Singapore in December, and never returned. On the 1st January, 1842, the *Free Press* contained a notice that his father Mr. C. R. Read ceased to be a partner in A. L. Johnston & Co., and that Mr. W. H. Read was admitted in his stead. He was then living in Battery Road, on the side nearest the river. In 1848 the house which had been built by Mr. A. L. Johnston was pulled down, as it was becoming rotten and riddled by white ants. It stood between Fort Fullerton and a little above the present site of Flint Street, and faced Battery Road, standing in a compound. The back gave on to the river, and it was called *Tanjong Tangkap*, because the jealous brother merchants said it was a trap to catch shipmasters on their first arrival as they came into the river. In 1848 A. L. Johnston & Co.'s godown was built on the opposite side of Battery Road, where the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank is now, and Mr. Read, on his marriage at that time, went to live at Beach Road, generally called Campong Glam in those days, in Mr. Gilman's old house. Soon after his arrival he began to interest himself in the social life of the place, as he did all the years he was in Singapore, and at the first races in February, 1843, he rode the winner of the first race, of which the *Free Press* said "The excellent jockeyism of the young amateur who rode the *Colonel* excited general admiration," and he was one of the stewards of the Race Ball. In March on the same year Mr. Read (W. H. as he was usually called) got up the first Regatta in the harbour, of which Admiral Keppel speaks in his book. In 1844 the paper mentioned that he was Treasurer of the first public Library in Singapore. In 1845 the first Masonic Lodge

was opened, and Mr. Read was the second to be initiated, Mr. William Napier being first; and Mr. Read was the first Provincial Grand Master. In April, 1851, a public Meeting was held to establish the Sailors' Home, and Mr. Read was appointed Honorary Secretary. In 1859, at a Meeting in the News Rooms to consider the proposal to start a Volunteer corps, Mr. Read's name was the first to be signed on the roll. He had a thorough knowledege of French, speaking and writing it fluently (having been for some time at school in France) which was not usual in those days, and it was probably partly for this reason that he became Consul for Holland in Singapore in 1857, at a time when there were no Dutchmen in the place. It was necessarily a somewhat difficult post to fill, under the circumstances, as the strained relations between the Dutch and the English in these seas, and especially so close to Rhio and Java, have always left some trace behind them, and it speaks well for the Consul's diplomatic, as well as for his undoubted patriotic, character, that both sides were satisfied with his conduct of the public affairs of the country he represented. He was made a Knight of the Netherlands Lion, by the King of Holland and was received with great courtesy at the Hague; while he was in February, 1886, made a C. M. G. by Queen Victoria. He was the first unofficial member of the Legislative Council at the Transfer in 1867, which was largely due to his exertions, and to the influence he had in England. He had very great influence with the native rajahs in the surrounding states, who often came to him in their troubles; and especially with the old King of Siam. It was partly owing to him that the Native States in the Peninsula came under English protection. In the report in the *Singapore Free Press* in March, 1866, of the speeches at a public dinner in the Town Hall, the Recorder, Sir Richard McCausland, in proposing Mr. Read's health, spoke of him as follows:—it summed up, in Sir Richard's genial Irish manner, the many sides of Mr. Read's doings in Singapore:—"I shall not venture or attempt to enumerate all the public services which Mr. Read has rendered; for the omission of any one might be fatal to the task. But whether it be Free trade, or Freemasonry; Gas works, or a Gambling Farm; a Secret Society which has just started up or a Grand Jury presentment to put it down; a Screwpile Pier, or a Railway; Patent slips and Docks; the Suez Canal, or any other diggings of *The Delta!* and lastly, but by no means least, the total and absolute transfer of the entire of the Straits Settlements and its Government from the cold embraces of poor old John Co., (now alas no more) to the fostering care of a Colonial Secretary, and the tender mercies of a Chancellor of the Exchequer,—for each and all these services the inhabitants of Singapore, and I myself among the number, feel deeply indebted to our worthy Chairman, William Henry Read." For nearly fifty years, his signature Δ or *Delta* was constantly to be seen in the correspondence columns of the newspapers. When he resigned the post of Consul-General for the Netherlands, in 1885 the Singapore paper published a translation of a passage from the Batavia newspaper as follows:—

"It is with great regret that we have read the announcement that our Consul-General at Singapore, Mr. W. H. Read, intends to



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W. H. M. READ, C.M.G., K.N.L.
From a photograph taken in 1901.



resign that post on 1st March next. Never has the care of our interests abroad been confided to a more able, more honest, more disinterested and more vigilant agent, than, during nearly a quarter of a century, to Mr. Read in the Straits. We believe that we are the exponents of the wish of every one who means well with the Netherlands and this Colony, when we recommend the Government to take it into consideration to do their utmost to dissuade Mr. Read from his intention."

In 1901, Wells Gardner & Co. published a small book in London, entitled "Play and Politics, Recollections of Malaya by an Old Resident," which it was known was written by Mr. Read. It was dedicated to Sir Andrew Clarke, formerly Governor of the Straits. It was a reprint of some papers written to amuse some young members of the families of his nephews and nieces, and contains amusing stories of old days here.

Certainly no one here ever worked more unselfishly or unsparingly for the good of the place, and how much it owed to him there are few now to remember. Public men work for various reasons, and often for somwhat selfish objects, but Mr. Read gave his time and his unsparing energy for the good of the place, even to the detriment of his own personal and pecuniary interests, solely from a wish to help the place with which he, his father and his family, had been so long connected. The history of Singapore for forty-six years was also the history of himself, and it was curious that the information of the Queen having been pleased to create him a C. M. G. reached him on the eve of the anniversary of the foundation of this Settlement and close to his own birthday; for he was born, on the 7th February, 1819, within a very few hours of the time when Sir Stamford Raffles hoisted the flag here. Mr. Read visited England eleven times between 1841 and the 28th February, 1887, when he finally left. The first time he remained seven years in Singapore, and was then away for two years and a half, and that was his longest absence at one time. Read Road and Read Bridge were named after him, and the Freemason's Lodge at Kuala Lumpur was called after him. His portrait, painted by his friend and connection, Mr. James Sant, R.A., hangs in the Town Hall, and the community, European as well as Native, who always looked to him, as their predecessors had done to Mr. Johnston, gave tokens in many ways of their appreciation of his character.

CHAPTER XXIX.

1842.

THE usual sports were held on New Year's Day, and a pony race, for a silver cup of $100, had the following entries:—

Mr. W. Napier's	*Runnymede*	Mr. T. Dunman's	*Bellows-to-mend.*
„ C. Carnie's	*Hardmouth*	„ Seth's	*Jockey.*
„ M. T. Apcar's	*Snipe*	„ Santos'	*Doctor.*

During the sports, a tiger was brought in from one of the gambier plantations, and made an excitement during the races.

Mr. James Brooke was then at Sarawak, and the *Free Press* of the 13th January spoke of his proceedings there as follows, in an article on the future of Borneo:—"It may be said that an opening has already been made for us in Borneo by our enlightened and enterprising countryman Mr. Brooke, of whose undertakings the pages of this journal have from time to time furnished some account. That gentleman has lately entered into an engagement with the Rajah Moodah Hassim of Sarawak, a Borneo prince of amiable character and most favourably disposed towards the English, which has placed him in authority over that territory, and he is now devoting his talents, energy, and fortune, to develop its resources, promote its trade, and extend some of the blessings of a civilized life to its population. This, however, is an enterprise which, to be carried out to the successful issue it promises, requires means that a private gentleman can scarcely be supposed to command for such a purpose, and calls for personal privations and personal sacrifices which few possess the resolution to make; least of all, those who enjoy the means of living in luxury and ease in their own country, and it is right that the attention of the British public at home, as well as in India, should be drawn to the exertions Mr. Brooke is making to extend the name and character of his countrymen, and open new markets for their manufactures, as well as new scenes for the exercise of more generous principles than are always comprised in the mere extension of commerce. That his efforts will be appreciated as they deserve, we will not permit ourselves to doubt; but they will also require to be seconded in order to produce results worthy of the generous and important views under the influence of which he has commenced his undertaking."

On the 13th January, occurred the heaviest fall of rain that had then been recorded on the island; it began at midnight and rained without stopping for twenty hours, 9·37 inches of rain falling. The Brass Bassa Canal overflowed its banks, owing to the obstruction caused at the convict Jail, and the whole of Kampong Bencoolen

was flooded, the space between the Jail and Rochore Canal being one sheet of water about two feet deep, and all the roads got into a most wretched state. An experience which continues at intervals to the present time.

On the 25th December, 1841, the ship *Viscount Melbourne* had left Singapore for Macao, and on the 17th January a boat was seen coming into Singapore River to Mr. Johnston's landing steps at Tanjong Tangkap. Dr. Little and Mr. Read saw the boat coming up to the steps, and the former helped a lady on shore, with a little boy of two years old and a baby of only a few weeks. They had been thirteen days in the open boat at sea. The elder of these children, Mr. George Dare, was not cured of a taste for the sea by the experience, and the baby was Mr. Julius Dare, who for many years was a very prominent player in amateur theatricals here, but was afterwards resident in Yokohama, where he died suddenly of cholera in 1879, and his mother died there five days after him. The vessel had been wrecked on the Luconia Shoal in the China Sea, and the passengers and crew left her in five boats. There were fourteen Europeans and thirteen natives and servants in the boat in which the children came. One of the European sailors died in the boat, and water and biscuits, which were all the crew had, were very short On Sunday morning, four days after they left the ship, the boats saw a *proa* bearing down on them, and the following account of the adventure was written by a very young officer, an apprentice who was in one of the boats, as he explains:—"About six A.M., as we were all assembled in the launch, hearing the captain read prayers, we saw a *proa* bearing down towards us. The captain ordered us to take the serang (boatswain over the lascars), along with us and speak to them, to learn if they were friendly; for we much feared they were pirates. If there was danger, we were to hoist a signal, and they would come to our assistance. We accordingly started to meet them; we waved a white cloth in token of amity, and they did the same. When we got alongside of them we spoke, the serang acting as interpreter; they said that they came to conduct us safely in-shore, and that one boat was there already. So by this we suspected that they had taken them prisoners, and wished to entice the rest of us to the same fate. They now said that they wished to see the captain; so we pulled back, and they soon came up with the launch, where all were ready, cutlass in hand, to receive them, in case of treachery. They tried all they could to persuade us to go with them, and finally began to make fast to the launch with a rattan rope. When they found that we would not go with them, they assumed a very threatening aspect; so, there being so few of us who could fight, and our fire-arms being useless on account of the preceding rain, the captain gave orders to cut and run. The cook with one blow of his cutlass severed their rope, and we all made sail. When they saw this, they made sail in chase of us. We gained upon them at first, when, to our surprise, they opened fire upon us, first from their rifles, and finally from a swivel, the last shot passing through a blanket that was rigged as a screen from the sun at the back of the captain and passengers. It passed betwixt the captain

and Mrs. Dare, and then scraping a piece off the skull of one of the lascars, who sat in the bow of the boat, it buried itself in the water. Another shot, cut away the leech of the second cutter's lug. They gained rapidly on our boat, we not being so well manned or skilful as the rest. When within a few fathoms they made signs for us to desist pulling, at the same time taking aim at us. Mr. Parkhouse, who was pulling the next oar to me, when he saw the rifle pointed towards us, dropped his oar, exclaiming, 'Good God! there is one of us gone.' It was of no use persisting further, so they ran alongside. The *proa* was about the size of a sloop, neatly built of teak, but cleverly covered with matting and bark, to make her appearance as lubberly and clumsy as possible. She had two long straight poles for masts, and a large lug made of matting to each. Besides this, they pulled fifteen sweeps a side. When they first ran alongside the launch, there appeared to be only five or six half-naked fellows, who were fishing; but now her decks were crowded with Malays, armed and dressed in fancy costumes. Krises, very dangerous, crooked, poisoned swords, clubs, spears and guns, altogether made them have a very ferocious appearance. They jumped into our boat; seized upon us; and would, I think, have despatched us at once, had it not been for the interference of one who seemed to be their chief, who, dashing away the swords of the most forward, ordered all but two to get into their own craft and to proceed in chase of our other boats, which by this time had got pretty far in advance. They accordingly set their sails, and stood for the other boats, whilst we were obliged to steer for the land. Our preserver, a gentlemanly thief, was still with us, and he now began to lay his hands upon all our things, tying them all up in a blanket. But when those in the *proa* saw this, they, thinking, I suppose, that they were sent after a shadow, whilst he was making sure of the substance, turned back, and running alongside, began to clear the boat of everything—clothes, provisions, and even our drop of water, about two gallons, for the sake of the keg. As they took our muskets, pistols, and other arms, they repeatedly, jumped for joy, exclaiming, 'bagus' (very good). When they came to our sextant, they seemed much puzzled to know what it was, and made signs to me to show them the use of it, which I did. We repeatedly made signs to the chief to let us go after the boats, which by this time were nearly out of sight; to which he nodded his head assentingly, and shook us by the hand. Mr. Parkhouse now very foolishly pulled a small bag from his pocket, containing a fifty rupee note and some silver, which he gave to the chief, at the same time pointing to our other boats. Directly he got this, the rest began to strip us for more. They took his watch, Mr. Dainty's watch and ring, but on me they only found a Dutch silver piece. There was a case of herring-paste, which they made me taste before they would take it. They also threw our bag of biscuit into the water. When having taken everything, they now, to our great delight, told us we might go. They gave us a small basket of sago, and about three pints of water. The chief politely shook hands with us all; then stepping on board the *proa* they made sail towards the shore. Luckily for us, one of our boats was just in sight, that

containing Mr. Penfold, who had offered the captain, if he would give him six Englishmen, he would rescue us, or share our fate, for they never thought we should return. Guess then our joy, when we saw him lying-to, though a great way off. We made sail, and stood towards him, pulling at the same time with all our might, uncertain for some time whether we gained upon them or not. Had it been night, we should have missed them, and must, unprovided as we were, have died a miserable death; worse, indeed, than the one from which we had escaped. We came up with him fast, and in two hours after leaving the *proa*, ran alongside of them, and pleased enough they were to see us. Just as we reached them, away went our mast, and the cutter took us in tow. We soon came up with the launch, when the captain welcomed us heartily. Our boat not being worth repairing was condemned. Half of our crew went in the second cutter. Mr. Dainty and myself into the launch. The sails and oars being taken out of her, she was scuttled, and cast adrift. We arrived at Singapore at about three p.m., after being twelve days in our boats. The second cutter had got in early in the morning. The first cutter did not get into Singapore until a fortnight after we left, having been to Sambas. The lascars, who deserted us, had been taken as slaves, and did not regain their liberty until twelve months after."

The Government chartered a vessel, the *Royalist*, and the American Commodore, as there was no English man-of-war in the harbour, offered to send two vessels under his command in search of the missing boats. One boat arrived at Singapore from Sambas a few days afterwards, and the remaining boat reached Sarawak, and the crew were well treated by the Rajah; the *Free Press* remarking that this might be taken in extenuation of his ill treatment of shipwrecked people on former occasions. This was before the days of Rajah Brooke's rule there, of course. Captain George Julius Dare was a well known Singaporean. He had been a navigating officer, in those days called the master, in the Navy, and married at the Cape when on that Station. His grandfather, Mr. Julius, then helped him to build a vessel of his own, and he afterwards built others, trading out to China with three different vessels of his own. In this year he was passing through Singapore, on his way from Bombay to China, and left his wife on shore at a boarding house kept by Mrs. Clark at the south west corner of North Bridge Road and Middle Road, where the baby Julius, who has been mentioned, was born. About two months afterwards Mrs. Dare left in the unfortunate *Viscount Melbourne* for Macao, with the two children, to join her husband there. Captain Dare sold his vessel for a very handsome price, remitting home the money at the exchange of about six shillings to a dollar! In 1845 he went home, and returned and settled down in Singapore in February, 1848. These particulars are found in the evidence he gave in favour of Sir James Brooke, on the famous enquiry related under the year 1854. He commenced business in Singapore as a shipchandler and commission agent in the Square. There were then four shipchandlers' firms, namely, W. S. Duncan, John Steel & Co., Whampoa & Co., and Mr. Dare. His first clerk, and until 1857, was Mr. Franz N. H. Kustermann, afterwards of Rautenberg, Schmidt & Co., and

head partner of it in 1874. In 1855 Mr. Dare went to England, leaving a man in charge, whose name there is no necessity to mention. He was a very plausible man, with a particularly pleasant manner, but he turned out untrustworthy and ruined the business, as well as his employer. Mr. Dare died in London, 50 years of age, in 1856. He had a family of nine children, one of his daughters married Mr. William Ramsay Scott; another, Captain C. J. Bolton, very well known and a great favourite in Singapore, who commanded Jardine Matheson & Co.'s crack opium schooner, and when steam came, the *Glenartney*. He is living now in Essex. Another daughter was married to Mr. Whitworth Allen, who was in Singapore and Penang for many years, now retired from business. Another to Mr. Jackson, now Sir Thomas Jackson, K.C.M.G., of the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank; and another daughter to Dr. William Hartigan of Hongkong.

During the rule of the Dutch in Malacca and only a few weeks before the English flag was last hoisted, human beings were treated as mere goods and chattels and set up at public sale like horses and cattle. At a public meeting in 1829, it had been decided by the inhabitants to abolish all slavery in 1842, so the following notice was issued by Governor Bonham:—

GOVERNMENT NOTIFICATION.

The period having arrived for carrying into execution the humane, disinterested and noble pledge of the Slave-holders at Malacca, the Governor deems it right to republish for general information, and in order to remove from the minds of the few slaves who may yet be in existence, all apprehension or doubt of their right henceforth to be considered as free and no longer subject to be treated as slaves under any denomination, colour, or pretence whatever. An authentic copy is subjoined of the resolutions passed at the public meeting of the inhabitants of Malacca held on the 28th November, 1829, and at their request conveyed to the Governor through Mr. W. T. Lewis, who presided on the occasion.

The Governor takes the opportunity of congratulating the European and other inhabitants of Malacca on the completion of their generous purpose and the satisfaction which they cannot but feel in having thus of their own free will come forward and emancipated their fellowmen from the degraded condition of slavery. He is aware that the slaves in question were generally speaking born and bred up under their master's roof, and having for a series of years been supported with kind and considerate treatment and that they came into the possession of their owners at a period and under a Government when slavery was tolerated by Law. The spontaneous emancipation, therefore, of their slaves by the inhabitants of Malacca, under such circumstances, cannot fail to be highly gratifying to, and warmly appreciated by, the British Authorities, as well as the Supreme Government of British India, to which latter authority the Governor will have great satisfaction in reporting that the last remnant of slavery which existed in the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca has been for ever abolished by the unanimous accord of the inhabitants themselves.

(Signed) S. G. BONHAM.
Governor of P. W. Island,
Singapore and Malacca.

Gang robberies began to become frequent again in this year. In March, a gang of between thirty and forty Chinese, part of them armed, and with lighted torches, attacked and plundered the store of a money-changer, who had established his quarters in the verandah

of the extensive buildings belonging to Mr. Boustead [next to where Elgin Bridge is now] on the river side, broke open his chests, and carried off every farthing he possessed; amounting according to his own account to 1,500 dollars, but believed to be more accurately stated at about half that sum. They were seen by one of the night-watchmen, who said he was driven off by a shower of stones when he attempted to check them, and that he gave the alarm; but the robbers accomplished their purpose and effected their retreat without further molestation or interruption, leaving the owner of the property with several wounds on his head and other parts of his person in addition to his loss. And in May, in a house close to the Jail [the site of the present Central Police Station] at about three o'clock in the morning, a gang consisting of about fifty men, all well armed with broad hatchets, &c., broke into a native dwelling house. As soon as the entrance was gained, the robbers prevailed upon the men by threats, to keep quiet and offer no resistance at the peril of their lives, whilst they commenced breaking open seven chests that were in the house, and contrived to get possession of 700 dollars in money, and goods, and copper utensils to the value of about 500 dollars more. Whilst the thieves were in the act of walking away with their booty, the police peons, whose station was not far off, got the alarm, and immediately rushed to the spot to afford assistance. The major part of the robbers succeeded in getting off, leaving only five of their companions behind in the hands of the peons who, with difficulty, succeeded in capturing them. These men were supposed to have come from the back of the Government Hill, landing at the New Bridge in boats, and to have gone up by one of the new roads to avoid the Police.

The following remarks in the *Free Press* of this year give some details of the value of land at this time:—"A Government sale that took place in March proves the high rates paid for ground. The ground we allude to consists of lots in Upper Circular Road, comprising an area of two acres which realised no less a sum than $12,746. And in July, two and a half acres of land, divided into sixty-four lots, realised Cs. Rs 22,172 besides a quit rent of nearly Rs 300, the leases being for ninety-nine years like all the other town lots sold at that time."

In April, the Governor advertised for tenders to convey 350 tons of coal to the new Settlement of Hongkong at a rate not exceeding six dollars a ton.

In May, the Government refused to allow the Klings to have a procession and to carry their *taboot* about the town, and on the following day all the Klings, men of every trade and profession at Singapore, struck work, and even the petty shop-keepers amongst them closed their shops, refusing to engage in buying or selling with the European portion of the community; in short, there was a strong feeling of dissatisfaction manifested by this class of the population, which finding vent in the way above described, caused a temporary inconvenience, especially among the merchants, from their being deprived of the services of their boat-men and boats. After a day or two, the Chinese turned to and did some of the boat-work, which had the effect of opening the eyes of the refractory Klings. In June, a

Singapore merchant wrote to the paper complaining of the inefficiency of the Police, as there had been four gang robberies and eight murders in ten days.

The following appeared in the *Free Press* in May:—

PROSPECTUS FOR A THEATRE.

The dearth of all amusement in Singapore has induced several gentlemen to suggest the establishment of theatrical performances by subscription; it has therefore been deemed advisable to circulate this paper, with the view of ascertaining the sentiments of the Gentry and Community in general, as to the desirableness of a scheme of this description.

It is therefore respectfully requested, that those gentlemen who are desirous of patronizing the *Drama* will signify the same by subscribing their names to a List lying at the shop of Messrs. Rappa & Co., and the amount they may wish to subscribe.

It may be expedient to state, that so soon as a sufficiency of funds have been subscribed, an intimation will be given to the subscribers, and Messrs. Rappa & Co., have kindly offered to collect the subscriptions; whilst a Committee of Gentlemen will be nominated to superintend the disbursements and erection of a building.

The list of subscribers included Dr. Martin, Dr. Little, Mr. Carnie, Dr. d'Almeida, Messrs. Gilman, James Fraser, John Connolly, W. Napier, W. R. George, J. Guthrie, T. O. Crane and A. Sykes.

About this time, in 1841-42, the principal European inhabitants lived at Kampong Glam, now called Beach Road, where the old houses (the first built in the Settlement) began disappearing about 1880 to make way for Chinese shop-houses and one large Chinese temple. On the Esplanade, in the same house which is now the main building of the Hotel de l'Europe at the corner of the High Street, Mr. Boustead lived; Dr. W. Montgomerie, the Residency Surgeon, occupied the next, and Mr. Church, the Resident Councillor, lived in the third. Mr. Church's house was afterwards the Freemasons' Lodge, and the building where the ladies used to go, and tiffin was laid at the time of the New Year's Sports. These last two buildings are now the Municipal Offices. The Raffles Institution, a small school then, was inhabited by Mr. Moor and his family, Mr. Dickinson, the second master, and Padre Milton, the Chaplain. Then came Mr. and Mrs. W. R. George, where the Raffles Hotel has been built, and then came a bungalow built and inhabited by Dr. Alexander Martin, who died here. He was also Senior Sworn Clerk of the Supreme Court, in those days when there were more appointments than competent persons to fill them, and "one man in his time played many parts." This house was subsequently occupied by Captain Stephens, who commanded the *Elizabeth*, the first sea-going vessel that was built here. He afterwards became a merchant, and joined Mr. Clark, who had been in Guthrie and Clark, but they each started a separate business not long afterwards. Then came Mr. and Mrs. John Purvis, who lived in the next large house, which was afterwards occupied by Mr. and Mrs. D. S. Napier, and afterwards as a hotel by Mr. Chevalier. In after years it was occupied for some time as the quarters for the Telegraph Company's clerks, when the line from Europe was first opened. Miss Grant occupied a house as a missionary school, and Mr. and Mrs. J. H. Whitehead's house (of Shaw, Whitehead & Co.) was next Middle Road. After that

were Mr. and Mrs. McMicking (of Syme & Co.), and Dr. d'Almeida and his family, which is the only house of the row that is still standing, in a dilapidated state. In the same row were Mr. and Mrs. E. J. Gilman, Mr. and Mrs. James Fraser, Mr. and Mrs. Bernard, and the last house belonged to Mr. Ker, and Mr. M. F. Davidson lived in it. The houses on Beach Road had nearly all a separate building for billiard tables. Mr. C. Carnie lived in Rochore Road, off where Carnie Street now is. Dr. d'Almeida had a large piece of building land between Middle Road and where Bugis Street is now, and between Victoria Street and North Bridge Road; he had a small orchard and fish-pond there.

In Battery Road, lived Mr. A. L. Johnston, Mr. J. C. Drysdale, Mr. Robert Bain, and Mr. Read (all of A. L. Johnston & Co.). Dr. Little lived at the Dispensary, and Dr. M. J. Martin lived in the building which now forms part of John Little & Co.'s premises. Mr. McEwen, G. Stewart and T. Dunman lived at the corner of Malacca Street, where the Borneo Co.'s office was for very many years in the Square. Mr. Moses lived in the premises which is still occupied by the firm of Sarkies & Moses, as an office. The building had first been Dr. d'Almeida's dispensary, and afterwards was occupied by Mr. and Mrs. Wingrove. Mr. Simons Stephens (of the firm of Apcar and Stephens) lived with his family at the corner of the Square, next Battery Road. Messrs. Spottiswoode and Connolly's office was where the building erected for the Oriental Bank now is, and had a small compound facing the Square. Mr. F. S. Martin had his store where Little's is. Where the Mercantile Bank is now, Mr. and Mrs. T. O. Crane lived. In High Street, Mr. J. Guthrie, Mr. and Mrs. Armstrong, and Mr. Napier, the lawyer, lived. In Coleman Street, Mr. Coleman, and Mr. Dutronquoy's Hotel. Major and Miss Low lived in the Pavilion in North Bridge Road, and Mr. G. F. Davidson and Padre Beurel in Brass Bassa Road.

In the country, Dr. Martin lived at Annanbank in River Valley Road, from 1843 to 1846, and Dr. Little, who was his partner, then lived in Bonnygrass House, Mr. and Mrs. Adam Sykes (of Robert Wise & Co.) were his neighbours. Dr. Oxley lived on his hill, where the Pavilion, No. 2, now is. Mr. Carnie lived on Cairn Hill, and had planted the two beautiful waringa trees which grew to such a great size, and were cut down in 1884 only, to make room for the large house which was built then, and has been occupied by the Chartered Bank Managers. Mr. Thomas Hewetson lived at Mount Elizabeth, the furthest house in Tanglin. Mr. Behn, V. L. Meyer, and Schreiber (of Behn, Meyer & Co.) at Mount Sophia. Lieutenant Charles Morgan Elliot, of the Madras Engineers, who was sent here to make the magnetic surveys of the surrounding waters, lived at Kallang, on the right bank of the river next to the long iron bridge on the south side. Mr. Ker lived at Bukit Chermin at New Harbour, in the house he built on the hill, which has since been re-built.

Horses were then very rare, ponies and carriages in fair proportion to the upper classes, but a lot of walking was done in those days. People dined at half past four, and sauntered afterwards to the Saluting Battery, better known as Scandal Point, where a sharp eye

was kept on Tanjong Tangkop where Mr. Johnston's hospitable house was situated. A fives court was the only athletic sport then existing, and cards, chiefly *loo* and *vingt-et-un*, were the usual evenings' refuge. The Governor, Mr. Bonham, kept open house at the present Fort Canning, and the Navy House was at the foot of the hill, next to the present Masonic Lodge, where the office of the Government Analyst is now, at the corner of Coleman Street; it has been discontinued for very many years. In those days it was a point of policy to show attention to Naval Officers, and provide for their convenience when on shore.

The following passage appeared in the *Free Press* of 1842, in an article describing the general appearance of the town:—

"A stranger visiting Singapore cannot fail to be struck by the signs everywhere exhibited of the Settlement being in a high state of prosperity and progressive improvement. He lands on the side next the town, he beholds the pathway in front of the merchants' godowns cumbered with packages, and if he glances into one of these godowns he will see it piled with packages and bales of goods from all parts of the world. If he goes amongst the native shops, he finds them filled with clamourous Klings and long-tailed Chinese, all busily engaged in driving bargains. Passing on, he comes to where, near the Jail [present Central Police Station], the swamp is being filled up and covered with shops, which are seen in every stage of erection, some with the foundations merely laid, and others nearly completed. If he wishes to leave the town, he crosses the Singapore river by a new bridge which was built two years ago, but the construction of which does not reflect much credit on the Architect, it being exceedingly high, and shaking a vehicle in crossing in a very unpleasant manner. The scene now undergoes a change: in place of the narrow and crowded streets of the town, the stranger finds himself amongst rows of neat villas each standing in its own enclosure. The Governor's residence is to the left, upon a small hill commanding a fine view of the town and harbour, the flag-staff is also placed there, and at all hours of the day may be seen covered with flags announcing the approach of ships from every quarter of the globe. Many villas are also in the course of being built, betokening, by the demand for comfortable houses, the rapid increase of population and wealth. If he should go into the country, the many thriving plantations of spices and other tropical products, among which are to be noted one or two sugar estates, present an equally pleasing sight, and give promise of a long continuance to the well being of the Settlement."

In this year appears the first advertisement that has been met with of Mr. Francis S. Martin, who was a store-keeper and auctioneer, and was afterwards joined by Mr. John M. Little, and resulted in John Little & Co.'s firm eventually. The P. & O. Company were creeping on towards Singapore, though they did not reach here until 1845, and the *Free Press* contained a copy of their half-yearly Report, in which a dividend was declared of three and half per cent. for the six months.

The criminal assizes in August lasted a whole fortnight, there being 77 prisoners. There had been no assizes held for six months. One case was a murder case against fifteen Chinese, for a row in a

junk in the harbour, in which the police were attacked and six peons were killed; the identification failed and the prisoners were discharged. There was one other case of murder, and the man was transported to Bombay for fourteen years.

On the 13th September, Mr. Abraham Logan advertised that he had commenced practice in Singapore as a Law Agent and Notary Public. He afterwards was one of the leading lawyers of the place, and for a long time proprietor and editor of the *Free Press*. He was born at Hatton Hall, Berwickshire, on 31st August, 1816. He practised in Singapore for many years, first with his younger brother, James Richardson Logan, who was born at the same place on 10th April, 1819, and arrived in the Straits in February, 1839. In 1853, J. R. Logan went to Penang, and Abraham practised alone for some years, and in 1862 was joined by Mr. Thomas Braddell. Mr. Logan went to Penang in 1869, and died there on 20th December, 1873. In Singapore he lived for many years at Mount Pleasant, Thomson's Road. His brother was the founder and editor of the Journal of the Indian Archipelago. He died in Penang on 20th October, 1869, and a monument was erected to his memory, by the people of the Straits Settlements, in front of the Supreme Court in Penang, the lengthy inscription on which speaks of his death, in the prime of his manhood, as a public calamity, and of his having always been first, and sometimes standing alone, in promoting the welfare of the Settlements; and also of his having founded the Journal of the Indian Archipelago.

On the 19th September, appeared an extraordinary edition of the *Free Press*, announcing the conclusion of the China war, the cession of Hongkong in perpetuity, the opening of the ports of Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo and Shanghai, and payment of twenty-one millions of dollars indemnity. The news was carried from Nankin to Calcutta by the *Tenasserim* steamer, which called in at Singapore, carrying Sir Henry Pottinger's despatches; Mr. J. D. Vaughan was a midshipman on board her; she had been engaged in all the naval actions up to the end of this war.

The accounts of the Straits at this time, after deducting the expenses for troops and convicts, which were not then considered to form a proper charge against the revenue, showed a surplus of about Rs. 57,000. At Penang there was a deficiency of Rs. 56,000, at Malacca of Rs. 90,000, and at Singapore a surplus of Rs. 203,000. The expenses for troops however amounted in the Straits to Rs. 633,000 and for convicts to Rs. 89,000, so the total deficiency for the year 1841-42, in the official returns, was Rs. 665,000.

It was in this year that the first Consul for France, Mr. Eugene Chaigneau, was appointed in Singapore. The wall along the river side at Boat Quay was built at this time, replacing piles and little private piers in front of the godowns. In Vol. 4 of Logan's Journal, in a paper by Colonel Low, it says that about this period cholera prevailed for a short time in Singapore, proving very fatal in several confined localities, where the houses were mean and filthy, and the people living in them dirty in their habits. From two to three hundred persons died.

On the 16th April, a weekly newspaper was started, called the *Straits Messenger*, published on Saturdays. It was eight pages of small size, and consisted almost entirely of cuttings from English and foreign papers. It had only a brief existence, and for this reason was not mentioned on page 153. There were several such papers at various times. The *Singapore Local Reporter* ran a short time in 1852-53, but there are few, if any copies of the papers to be found. The *Messenger* was conducted by Mr. Edwards, who had formerly had a small newspaper in Malacca, and much amusement was caused in Court by his method of defending himself in a case for libel, heard before Mr. Bonham, Mr. Church, and a jury. The result was a fine of Rs. 200. The subject of the libel was a statement that had been made in the paper regarding Lieut. Maidman, of the Madras Native Infantry, in regard to his behaviour in the Roman Catholic Church. Mr. Edwards, who was a native of Africa, died at the age of 34 years, in March, 1843, which stopped the paper. He had been an entirely self-taught man, and was said at the time to have been a striking instance of natural ability overcoming difficulties.

In December appeared the notice of the first races, and the Stewards announced that the course and stand being almost finished, they had fixed the 19th February, being the anniversary of the foundation of the Settlement (!) for the first meeting. The Secretary signed as Templeton, which was the *nom-de-plume* of Mr. Charles Dyce.

Two Bugis men had a row in the town, one stabbed the other with his *kris*, and he died in the hospital. The other man ran into the jungle pursued by a mob of two or three hundred people, who attacked him with spears and anything they could lay their hands on, and killed him. Some police peons were on the spot, but the mob were in such an excited state that they could not restrain them. A coroner's inquest was held on his body and the verdict was justifiable homicide.

The total imports into Singapore in 1841-42 were $14,000,000, and the exports $11,500,000, being an increase of about one million in each case over the preceding year. The examination of the Institution School was held in December, by Mr. Church and the Chaplain, Mr. Panting. The average attendance at the school was about 125 boys. The Chinese boys were taught English for two hours a day, and their own language during the remainder.

The firm of W. R. Paterson & Co., which led on to McEwen & Co., and so to the Borneo Company, Limited, commenced in this year. In 1846 (the year when the first Directory of Singapore was published), the five partners were W. R. Paterson and William Morgan in Glasgow, Francis Richardson in Manila, Henry Vernede in Batavia, and Robert McEwen in Singapore. Mr. John Harvey was then a clerk. In 1849, Mr. Paterson left the firm; in 1850, John Black, William Martin, and V. L. Helms were among the clerks; and in 1852, John Martin and Robert Harvey.

In 1852 the firm of McEwen & Co., was established, the first partners were Wm. Morgan and Robert McEwen at Glasgow, Vernede and Richardson at Batavia, and Charles Bannatyne Findlay and John Harvey at Singapore. The clerks were William Martin and Robert

Harvey. In 1854 the firm was composed of Morgan, Richardson, Findlay and Harvey, and Mr. Samuel Gilfillan and George Armstrong were among the clerks. In 1857 Mr. William Adamson was one of the clerks.

On 31st July, 1857, the Borneo Company, Limited, was established in Singapore. Mr. John Harvey was Managing Director in the East, Mr. John Black was Manager at Batavia, and Mr. Samuel Gilfillan at Bangkok, the firm of McEwen & Co., having been dissolved on 20th April. Messrs. H. W. Wood and Auchincloss were clerks. In 1859, Messrs. S. Gilfillan and H. W. Wood were Managers, and Mr. C. E. Crane was a clerk. In 1860, Messrs. Gilfillan and Auchincloss were managing; in 1862, Mr. W. Adamson, and the clerks were Messrs. Tidman, Mulholland and Crum. In 1863, Messrs. Gilfillan and Adamson were in Singapore.

The firm of Paterson & Co., was dissolved on 30th April, 1842, and the new firm of Martin Dyce & Co., was established. The partners in Paterson & Co., had been William Richard Paterson, Charles Carnie, George Martin and Alexander Dyce, with houses at Singapore, Batavia, and Manila, and the house of Paterson, Martin & Co., at Glasgow. On 30th April, George Martin, Charles Carnie, and Alexander Dyce advertised in the *Free Press* that Mr. John Campbell had joined them as a partner, and the new firms were called Dyce Martin & Co., at Singapore, Batavia and Manila, and Martin Dyce & Co., at Glasgow, but the latter name was soon afterwards used for the eastern firms. Martin was in Glasgow, Carnie at Singapore, Dyce at Manila, and Campbell at Batavia. Charles Andrew Dyce and Andrew Farquhar were then clerks. In 1858, Mr. Carnie left the firm, and Thomas H. Campbell, who had been a clerk since 1847, became a partner. David Rodger, to whom there is a window in the Cathedral, was a clerk in 1858, and W. C. Hannay in 1859, and were both afterwards partners.

In this year Mr. William Willans Willans, who was a nephew of Mr. Thomas Church, was appointed clerk in the Land Office. He held at different times almost every official office. In September, 1849, the *Free Press* said: "Mr Little, the Surgeon, having resigned the coronership, Mr. Willans, nephew to the Resident Councillor, chief clerk in the Treasury, Official Assignee, &c., &c., has been sworn in as coroner. He is a young gentleman of great activity, but how he will be able to do all the duties of his multifarious employments, we are quite at a loss to conceive." He was in the service for forty years, and there never was a more hard-working, punctual, accurate official in the place. He had the respect of all. He was an excellent magistrate, and a very competent and careful treasurer. He was a member from the first of the executive and legislative councils after the Transfer. He married one of the daughters of Governor Blundell; and Mr. Adolf Emil Schmidt of Rautenberg, Schmidt & Co.; Mr. K. B. S. Robertson of the Police under Mr Dunman; Captain George Tod Wright, Marine Magistrate and in the Master Attendant's Office; and Mr. J. M. Moniot, the Government Surveyor; all married daughters of Mr. Blundell. Mr. Willans retired in May, 1882, on a pension of $3,600 a year, and is now living in England.

In the year 1842 Mr. Samuel Bateman, who had been land agent in England to the Earl of Dudley, and was a land surveyor by

profession, had left England for Australia, but did not stay there, and came up to Singapore in 1843 and remained until his death. In August, 1843, with the authority of the Board of Trade in England, he established a Shipping Office for seamen, which was largely availed of. In 1850 Governor Butterworth wrote to him that in the event of a Government Shipping Office being established, his claim to consideration to be appointed Registrar would not be lost sight of. In 1858, when Governor Blundell had succeeded Colonel Butterworth, the Legislative Council at Calcutta introduced a Bill similar to the English Merchant Shipping Act of 1854, and Mr. Bateman, having again applied to the Governor, Mr. Blundell replied that his application would be given every consideration. All the European firms had signed a letter recommending him to Government for the post of Registrar of Seamen. The appointment was not made until Colonel Cavenagh had succeeded Mr. Blundell, and, to the general dissatisfaction, he appointed Mr. W. Wilkinson who had been Master's Mate of H. M. S. *Royalist*. Mr. Bateman then became an Auctioneer and Land Agent. He had a printing office and stationery shop connected with his shipping office, when he first came to Singapore, and did a great deal of surveying in the town, for which reason he had refused the appointment of Postmaster in Hongkong which had been offered to him by Sir Henry Pottinger. He died in Singapore in 1866 at the age of sixty-six years, a well known Singaporean.

CHAPTER XXX.

1843

A MERCHANT wrote to the paper on New Year's day that 200 barrels of gunpowder were stored in a godown in the Square, and wanted the Insurance offices to take up the matter. Another complained that when the guard was relieved at the Court House, a swarm of pariah dogs came with the soldiers, and attacked the natives passing by, and threw them down and tore their clothes, which seemed to amuse the sepoys, who did not try to stop them till the fun became too serious. So he proposed, as the only effectual way to reduce the super-abundance of dogs, that a tax of $2 per annum should be put upon each; which has often been suggested since.

The advertisements contained notices that Mr. John Purss Cumming and Mr. Gilbert Angus Bain were admitted partners in Maclaine, Fraser & Co., and Mr. John Myrtle in Geo. Armstrong & Co., in January. H. E Sir Hugh Gough, who had been commanding the Force in China, embarked on board H. M. S. *Endymion* in January, for Calcutta, with his staff; the troops had been returning from China since September on the conclusion of the war. At the same time, Mr. Bonham, the Governor, left in the Company's steamer *Diana* for Penang, in order to go to Calcutta from there in the steamer *Queen*. He went to Europe on leave, and did not return. He carried with him the best wishes of the people. He had tried in every way to advance the interests of Singapore, and during twelve years as Resident Councillor and Governor, had seen Singapore increase in importance every year until it was among the first of the commercial ports of India. He was distinguished by liberal hospitality, and especially during the continual passage of troops and men-of-war on their way to China on the expeditions.

Mr. Bonham, afterwards Sir George Bonham, was very popular among the Europeans and natives. He commenced life in the East in the Civil Service in Bencoolen, and had a considerable knowledge of mankind, and, like a sensible man, exerted himself to keep things in easy train and make them pleasant when he could. He had been a quarter of a century in the East, and had made many friends and supporters. He was described as honest, upright, just and generous. He had fine grey hair, a snub nose, and spoke with a stutter and a lisp, but his upright carriage, amiable jocularity, and high sense of honour, sunk them under his gentlemanly qualities. In March, 1848, he pased through Singapore on his way from England, to take up his appointment of Governor of Hongkong and Plenipotentiary and Superintendent of trade in China. He was greeted very warmly in

Singapore, the natives no less than the Europeans coming forward to express the respect and esteem they bore towards him, and their congratulations on his new appointment. He was created a baronet for his services in China, having been Governor of Hongkong from 1848 to 1854.

It was in this year that the Charter was given to Hongkong. The place was ceded to England in January, 1841, and the cession was confirmed by the Treaty of Nankin, in August, 1842. Unlike Singapore, the place was carried on at considerable cost until 1854, Parliament in 1843 voting £50,000 in addition to the military expenses. If Sir Stamford Raffles had commenced the establishment at Singapore in a similar way, it would have been stopped at once.

Mr. E. A. Blundell was appointed by the Governor-General to act until further orders, and Mr. Samuel Garling acted as Governor until Mr. Blundell came, who did not arrive in Singapore until the 23rd July, and on the following day the public were surprised by a report that he had received the intelligence that his appointment was cancelled, and another Governor was being sent in his place He left on the 27th in the *Diana* for Penang, on his way to Calcutta. The Indian Government, on the 14th June, had appointed Colonel Butterworth, C.B., of the 2nd Madras European Regiment as Governor. The *Free Press* made the following remarks upon this :—"The new Governor of the Straits is Col. Butterworth of the Madras Army. This sudden turning of Mr Blundell to the right about is, we suppose, the winding up of Lord Ellenborough's conduct to that gentleman, and is upon a par with the other extraordinary behaviour of his Lordship, who seems to place his special delight in depressing and mortifying the civil service, and bestowing all the lucrative and honourable posts on the military. The unceremonious and arbitrary manner in which he has presumed to treat Mr. Blundell, is only a continuation of that course of proceeding which he has pursued towards the Civil Servants. Mr. Blundell, we doubt not, will receive that justice at the hands of the Directors which such an old and valuable servant is justly entitled to, and there are many ways in which the injustice he has suffered can be repaired ; but the Straits Settlements are also entitled to complain, and the injustice inflicted on them does not stand such a good chance of being remedied. These Settlements may justly protest against their being deprived of the services of Mr. Blundell, who of all men in the service out of the Straits, was the person best fitted to fill the office of Governor with advantage to all parties. From his previous residence in the Straits. Mr. Blundell is familiar with the language and customs of the people. Ever since he left the Straits he has been resident in the Tenasserim Provinces, and there the whole object of his long Government has been directed to the fostering and promoting their trade and agriculture, and his exertions have been eminently successful.

"That the same qualities which had proved so highly beneficial elsewhere would have been equally serviceable in the Straits is very manifest. In Penang the decaying trade requires to be watched over. and where opportunity occurs, to be reinvigorated by the judicious interference of the local Authorities with the Supreme Government or with the neighbouring states. The agriculture of Penang, which must



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GOVERNOR WILLIAM JOHN BUTTERWORTH, C.B.

constitute the main prop and stay of the prosperity of that place, is virtually dependent on the views which are adopted by the Governor, and the help he may be inclined to give.

"In Singapore, Mr. Blundell in like manner might have been highly useful in applying his practical knowledge in carrying the recent measure regarding the sale of land into effect, in opening up new districts, and in encouraging cultivation. At the present time such a person would have been of eminent service in watching the effect which the changed nature of our relations with China will no doubt produce upon the commerce of Singapore; and representations coming from one in his situation, who was evidently so well acquainted with his subject, would have been more favourably regarded than had they been merely by the merchants themselves, whose demands, however just and reasonable, are apt to be looked upon with suspicion and grudgingly acceded to For all these reasons, we esteem Mr. Blundell as the person best fitted for the Government of the Straits, that could have been picked out of the whole service. If the Supreme Government is determined to make room for military gentlemen wherever they can find or effect an opening, we think those whose local experience might be immediately subservient to the public good should have the preference. Instead of removing Lieut.-Colonel Hutchinson, after being three years in the Straits, to the command of the 2nd European Regiment (Lieut.-Colonel Butterworth's) why was he not detained here in the capacity of Governor? Major Low, whose civil experience in the Straits has been most extensive, might well put in his claim when Military Governors are the order of the day."

The Municipal accounts were published in the paper in January. The assessment on houses in town was then eight per cent., and four per cent. on those in the country. The expense of Police for the year was $12,000, and $1,900 was spent upon the roads. The coolies employed on the work were convicts, and were paid Rs. 4 a month for able-bodied men and R. 1 for feeble men. A sum of $18.62 was spent to enclose the Esplanade!

They was a long series of robberies, and attacks by numbers of armed Chinese about this time, and a public meeting was called, of which the following are the minutes:—

"At a Public Meeting of the Inhabitants of Singapore, held at the office of Messrs. Hamilton, Gray & Co. on the 10th February, 1843, Thomas Oxley, Sheriff, in the Chair, the following Resolutions were read from the Chair, and unanimously adopted:—

1*st*. *Resolved*.—That house-breaking and robbery by gangs of Chinese have become so frequent and daring as to create general alarm for the security of property in the Town and Suburbs.

2*nd*. *Resolved*.—That the impunity with which these outrages are committed is the main cause of their frequency and audacity, and that it is chiefly attributable to the very inefficient state of the Police department that offenders of this description escape apprehension or detection.

3*rd*. *Resolved*.—That it is the opinion of this Meeting that the improved efficiency of the Police, and a more energetic management of

that department are absolutely necessary towards effecting a remedy for the grievances under consideration.

4th. Resolved.—That it is the opinion of this Meeting that as one necessary step towards securing greater efficiency in the Police, an addition ought to be made to the number of European Constables and Peons, that the utmost vigilance and activity are necessary on the part of these officers in the discharge of their duty, and that their personal attendance at the Police during the day ought to be dispensed with, except on occasions of positive necessity.

5th. Resolved.—That it appears to this Meeting also highly necessary to establish a Harbour or Water Police to prevent escape seaward, in which direction it is known offenders often fly with their plunder, and that to render effectual this means of preventing escape, the Chinese junks should be required to anchor at a greater distance from the shore, moored in regular divisions, and marked each with a number so as to be readily identified, an arrangement which would be attended with salutary effects in other respects.

6th. Resolved.—That the existence of organized associations of Chinese in this settlement under the designation of *Huey* or Brotherhood is notorious; that the members of these societies often league together for unlawful purposes, the execution of which is facilitated by this system of combination, and that there is no doubt whatever the gang robberies in question are chiefly committed by individuals enrolled in fraternities of this description.

7th. Resolved.—That it is an understood fact that many of the Chinese Shop-keepers and Traders in the Town, particularly the native born subjects of China, pay regular sums to these Associations, as protection money for their own property, or as a contribution in the nature of *black-mail*, and that it rarely or never happens that the Chinese are themselves sufferers from the depredations complained of.

8th. Resolved.—That it is highly expedient a law should be passed having for its object the suppression of these Brotherhoods so far as the same may be effected or influenced by legal enactments, and in particular that it should be made penal for any person or persons to pay or receive any sum of money as protection money of the nature specified in the preceding Resolution.

9th. Resolved.—That the Resolutions now passed be transmitted to the Hon'ble Samuel Garling, Acting Governor, through the Committee of the Chamber of Commerce, accompanied with a letter from that Body in support of the firm conviction of this Meeting (inadequately conveyed in these Resolutions), that the grievances in question demand immediate and energetic measures on the part of the local Government.

The Chamber of Commerce recommended that the Police Force should consist of one Deputy Superintendent of Police, six European Constables, seven Jemadars or Sergeants, eleven Duffadars or Corporals, and one hundred and fifty Peons, which it was thought would necessitate the highest rate of assessment (ten per cent.) being put into operation.

Tiger stories were very numerous, there being five cases reported in the paper as having occurred in six days, in the jungle, chiefly

among the Malay wood-cutters. A tiger and tigress were killed on a plantation on Bukit Timah Road one mile from town. The following grumble appeared in the paper in February:—"Why are the Verandahs in Kling Street, and in fact in almost all the streets, allowed to be choked up with the wares of Klings and Chinese, thereby preventing people from walking under them? I wish to ask if they have any right to do so? Proprietors of godowns in the Square are not allowed to use the Verandah to put goods under. Certainly it is rather surprising that this nuisance should be suffered. We believe that the meaning of the clause which is inserted in all the building leases, obliging parties to make a Verandah in front of their houses six feet wide, is or was intended to provide for the accommodation of the public by furnishing them with a walk where they might be in some degree free from the sun and dust, and be in no danger of sudden death from the numerous Palankeens that are always careering along the middle of the way. But this seems to have been forgotten, and the natives have very coolly appropriated the verandahs to their own special use by erecting their stalls in it and making it a place for stowing their goods."

The following advertisement appeared in the *Free Press* in February:—

A Race Ball

Will be held on the evening of Monday, the 27th instant, at the residence of the Hon'ble the Recorder.

Dancing to commence at 8 o'clock.

Stewards.

Lieut. Hoseason.	William Napier, Esq.
Lewis Fraser, Esq.	James Guthrie, Esq.
Chas. Spottiswoode, Esq.	Charles Dyce, Esq.
W. H. Read. Esq.	Dr. Moorhead.

Full Dress.

and the *Free Press* gave a long account of the First Races in Singapore which were held on Thursday and Saturday the 23rd and 25th February. The first race was at 11 a.m., and called The Singapore Cup, of $150. Mr. W. H. Read rode the winner. There were four races the first day, and three the second; followed by some matches to fill up the time. The races were held on the same course as at present, but the stand was on the opposite side, near Serangoon Road.

The ship *Edward Boustead*, 484 tons, left Liverpool on 14th August, 1842, and arrived at Singapore on 14th December, consigned to Boustead, Schwabe & Co.; she sailed again for London on 11th March, 1843.

H.M.S. *Dido* had left England in January, and passed through Singapore in May, 1842, on her way to China in the war. She returned to Singapore on 30th December, and was in the Straits or Borneo until 30th June, 1843, when she went again to China. She returned to Singapore in February, 1844, and was again in the Straits and Borneo until October, when she sailed for England, and was paid off. It was during this commission of the *Dido*, and her expeditions to Borneo against the pirates, and assistance rendered to Rajah Brooke, whose doings Singapore looked upon as almost a part of its

own history, that Captain Keppel made so many friends in the place. He had previously been in Singapore a few days only on two occasions, when he was a Lieutenant of the *Magicienne*, as said on page 218, in September, 1832, and April, 1833, but his book "A Sailor's Life under Four Sovereigns" gives from his diary many occurrences while he was here in the *Dido*, and mention is made of Mr. Church, Wm. Napier, Wm. Scott, Rajah Brooke, Captain C. M. Elliot, W. H. Read, Balestier, and many others whose names are mentioned in this book.

The *Dido* was a beautiful corvette of 734 tons, 18 guns. Admiral Keppel often used to remark, half a century later, that he could never leave her without rowing twice round her in his boat to have a look at her. The present Rajah of Sarawak, Sir Charles Johnson Brooke, mentions in his book about Sarawak, that he first went there "a small midshipman" in the *Dido* with Captain Keppel.

In one week in March, the paper contained an account of four Kling men having been murdered in a boat at Tanah Merah; they were found with their hands tied behind their backs and strangled. The Powder Magazine of Tock Seng on Kallang River was broken open by a large gang of Chinese robbers, and large quantities of powder carried off. And the same night a gang of armed Chinese landed from a boat at New Harbour and attacked several houses, but the Tumongong turned out with his followers and beat them off in gallant style and captured eighteen men. On the same night, a quantity of coal stored at Sandy Point was set on fire by an incendiary.

There was a regatta held in March, with ten entries of yachts, of which the *Victoria* and *Maggie Lauder* came in at the head. Captain Keppel, of the *Dido*, was umpire, and Mr. W. H. Read, Secretary. There is an account of it in Admiral Keppel's last book. The *Free Press* said that the community were much indebted to the Captain of the *Dido* for sending his band to play for two or three hours every evening on the Esplanade, which attracted all the Singaporeans. The paper contained a long account of the *Dido's* attacks on pirates; her boats used to be sent away round the island whenever a native boat brought in any suspicious intelligence, and on one occasion Captain Keppel put a number of the crew into Chinese topees as a blind. In May the *Dido* sailed for Borneo with Mr. James Brooke on board. Captain Keppel and the officers and crew of the *Dido* were the life of the place whenever she came into port. Regattas and picnics were held, and from the Captain downwards they seemed to vie with each other in making their stay as jolly as possible, and the arrival of the vessel in the harbour was an event in those days of no telegrams.

Major C. E. Davis, who had been the principal assistant to Colonel Farquhar, and married one of his daughters, died in Calcutta in his 53rd year on the 8th March in this year. The *Englishman* spoke of him as a sterling and very amiable man.

The following articles appeared in the paper of 20th April:—

"We have much pleasure in announcing to our local readers that it is the intention of the Agents of the Steam Ship *Victoria* to des-

patch her on Wednesday, the 26th instant, on a trip to Malacca and Penang and back. The following are the rates proposed to be charged:—

Cabin passengers to Penang and back	Drs.	100
If to Penang only	„	50
If to Malacca only	„	25
Steerage passengers with berths	„	12
Deck	„	8

Provisions for this class not included.

"We understand this trip is intended as an experiment, and if it is found that the expenditure so incurred is not so great as at present anticipated, a modification of the above rates will be made in future. It is proposed that the *Victoria* shall leave here on Wednesday, the 26th instant, at 2 o'clock p.m., start the next day from Malacca at 2 o'clock p.m. when she will be at Penang on the following morning, where she will remain until Tuesday morning, when she will return on the same plan. This is the first experiment ever tried here, and we trust that sufficient encouragement will be given to induce the owners of the *Victoria* to continue her in the Straits. Many of the community who have never visited the other Settlements in the Straits will, we are assured, gladly avail themselves of so desirable an opportunity"

"We have lately been much gratified by seeing the manly game of Cricket resumed in this Settlement. A very interesting match is now being played between the officers of H. M. S. *Dido* and Singaporeans. We observed among the players several excellent bowlers."

The following is taken from a paper that appeared at this time:—"To an old inhabitant of Singapore who knew it only a few years back in its primitive Malayan state of jungle and marsh, it is a source of gratification to observe the many improvements which are now in progress, not only in the extension of the town, but in the construction and repair of useful roads which run in various directions over the country. It is pleasing to observe with what rapidity little gardens and large plantations spring up on each side of these roads, to the extent of several miles, and we have no doubt that were the whole island judiciously intersected with roads, it would soon be cleared of jungle and become a highly productive settlement. Commercial prosperity has given an impetus to agricultural enterprise for some time past, and the Government ought to foster and encourage it by every means within its power. Can it be said to do so at present? We *know* that most of the planters would cry out against us were we to state that it does. They would exclaim that they commenced their plantations under very great discouragements and hold them, even now, only by a sort of tacit permission. Such a state of things ought not to be allowed to continue any longer, the Government ought speedily and openly to declare the terms on which planters are to have their possessions, and the more liberal these terms are the sooner will the whole island come within the reach of the present march of improvement.

"A large portion of the island is covered with plantations of gambier and pepper, owned by Chinese squatters, and as these two products have become important articles of commerce, every encouragement ought to be held out to continue and extend their cultivation, by

granting these industrious people permanent leases and by opening more roads into the districts occupied by them. The Chinese are not slow in taking advantage of the facilities afforded by the new roads as far as they go, as we observe them now conveying their produce into town by carts, whereas formerly files of them might be seen trudging over rough, steep and circuitous paths leading to the town, each man loaded with a couple of baskets slung on a pole and carried over the shoulder. The extension of water communication inland will also, we trust, be attended to in time, not only on account of the drainage of waste lands, but as affording a cheap means of conveying produce to town."

The following is the statement of the Excise Farm, from 1826 to 1843-44. It includes the Opium and Spirit Farms, and small amounts for Serih (about $100 a month) Pawn-brokers (about $30 a month) the two markets at Teluk Ayer and Kampong Glam (about $80 a month) and Toddy and Ganja (about $20 a month).

1826-27	Excise Farms,	per month,	Drs.	3,540
1827-28	Do.	do.	,,	3,668
1828-29	Do.	do.	,,	4,613
1829-30	Do.	do.	,,	3,718
1830-31	Do.	do.	,,	7,042
1831-32	Do.	do.	,,	6,672
1832-33	Do.	do.	,,	7,113
1833-34	Do.	do.	,,	7,470
1834-35	Do.	do.	,,	8,970
1835-36	Do.	do.	,,	9,031
1836-37	Do.	do.	,,	8,556
1837-38	Do.	do.	,,	8,298
1838-39	Do.	do.	,,	8,429
1839-40	Do.	do.	,,	7,908
1840-41	Do.	do.	,,	10,356
1841-42	Do.	do.	,,	12,034
1842-43	Do.	do.	,,	12,100
1843-44	Do.	do.	,,	15,050

In June, a fire of a serious nature occurred, which at one time it was feared would have laid a considerable part of the town in ashes. It broke out in Lorong Teluk in the early part of the day, and there was fortunately little wind at the time. A great deal was said about the necessity for a fire brigade of some kind, or rules and regulations for similar occasions, and the paper made the following remarks:—"It is really wonderful that fires of a most destructive and extensive nature do not more frequently happen in Singapore. There are such a number of old wooden houses in Singapore, and the habits of the natives in their use of fire are so extremely careless, that it is very surprising that we have not a weekly conflagration. The streets and houses are crowded and connected with each other in such a manner that were a fire to reach any height, the whole town would be almost sure to go. The immense quantities of goods stored in the godowns of both European and Native merchants would cause the loss in such an event to be immense, and the consideration of these things, and also of the loss of life which would very probably ensue amongst the crowded population, seem to call for some measures being adopted for preventing them as far as possible."

Another fire, which destroyed eighteen shops, occurred in Teluk Ayer in September.

There were long advertisements in the paper this year of lotteries in Calcutta, for which the tickets were Rs. 50, and the highest prize was Rs. 20,000. Another was for Rs. 100,000 with tickets of Rs. 100.

The total number of square-rigged vessels coming into Singapore in 1842-43 was 870, being 286,351 tons, and 2,490 native vessels of the tonnage of 69,268 tons—a considerable increase in each case over the preceding year.

In July, a man was killed by a tiger about a mile behind the Sepoy lines. The body of his dog was first found, then one of his bangles which had dropped from his arm, and, lastly, the remains of the man, partly devoured. At the same place bones and other remains of human bodies were found, from which it was judged that no less than ten persons must have been destroyed at that spot by the tiger. A number of Convicts, under the direction of Captain Stevenson, went on the look out for the brute, and it was confidently expected that they would be able to destroy him, but they did not meet it.

The paper in August spoke of the loss of life by tigers, and its consequent effects, as follows:—

"The head and shoulders of a man who had been killed by a tiger were brought to the Police Office on Monday last. They were found in Bukit Timah road, about three miles from town. A tiger is at present prowling about in the cocoa-nut plantations in Siglap District to the no small apprehension of the owners. We are concerned to learn that the destruction of human life by tigers has been fearfully on the increase lately, so much so indeed that the gambier and pepper planters who have hitherto thought it for their interest to affect to discredit the accounts of the ravages, and did all they could to conceal the deaths from this source, have at last been forced to admit the existence of this evil in its fullest extent, and to take steps to bring the subject to the notice of Government. We are informed that a deputation of Chinese planters waited upon the Resident Councillor on Saturday. We have conversed with a Chinese who is largely concerned in the gambier and pepper trade, and he states that to so great a height has the dread caused by the increased destruction of the coolies by tigers risen, that a number of plantations have been abandoned solely on account of the numerous deaths therein from tigers. Formerly the Chinese in town who make advances to the cultivators used to visit the plantations occasionally for the purpose of looking after their interest, but now they shudder at the thought of venturing into the jungle, and are forced to trust altogether to the honesty of their debtors. The value of these plantations has naturally decreased, in one case from $300 to $25; the reason is to be found in the circumstance that a number of coolies had been taken off by tigers, and that in consequence the plantation had got a bad name, and it would have been extremely difficult for the purchaser to procure labourers to live upon it. The rapid increase of the tigers is ascribed to the reduction of the Government reward which formerly used to be paid for every tiger brought in, and without the prospect of which the men are unwilling to take the trouble and risk of entrapping them. The trouble is not so slight as might be supposed, as the construction of a pit, in the proper manner, fully occupies a man for a month.

There are usually so many persons engaged in the capture and destruction of a tiger that, when the present reward of fifty dollars is divided amongst them, the share of each is exceedingly small. The one hundred dollars, which used to be given, (although even it was inadequate) yet, of course, formed an object of more importance in their eyes and held out some incentive to exertion. The low price of gambier and pepper has, together with a dread caused by the tigers, produced a great despondency on the part of the planters, and should any but the most favourable and liberal measures in connection with the sale of the lands under the late regulations be pursued towards them, we may expect to see them throw up the cultivation altogether, and it is impossible to contemplate without most serious apprehension the results which this would produce. The many thousands of Chinese coolies who are at present employed in these plantations would be deprived of work, and most undoubtedly would endeavour to gain a dishonest livelihood by sallying forth at night from their coverts in the jungle, and robbing in the neighbourhood of the town Against an irruption of this kind, the police would be powerless, and even though the military were to be availed of, the disparity in numbers and other circumstances would render the issue extremely doubtful. The reward ought to be raised to its former rate or even higher, and the gambier planters ought to be encouraged to make traps in the vicinity of their plantations as numerously as possible. It has been suggested to us that amongst the convicts there are a number of expert tiger hunters, who would be induced to hunt them, if they were promised a ticket of leave on producing a certain number of heads; and other rewards might be held out to them which would probably induce them to engage in the pursuit with alacrity."

And in October the paper again wrote:—"The Chinese who live in the jungle, it is known, never think of giving information of the ravages committed by tigers, so that it is only by enquiry that the facts become known. Their feelings of superstition in regard to tigers may perhaps be one cause of this, for we have been informed that they believe that when a person is killed by a tiger, his *hantu* or ghost becomes a slave to the beast, and attends upon it; that the spirit acts the part of a jackal as it were, and leads the tiger to his prey, and so thoroughly subservient does the poor ghost become to his tigerish master, that he often brings the tiger to the presence of his wife and children, and calmly sees them devoured before his ghostly face. The old *payongs* or umbrellas which may often be seen stuck on the tops of newly made graves are intended to mark the spot where a tiger-slain body is deposited, but from what motive they are placed there we have not been able to learn. That the general belief as to the extent of the deaths caused by tigers and their prevalence on the island is not based on false grounds, we can attest, having made considerable enquiry on the subject. We are informed on the best authority that in one district between Bukit Timah and the old Straits, six persons on an average are every month carried off from the gambier plantations, and that not one of these cases is ever made known to the authorities. Lately in the Kallang district a cow, which was grazing at no great

distance from a house on one of the large plantations, was attacked by a tiger which carried it off. On Monday morning the body of a Chinaman was brought to the Police Office having been found at a short distance beyond the Sepoy lines near the road leading to New Harbour; the body was quite fresh and apparently newly killed, the companion of this man who had gone with him into the jungle has not since appeared, so that it may be concluded that the tiger had also killed him, and carried away the body to his lair."

In November what was called the first tiger hunt took place. There were three letters written to the *Free Press* about it, at different times, and the following account is a mixture of the three, consisting of sentences from the various letters, the names of the persons alluded to being now added in brackets, one of the three writers, who is still alive, having made a memorandum of their names. Information was received in town that a tiger had been caught in a trap in the jungle on the left of Bukit Timah Road near the third mile stone, not far from the present Botanical Gardens. In a few minutes vehicles of every description went conveying Europeans from town. The tiger was in a pit, ascertained afterwards to be 24 feet deep. The mouth was closed with heavy logs, through which the tiger was seen lying at the bottom in about two feet of water. He had evidently made several attempts to spring out of the pit "There was considerable excitement, and our chief police Magistrate (Major Low) forgot to cap his gun; and our chief surveyor (Mr. J. T. Thomson) fired away his ramrod. The tiger received the first fire with sovereign contempt, the second produced a growl, and after allowing the smoke to clear, he was seen from the marks of blood to be evidently badly wounded. As he did not move, a dapper-little man (Mr. W. H. Read) thought it might be dead, and got a long bamboo, which was lying near, and gave him a prod There was a terrible roar, and a great stampede of nearly all the sportsmen, helter-skelter through the brushwood in all directions. The tiger made a double spring at the side, and then at the mouth of the pit, and its fore-claws reached to within a foot and a half of the top, when Dr. Oxley, who with Mr. Read and one or two others had stood his ground, fired both barrels down its throat and it fell back dead, never moving again." Mr. Charles Dyce wrote that he had been accustomed to tiger hunting in India, but the same mode could not be adopted in Singapore, the jungle being of a different character; indeed the only plan likely to be successful was by traps He said it was to be regretted that the local government had not taken some pains to prove this to the cultivators, as many lives might have been spared. As soon as all was over, Mr. W. R. George offered to act as guide by a near cut to the Bukit Timah Road, where the carriages had been left. After following him for several miles, up hill and down dale, they found themselves at Tanglin Road with two miles to walk home, under a very hot sun. They consoled themselves by saying that they had seen more of the interior of the island than any of them had ever seen before. Their only regret was the discovery that their guide had left before the termination of the walk, several of them being anxious to *thank* him for his exertions.

In the same week the paper said:—"On Tuesday evening, a Chinaman, while engaged in constructing a tiger pit at the back of Mr. Ballestier's sugar plantation, was pounced upon by a tiger, who, after killing him and sucking the blood, walked into the jungle leaving the body behind. We suppose the tiger knowing the object of the Chinaman's labours took this opportunity of giving a striking manifestation of his profound disapproval of all such latent and unfair methods of taking an enemy at disadvantage."

The same paper contains an account of the stranding of H. M. S. *Samarang* in Sarawak river, and her being raised, after she had fallen over and filled, by Captain Belcher. The manner in which this was done is to be found in English works on seamanship to this day.

It was proposed to start a public library by subscriptions, as the want of it was much felt, and a prospectus, printed at length in the paper of the 24th August, was circulated.

In September, Mr. Thomas Dunman first entered the Police Force, and the paper mentioned it in these terms:—"The Government have appointed Mr. T. Dunman to the Office of Deputy Magistrate and Superintendent of Police. From Mr. Dunman's activity and intimate acquaintance with the manners and habits of the natives, we anticipate that he will be able to introduce a more efficient system of Police, especially if he is allowed, as we hope he will be, to devote his time exclusively to this office. Although we cannot expect to see crime put an end to, yet we have no doubt that with an improved police, and an able and active Deputy Magistrate, much will be done."

Mr. Dunman, afterwards one of the most widely known residents of Singapore, was a clerk in Martin Dyce & Co., and was not one of the covenanted service. It turned out to be a most fortunate choice, and the police, which had been a very inefficient body, was, by his exertions, made efficient, and it has never been the same again since Mr. Dunman resigned in 1871. The office was a very responsible one, involving hard work and active attention by day and night. There had been no proper police, and gang robberies had been very prevalent, so the European Mercantile community had sent strong remonstrances to Calcutta, and the Government there was forced to pay attention to the matter, and consented to the appointment, but in a very grudging way. Mr. Dunman soon put the police into a state of discipline, gang robbery was put down, and the country roads became safe. He was a man of much delicacy of feeling and benevolent disposition. Mr. Thomson in his book "Sequel to Life in the Far East" in speaking of the uncovenanted officers of the East India Company's service, says "It was Congalton who swept the Malay waters of pirates; it was Dunman who first gave security to households in Singapore by raising and training an efficient police force; and it was Coleman who laid out the city of Singapore in the expansive and well arranged plan admired by strangers." And in other books Mr. Dunman's work is spoken of in a similar way.

In the early days of Singapore, and before then, no Englishman had a right to land in India, without an authority from the Court

of Directors in the India House at Leadenhall Street. All those in the service of the Company for Civil or Military employment went out under a bond or covenant for a term of service, and were called covenanted servants. So that Europeans in India became divided into two classes—covenanted, and free. A free trader meant the ship of a private merchant, such as London, Liverpool, or Glasgow. A free merchant meant a private European settled in India; and a free settler meant a private planter. Thus all Europeans were bond or free, and the "bond" had all the good things for themselves. A good deal on this subject, and the disadvantages it caused to the general good are to be found in Mr. Thomson's books. The amusing letters referred to in page 197 of this book, have been found, after that page was printed, set out at length at pages 22 to 28 of the "Sequel to Glimpses at Life in the Far East," including that of Mr. William Scott, afterwards Scott of Raeburn and of Lessurden in Roxburghshire, and of James Scott, the uncle of the novelist.

The appointment of Mr. Dunman was therefore unusual, taken as he was from a mercantile office into the service. One secret of his success, no doubt, arose from this, as he was known and liked in the place among all classes of the community, European and native, who were willing to give him information and assistance They looked upon him as a friend, and not as a military martinet. They never saw him in a uniform and spurs. His time was not spent in sitting in an office under a punkah, answering frivolous enquiries and minutes about petty police details, as in the present day, but in going about the town and country. A good deal of his time was however, taken up by sitting as a Police Magistrate, which he was made in 1844; but it was afterwards stopped, as it engaged too much of his time. One morning a gentleman went to him, and complained that he had met him driving up Orchard Road late at night without lights, and Tom Dunman admitted that it was not the right thing, but he took care to drive carefully, and his object was to see whether the police at the station were looking out, and that if he had lights it defeated his object. He did not spend all day in office and all night in bed, and it was no unusual thing, especially if there was any feeling of insecurity about, to meet him the same night in widely different directions. He was not unfrequently out at four in the morning, and home at midnight.

If anything occurred that required consideration or explanation, he would drive over to the public office where the Court is now, and walk into the room of the Resident Councillor, Mr. Church or Colonel Macpherson, and talk it over. No time wasted on argumentative minutes. He was thoroughly trusted by the heads of the Chinese, and of the secret societies, who knew they could trust him not to divulge the sources of his information. One of his successors did so on one occasion, and it was fatal ever afterwards to one source of doing good police work. All through the place there was the feeling that the police were the friends of orderly people, and therefore had their ready support and countenance. A police force, especially in the Straits, that tries to assert its own importance and hectors and worries the people, may be able to make a fine show on a parade,

but misses one of its first duties, and is a hindrance and annoyance to the community. Mr. Dunman's police showed that it is possible to be on good terms with the bulk of the people, and to do the work in a way that enlists the sympathy of those whose interests they are employed to protect. There was an *esprit-de-corps* in the force that has not continued under military officers, and the men worked to please Mr Dunman, because they knew he took an interest in them and their belongings. He might be seen in the evenings in the stations, where he had a night class for learning to read and write, as a man could not be promoted to corporal until he could write. The Malay sergeant-majors in Mr. Dunman's time occupied a very good position among their own people, and were respected, and respected themselves in consequence. Men of good class joined the police under such system, it is not so now. The secret seems to be that to make a good working police in such a cosmopolitan place, it is desirable to appoint a man who has had the opportunity to learn the manners and habits of the natives, and who is known to them, not as a government official, but as one who has an interest in the place. A military officer from some distant place, or a police officer from some other country where circumstances are very different, does not readily appreciate the nature of the work; and does not gain the co-operation of those around him, in obtaining information which others desire to conceal.

For many years Mr. Dunman practically controlled the police, but the Resident Councillor was, ex-officio, Commissioner. In 1856 strong opinions were expressed that the duties of Commissioner of Police should not be hampered with Magistrate's work and duty in the Resident Councillor's office, as they were incompatible with each other. Governor Blundell held the same view and sanction was given by the Governor-General in Council from Calcutta to make the office of Commissioner of Police a separate and distinct appointment, and it was conferred on Mr. Dunman whose long experience in police matters peculiarly qualified him for the situation; and it was said by the paper at the time to be a rare example at that time of the right man in the right place.

On 1st June, 1857, the Resident Councillor ceased to hold the office, and Mr. Dunman was made Commissioner on a salary of Rs 1,000 a month, and Mr. George W. Earl, who was practising as a lawyer in High Street, was made Magistrate. Mr. Dunman then gave his whole time to the Police, and the *Free Press* remarked that this speedily made another marked improvement in the force. On 20th January, 1851, he received his final appointment as Superintendent of Police for Singapore, which the paper remarked was a very tardy act of justice which had been repeatedly demanded by the community.

Mr Dunman had a large cocoa-nut plantation, some 400 acres, at Tanjong Katong, where he built his own house, and three bungalows on the seashore, the first of the Tanjong Katong water-side houses for honeymoons and holidays, and they were not added to for many years. Now the whole beach is overrun with them, and the land divided and sub-divided to such an extent and built over that the enjoyment is gone. References to his planting coffee and cocoa-nuts

are to be found in volume 4 of Logan's Journal at pages 104 and 141. He had a piece of land at the north east corner of Brass Bassa Road and Victoria Street, known as Dunman's Corner, and a road in Kampong Kapor was named after him, while the large open space behind the present Magistrates' Courts was called Dunman's Green, as he got it filled up when it was a disagreeable swamp opposite the Police Station and Magistrate's Court, then on the opposite side of the road, where the present Central Police Station now is. In Mr. Read's book at page 165 is an account of "A Practical Joke," which was only one of many of Mr. Dunman's little amusements in that way. He is well described in it as a very popular personage and a general favourite.

Mr Dunman received the commendation of the Governor-General in Council for his services during the Chinese riots in May, 1854, and Governor Butterworth gave him a sword for the same reason. He resigned in 1871, and after remaining four years in Singapore, looking after his plantation at Tanjong Katong, retired to England, and died at Bournemouth on 6th October, 1887, 73 years of age. He had married, as has been said on page 189, one of the daughters of Mr. T. O. Crane, a grand-daughter of Dr. d'Almeida; and had a number of children who were some of the most popular young people of Singapore.

The following notice was advertised by Government in September. It was no doubt one of the first examples of Mr. Dunman's good sense, as there had been numerous gang robberies near the town, by bodies of fifty and sixty men.

The idea of frightening away robbers by firing blank cartridge after sunset is as futile as it is absurd, and calculated to annoy the community.

The police become indifferent to alarms thus given, or their attention is distracted thereby, from the general duties of their station.

The practice therefore of discharging fire arms, letting off crackers, and beating of gongs during the night, is hereby strictly prohibited.

All persons who shall hereafter be found transgressing this Order shall be prosecuted.

W. J. BUTTERWORTH,
Governor.

In October, it was proposed to abolish the Grand Jury, its abolition was condemned by the community then as it was afterwards in 1873, when it was abolished.

The first mention we have found of fortifying Singapore occurs in the *Free Press* of the 9th November in this year, and is as follows:—

"In an article which we extract from the Calcutta *Englishman*, we observe our contemporary deprecates the idea of fortifying Hongkong, as calculated to inspire alarm and dread into the minds of the Chinese, and he recommends that, instead, Singapore should be fortified, which, he observes, could give no just offence to any Power, and would make Singapore what it ought to be in time of war, the key of the Eastern Seas, and the rendezvous of fleets and convoys. He adds that at present it could not resist a single frigate. Without entering upon the point mooted by the *Englishman* as to the policy of fortifying Hongkong, we are sorry to inform him that the measure he proposes in lieu of it, is, unfortunately, impracticable.

"The town is so placed that no amount of expenditure would make it even tolerably secure, much less afford any shelter or protection to the shipping. A single ship of war could with ease and safety lay the town in ruins, and no fortifications can be constructed so as to completely prevent this. The only effectual method of preserving the town of Singapore in the event of its being threatened by a hostile force would be by stationing a sufficient number of men-of-war for its protection. We sincerely hope, however, that no occasion may ever arise to make it necessary to take any such precautions, but that Singapore may continue to be, as heretofore, a place devoted to commerce and the medium of diffusing the manufactures of civilised and peaceful Europe amongst the surrounding nations, and that, as she has hitherto been only the scene of peaceable and unwarlike commerce, so she may long remain unvisited by the horrors and miseries of wars."

The bridges and roads were in very bad condition at this time, and the paper was full of complaints, so the Sheriff called a public meeting of the inhabitants to express a general opinion upon the subject and to memorialize the Government.

The paper spoke of the state of affairs as follows:—"The roads are daily becoming more impassable, so that in the course of another fortnight, especially if the present rainy weather continues they will be quite useless. Bridges are giving way in all directions, and on several roads all passage is prevented. Meanwhile the Superintendent of Roads pursues his operations on the Government hill heedless alike of the complaints and sufferings of the public, and regardless of all suggestions that he should mend his ways. It would seem, too, as if the works on the hill were destined to be of some duration, as we observed on Sunday that the mound, on the construction of which the convicts have been employed for several weeks past, had given way in one place, and they have ever since been employed in filling up the gap. If the country roads are not repaired speedily we would advise the assessment payers to stop the supplies, as really we cannot suppose that Government would attempt to enforce the collection of funds for a purpose to which they are not applied."

In November, Messrs. Boustead, Schwabe & Co. issued a notice that they had opened a house in China in connection with Messrs. Butler, Sykes & Co., in Manila, and Messrs. Sykes, Schwabe & Co., in Liverpool. The partners in their several establishments continuing as before:—Mr. Edward Boustead, managing in China, Mr. Benjamin Butler at Manila, Mr. Gustav Christian Schwabe at Liverpool, and Mr. Adam Sykes at Singapore.

St. Andrew's Day was celebrated by a dinner, of which the following was an account:—"On Thursday, the 30th November, the sons of St. Andrew assembled in great force at Dutronquoy's to drink punch in honour of their patron Saint. We counted some 75 gentlemen at table, which is not so bad for Singapore, and we should decidedly say from the circumstance that old 'Andrew' was *looking up*.—Dr. Montgomerie was in the chair, and Mr. William Napier, Croupier. Dr. Montgomerie in his usual able manner proposed the following toasts:—The Queen, the Pious Memory of St. Andrew, the

Navy (acknowledged by the Hon'ble Captain Hastings), the Governor and the land we live in, our guests, the President of the United States (acknowledged by Mr. Balestier). Mr. William Napier, with an appropriate speech—the "Land o' Cakes," the Army (acknowledged by Captain Philpot), Memory of Burns and Scott, King of the French (acknowledged by Mr. Chaigneau). Memory of Raffles, &c. Mr. M. F. Davidson,—Memory of Wallace and Bruce. Mr. G. G. Nicol,—The Kirk of Scotland. Mr. Charles Dyce,—Mrs. Butterworth and the ladies. Many excellent songs were sung. We left the company busy brewing the mountain dew into punch, and listening to the enlivening strains of the beautiful band of the 4th Regiment which was kindly allowed to attend the party."

The following curious account of a discovery of old cannon balls in Johore appeared in the newspaper:—

"A number of iron and stone cannon balls to the amount of 240 were, a few days since, discovered at Johore buried about eight feet in the ground. We have seen two of these balls, and to judge from the appearance of the iron one, it must have been laid a long time in the ground, being much corroded; this ball is about 13½ inches or thereby in circumference, the stone one about 16½ inches. How these balls found their way to Johore is a matter of considerable uncertainty, but the most probable conjecture seems to be that they had been brought there by some foreign invader. We find that in 1608 the town of Johore was attacked and burnt by the Portuguese, who indeed had long before visited Johore in a hostile manner, as about the year 1538, Paul de Gama attacked it but was defeated and slain by the Lacsamana, and shortly afterwards Don Estevan de Gama took and plundered the town. Between the years 1588 and 1606, the Dutch visited Johore, and entered into a friendly treaty with the Rajah. It is very likely that the Dutch on this occasion presented the Malays with cannons and ammunition, which the latter no doubt would be eager to acquire, considering that they were in a constant state of warfare with the Portuguese, who had driven them from Malacca. An old iron cannon which, we believe, has long been an object of great reverence amongst the Malays, and which was lying on a hill near the former capital of Johore, has been within these few days sent by his Highness the Tomungong to the authorities here. It is of very ancient appearance and much broken at the mouth, so that it may have very likely burst at some period in its history. On it are the letters E. R. with a large rose between them. This would seem to prove that it was of English manufacture, probably of the time of Queen Elizabeth, but how it found its way to Johore, unless through the agency of the Portuguese or Dutch, we cannot conjecture. The iron ball above alluded to fits this gun, and they may have both been brought at the same time."

Bukit Timah was first made accessible at the end of this year, and the following was written about it at the time:—"The other day we paid a visit to Bukit Timah, which, thanks to the labours of the Superintendent of Roads, is now accessible by a good carriage-way reaching to the top of the hill, where Captain Stevenson has likewise constructed a small hut, provided with table and benches for the accommodation of visitors. We were quite delighted with the view

which is obtained from this place. The hill would afford capital sites for two or three bungalows, and would, we think, be an excellent sanitarium, there being a decided change of temperature from the town. It is, of course, not so cold as the great hill in Penang, but that is almost too violent and sudden a change from the excessive heat of the plain, while the climate of Bukit Timah, though not sufficient to make the invalid shiver and seek refuge beneath a couple of blankets like the Penang Hill, is perceptibly cooler and fresher than the plain, producing an agreeable exhiliration of spirits. The prospect, too, regarding which nothing appears ever to have been said, is nearly if not quite equal to Penang, though differing considerably in its features. Instead of the large extent of cultivation which composes the foreground of the Penang view with its trim rows of nutmegs and other fruit trees, dark masses of primeval forest stretch away from Bukit Timah on every side. But the landscape is altogether very varied and presents a rare collection of grand and pleasing forms. To the south we have at our feet a considerable part of the island of Singapore composed of small hills mostly covered with dense jungle, though near the town cultivation usurps its place. In the middle distance, the town of Singapore stretches itself along the bay, which is crowded with shipping, while in the far distance, are seen the blue hills of Battam, and the cloud-crested peak of Bintang. On the west, numerous islands are scattered over the still waters of the Straits, the Carimons are visible at a greater distance, and further still we have a faint view of the coast of Sumatra. The view to the North is composed of one continuous mass of dark forest reaching to the distant hills of Johore. So narrow is the channel which separates the island from the mainland in this direction, that nowhere is it distinguishable save at one place where a small part of its water is seen glittering amid the surrounding woods, like some small inland lake. The entrance to the sea of China is visible to the East. Such are some of the most noticeable views, and taken together they are well worthy of admiration, and could not fail of rendering Bukit Timah a most desirable and agreeable place of residence for the invalids of Singapore, were it not that the dwellers on the hill would be exposed to the visitations of tigers, which abound in the neighbourhood, and are occasionally seen or heard on the hill itself. One thing that strikes a person very forcibly in surveying the island from this height is the small amount of cleared and cultivated ground compared with that still in jungle. It is only in the immediate vicinity of the town that there appears any proper clearing, and this shows but a very insignificant part of the whole island. Judging from what has hitherto been done, we should say that many years must elapse before the island will be cleared, and we should much doubt whether the whole of it will ever be so."

At this time, photography first found its way to Singapore, as appears from the following advertisement; which reads quaintly now:—

Mr. G. Dutronquoy respectfully informs the ladies and gentlemen at Singapore, that he is complete master of the newly invented and late imported Daguerreotype. Ladies and Gentlemen who may honour Mr. Dutronquoy with a sitting can have their likenesses taken in the astonishing short space of two minutes. The portraits are free from all blemish and are in every respect

perfect likenesses. A Lady and gentleman can be placed together in one picture and both are taken at the same time entirely shaded from the effects of the sun. The price of one portrait is ten dollars, both taken in one picture is fifteen dollars. One day's notice will be required.

London Hotel, 4th December, 1843.

The Rev. Samuel Dyer of the London Missionary Society died at Macao on the 24th November. He left England and came to the Straits in 1827, where he was for sixteen years at Penang, Malacca, and Singapore. He compiled vocabularies of Chinese, and made punches and matrices for casting two founts of Chinese type. A great proportion of the Chinese characters usually met with in the generally used Chinese works in later years were cast from them.

The *Free Press* contained a notice of the death of Mr. F. G. Bernard "formerly of Singapore" at Batavia on the 19th December.

Two of the Company's small gun-boats were lost in August. The *Pearl* was wrecked near Malacca, and the *Diamond* went to try to save her stores, &c. On her return to Singapore off Pulo Midan, in a squall, the mainsail could not be lowered as the ropes jammed, and the boat went down. After being in the water for twelve hours, holding on to floating wreck, a Malacca boat picked up sixteen of the crew, and another boat seven more, but the gunner, serang, and nine sailors of the *Diamond* were drowned.

The first bridge across the river was of wood joining North and South Bridge Road where Elgin Bridge is now. This was built about 1822. The second was built in 1840 by Mr. Coleman, of brick work, joining Hill Street and New Bridge Road, and was called after him. The first bridge became dilapidated and was removed in 1843. The Government having land to sell near Coleman Bridge objected to rebuilding the lower bridge, and on a deputation going to see Governor Butterworth about it he said, in his usual inflated style, that they might make up their minds that the bridge would not be made, as he was a determined man. The community who went chiefly on foot in those days objected to having to walk round such an unnecessary distance to cross the river, and it led to public meetings and correspondence. Some time afterwards it was found that in grants of land in that part of the town it had been agreed by Government to maintain a bridge. So it was built and was called Elgin Bridge after the Governor-General of India. The story of the dispute is told in Mr. Read's book.

At this time, the firm of Middletons, Blundell and Co., commenced business. The four partners were Charles, James, and Alfred Middleton in Liverpool, and William Blundell in Singapore. Charles Hercules Harrison was then a clerk, and in 1850 became a partner. In 1851 the name was changed to Middletons and Co., the partners being the same as before. In 1852 the clerks were William Graham Kerr, and John Haffenden. In 1854 Charles Middleton left the firm. In 1860 the name was changed to Middleton, Harrison and Co., the partners then being Alfred Middleton and C. H. Harrison.

It was in this year that Dr. Montgomery left Singapore. It has been mentioned on page 60 that he belonged to the Bengal establishment, and came to Singapore as Assistant Surgeon with the Bengal Native Infantry in 1819, and, on page 56, that he was then spoken of by Colonel Farquhar as a very young man who would be left

in charge of the Settlement if anything occurred to himself. He was one of the first Magistrates appointed by Raffles, and his name has been very frequently mentioned in this book. In a paper by Dr. T. Oxley, at page 22 of Volume 1 of Logan's Journal, he says that the first notice of gutta percha seems to have been by Dr. Montgomerie in a letter to the Bengal Medical Board in 1843, in which he recommended it as likely to prove useful for surgical purposes. Dr. d'Almeida took some in that year to London, and gave it to the Royal Society of Arts, but no notice was taken of it, beyond acknowledging the receipt. During his long residence in Singapore, from 1819 to 1843, Dr. Montgomerie entered extensively and zealously into agricultural pursuits, which did not prove remunerative. The river, 2¾ miles from town, divided his estate, now known as Woodsville, from Mr. Balestier, and he had a large water-wheel and mill a few hundred yards up the stream from the bridge in Serangoon Road, which was called Montgomerie's Bridge. He built the small house now called Woodsville Cottage, and lived there. Mr. R. C. Woods afterwards purchased the plantation and called it after himself. Dr. Montgomerie had 510 nutmeg trees in 1848, but the principal cultivation was sugar, which he pursued very energetically, and engaged in the manufacture on a considerable scale for a number of years, but had to relinquish it with great loss. He was a brother of Major-General Sir P. Montgomerie, K.C.B., of the Madras Artillery, who highly distinguished himself in the China Expedition. In a Scotch newspaper in 1845, there is an account of a meeting of the Provost, Magistrates and Town Council of Irvine, when an address was presented to the two brothers, in which it was said that Dr. Montgomerie, who had been long abroad, had acquired an equal celebrity in the medical profession, as his brother, the colonel, had in a military capacity. After being some years at home on furlough, Dr. Montgomerie went to Bengal, where he was appointed Garrison Surgeon at Fort William. In the war with Burmah he accompanied the troops as Superintendent Surgeon, and received the marked approval of Government. He died from an attack of cholera at Barrackpore, in India, on 21st March, 1856.

At the time of his death the *Free Press*, in answer to some remarks as to the discovery of gutta percha in the London *Morning Hearld* gave the correct version of it as follows:—

"The long and meritorious services of Dr. Montgomerie would alone have entitled his son to a place in the list of nominations to the military service of the Honourable Company, and the friend who thus asserts his title to a discovery which probably the doctor himself does not claim, can scarcely be considered as having acted wisely. The facts of the case, as they appear to us after close examination, are as follows:—The first discoverers of the properties of the gutta were, undoubtedly, the Jakuns, or inland tribes of the Malay Peninsula, who have been in the habit of moulding it into handles for their chopping-knives, swords, and krisses from time immemorial; and the first to introduce it to the notice of Europeans was a Malay of Singapore, who, in the year 1842, commenced manufacturing riding-whips of gutta, which had all the tough and

lastic properties for which the *shamboks* or rhinoceros-hide whips of outh Africa are so celebrated. These were made up in bundles f twenty each, and sold in considerable number, chiefly to commanders of ships going home, and it is stated that some of them were hibited in a shop-window in Oxford Street, London, as early as 343. Of course, under these circumstances, the material could scarcely il of coming under the notice of European residents here, and the early part of 1843, Dr. Montgomerie noticed it as likely to rove useful for surgical purposes in a letter to the Bengal Medical oard; and in July, 1843, the Calcutta *Englishman* contained an count of a remarkable variety of caoutchouc, sent from Singapore y Dr. W. Montgomerie, the Senior Surgeon, with a detail of its roperties and probable uses, which was known as gutta percha or utta tuban. It excited a great deal of attention. But the first to troduce it to the notice of scientific men at home was Dr. meida, also an old resident in this Settlement, who took with him me specimens, both raw and manufactured, when leaving for England in the latter part of 1842. A portion of this was presented the Royal Asiatic Society of London in April of the following ar, and it was submitted to the inspection of Dr. Royle, a high thority on raw produce, but with no other result than a letter of anks from the Secretary of the Society to the donor. Subsequently, in 1845, Dr. Montgomerie sent some specimens to the London ociety of Arts. These were taken in hand by Mr. Solly (also a ading member of the Asiatic Society), by whom its singular and aluable properties were ascertained and developed, and the natural sult was that the gold medal of the Society was given to Dr. lontgomerie, who had presented it. It is singular that the properes for which the gutta was most admired by the aborigines of this eninsula, namely its applicability for handles to cutting instruments, om the firm grip that its solid yet slightly elastic principal gives to ie holder, seems never to have been developed in Europe, although valry sabres and other weapons of the kind, would be much improvd by its use." The insulation of submarine cables was an unknown uantity when that was written. A few years afterwards Logan's ournal, published in 1847, continued an article on *Gutta Percha*, s botanical description and economic uses, by Dr. Oxley, who aimed to be the discoverer of one of its most important applications, hich led to a controversy that has existed ever since. The *Free ress* remarked about it:—"Our opinion is that both Dr. Little nd Dr. Oxley are discoverers, and the only advantage on Dr. Oxley's de consists in his having first promulgated the discovery to the world. t is probable, however, that if he has been the first to announce , the merit of the application will generally be given to him. This ught to incite Dr. Little, and all other discoverers, not to lose ny time in future in publishing their discoveries, else they may find iemselves anticipated by others equally ingenions and more prompt in iving them publicity.

"It was very surprising that such a useful substance as gutta hould have remained so long unnoticed, as it appeared that it had ong been in some limited use by the natives in these parts. Doctor

Montgomerie, who first introduced it to the notice of Europeans, stated that so far back as 1822, he had obtained the name of it, at Singapore, while making inquiries relative to caoutchouc. He had some specimens brought to him, particularly one called *gutta girek*, and was told that there was another variety called *gutta percha* and sometimes *gutta tuban*, which was said to be harder than the *gutta girek*; but none was brought to him at that time, and he lost sight of the subject, having returned to the Bengal presidency. On his return to the Straits, he observed at Singapore, in 1842, the handle of a *parang* in the hands of a Malay wood-cutter made of a substance which appeared quite new to him. This he found was *gutta percha*, and it could be easily moulded into any form by simply dipping it in hot water, while on cooling it regained unchanged its original hardness and rigidity. Dr. Montgomerie made several experiments which sufficed to convince him of the exceeding value of the substance, but he was prevented by bad health from prosecuting the enquiry as he wished. He, however, sent some of it to the Bengal Medical Board strongly recommending its adoption for the formation of many surgical instruments, and it seemed to have met the approval of the Board, though whether they made any experiments on it did not appear. Dr. Montgomerie also sent some to the Society of Arts, London, for investigation and analysis, for which he was awarded the Society's gold medal. The Doctor likewise ascertained from Bugis traders that it grew at Coti on the South-eastern coast of the island of Borneo, and Mr. Brooke informed him that 'the tree is called *Naito* by the Sarawak people, but that they were not acquainted with the properties of the sap; it attains a considerable size, even as large as six feet diameter; and was plentiful in Sarawak and Borneo.' Dr. Montgomerie suggested that it might be applied in printing for the blind, and also in the formation of embossed maps for that unfortunate class, little thinking of the multitudinous uses to which it was to be applied in a few years."

It is very curious that the same number of the paper which mentioned it, said also in a small paragraph to fill up a column, that a proposal had been made to connect the Channel Islands and Southampton by a submarine telegraph, consisting of one wire by which a bell could be run by the electric current. In 1851, Professor Wheatstone made the first cable with gutta-percha.

The article just mentioned on gutta percha was republished in many periodicals both in India and Europe, and was acknowledged to be the best and most complete description that had then been given. It was then called *Gutta Taban* in Malay. The exportation began in a very small way, but increased very largely in a remarkably short time, as the Malays found there was a demand for it, and it began to come in from Sumatra and Borneo as well as from Johore, Malacca and Pahang. In 1844, one picul and 68 catties only were exported. In 1845, 169 piculs; in 1846, 5,364; in 1847, 9,290 piculs; and in the first seven months of 1848, 6,768 piculs. The whole export, with the exception of 1,000 piculs to the United States, was 21,600 piculs, valued at $274,190. The price began at $8 a picul, rose to $24, and in 1848 was $13. In September, 1853, the *Free Press* said that gutta percha had reached the "enormous price"

of $60 a picul. The "enormous price" in 1901 was $700 a picul, but in 1853 sub-marine telegraph cables and bicycle tyres were not in use.

Dr. Montgomerie was succeeded as Senior Surgeon, Straits Settlements in 1846 by a very well known Singaporean, Dr. Thomas Oxley. He had been for about four years in Malacca where he performed the manifold duties of Police Magistrate, Superintendent of Police, Collector of Assessment and Commissioner of the Court of Requests, for which as the *Free Press* remarked, he received the salary of Rs. 200 a month in addition to his allowance as Assistant Surgeon, and in order to take up the duties had left a remunerative practice in Singapore, and a great deal of useful work, especially that of Honorary Secretary of the Raffles Institution. He wrote many scientific papers, some of what are in Logan's Journal; namely, On Gutta Percha (Vol. 1, page 22); On Nutmegs (Vol. 2, page 641 and N. S. Vol. 1, page 127); On Amoks (Vol. 3, page 532); On Zoology (Vol. 3, page 594); and on Botany (Vol. 4, page 436).

Dr. Oxley's name is still well known owing to the land which he bought from Government being known as Oxley's Estate. It was then of little value, and in the jungle; and is now one of the most densely built-on districts near the town. He purchased it on 18th March, from the East India Company for Rs. 2,342-0-3. The area was acres 173.3.18, for ever. It was bounded by River Valley Road, Tank Road, Orchard Road and Grange Road; but it extended along River Valley Road beyond Grange Road so as to include what is now called Moss Bank, which contained about 28 acres. The square now contained in the four roads, and usually called Oxley's Estate, bounded by Grange Road, contains therefore about 145 acres. On the top of the hill stood the house called the Pavilion, still standing, which was built by Mr. George Gorden Nicol, who lived there until he built Chatsworth. Dr. Oxley lived there for many years. Admiral Keppel tells the story of being there at breakfast one morning when they heard the children calling out in a side room in an excited way. On going in to see what it was, the children were seen dancing in great glee backwards and forwards towards a cobra, which was standing erect in the corner spitting at them, which they thought great fun, as they had no idea what it was. Snakes were very common in those days, now they are very rarely seen. Dr. and Mrs. Oxley left Singapore finally for England with five children in the P. and O. Mail on 23rd February, 1857, and he died in England in March, 1886.

Dr. Oxley had a large nutmeg plantation on all the high ground on Oxley Estate, and Mr. G. F. Davidson in his book said: "Dr. Oxley's is by far the finest nutmeg garden on the island. He has spared neither trouble nor expense in bringing his plants forward and has five thousand of the finest nutmeg trees I ever saw. Nothing can be finer than their beautiful position, tasteful outlay and luxuriant foliage."

The cultivation of nutmegs was thought at that time to be a sure road to a speedy fortune, and their failure caused very serious loss and great discomfiture in Singapore. The trees prospered well and paid very largely, when a sudden calamity fell upon them which was ascribed to several widely-differing reasons. As the matter was of very serious

consequence to most of the European residents, an atter made to collect some details of the cultivation, and whei tions were, and of the reasons to which the total failure w

In August, 1819, Raffles sent from Bencoolen to Colc 125 nutmeg plants, 1,000 nutmeg seeds, and 450 clov seeds which were planted on Fort Canning. The nutm and became the means of extending the cultivation in tl hood. The cloves never came to much, as in the thr 1845 to 1847 only three piculs were produced. In 1848 the twenty nutmeg plantations belonging to Europeans, o following is an account. The Natives were said to hav in various places.

Proprietors.	No. of Trees.	Situation
A. Guthrie - - -	2,250	Everton, near Spottiswoo
Dr. Montgomerie - -	1,800	Duxton, do.
Joaq. d'Almeida - -	700	Raeburn, do.
Dr. Oxley - - -	4,050	Oxley Estate
C. R. Prinsep - - -	6,700	Prinsep's Estate wher House and Mount Soph
T. Hewetson - - -	1,515	Mount Elizabeth
C. Carnie - - -	4,370	Cairn Hill, Orchard Road
José d'Almeida - -	1,023	Mount Victoria, Stephen'
Dr. M. J. Martin - -	1,530	Institution Hill, River V
W. W. Willans - -	1,600	Grange Road near Tangl
Dr. Montgomerie - -	510	Serangoon Road, third m
Sir J. d'Almeida - -	4,000	Bandulia, five miles, Sera
T. Dunman - - -	1,000	Near Bandulia
G. G. Nicoll - - -	8,000	Sri Menanti, Grange R built Chatsworth
J. I. Woodford - -	600	Bukit Timah Road, six m
W. Cuppage - - -	1,250	Orchard Road, right hanc Hill, Railway Bridge n
W. Scott - - -	5,200	Scott's Road, Claymore F

As to the cause of the simultaneous death of the H. Road writes in 1902, referring to this subject; "N ished till George Windsor Earl (I think it was) went i vessel to the Moluccas to bring a select quantity of plant They were carefully placed in the hold of the vessel, a to the various planters on arrival of the ship in Sing a short stay in the nurseries, they were planted out amor which were already giving magnificent results, and a later a disease spread among the plantations. Pri d'Almeida and others were the sufferers and the nutmeg in the Straits. Prinsep's plantation used to yield 22,000 n in six months went down to 2,500, and others in propor supposed that the rot had been propagated in the g non-aired hold of the ship, and our own small plantatic was wiped out at once. An attempt with sound see succeed." Mr. George Rappa's opinion is that the t because the soil did not extend deep enough, and the away in the hard clay underneath it. Mr. H. A. Cr after a certain time, when the trees had reached a certai 25 to 30 years, white ants attacked the roots and the trees, and destroyed them.

End of Volume I.