

CHAPTER II

Government and Civil Servants, 1805-1819

On 19 September 1805, the Warley, escorted by the HMS. Blenheim, sailed into Penang harbour, carrying an imposing array of officials, who were to form the establishment of the newly created Presidency.¹ The next day, 20 September, Council met for the first time, and the first dispatch from the Court of Directors, establishing the government and setting forth its instructions, was read and recorded.² This dispatch echoed the prevailing note of optimism that was felt about Penang. The Directors considered that "the position of the island, its climate, its fertility, its produce of large timber, its contiguity to Pegu(e), which contains the most abundant teak forests in Asia, have long pointed it out as an acquisition of very great importance in a commercial and political view, being placed in a most favorable situation for an emporium of commerce in the eastern seas, and for becoming a commanding station for the rendezvous, refitting and the supply of that portion of His Majesty's Navy required for the protection

1. Wurtzburg (1954), 30.

2. London to Penang, 14 April 1805, JIA, VI, 18-31.

of the Company's possessions and affairs in the eastern parts of Asia".³ In view of these expectations, it was necessary for the island to be placed under the same form of government as the other Indian possessions, especially⁴ as the Admiralty wished to make the island a naval arsenal. The Directors expected the cost of the new government, with its enlarged establishment to increase the expenses of the settlement, but they thought this would be compensated to a large degree by Penang's import and export trade, and also from duties, land rents and internal taxes which would be gradually augmented by the "improved industry, population and commerce... resulting from a more regular system of administration".⁵

On its elevation to Presidency status, Penang was no longer a dependency of Bengal, and, in theory at least, stood equal in rank with the three other Presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay. Like them, Penang was subject to the control of the Governor General in Council, or, as referred to in dispatches, the Supreme Government, to which Penang had to send regular reports of its proceedings, as well as to the Court of Directors.⁶

3. *Ibid.*, para. 4, 18.

4. *Ibid.*, para. 6, 19.

5. *Ibid.*, para. 14, 21-2.

6. Mills (1925), 82, 84.

The changes in the Establishment were to be in keeping with the high expectations of the Presidency. To replace the Lieutenant Governor and his small number of assistants, twenty-six covenanted civil servants drawn mainly from Bengal, and a few from Madras and Bombay, were sent out. The principal posts were the Governor and three Councillors. The Governor was to hold the office of Treasurer; J.H. Oliphant, second member of Council was to be Warehousekeeper and Paymaster; and Alexander Gray, third in Council, was to be Superintendent of Marine and Naval and Military Storekeeper. Colonel Norman Macalister, who had long been in Penang, was named fourth member of Council, and Commander in Chief of the Company's troops in the island. Beneath them, were the Secretary and his Assistant, the Accountant and Auditor and his Assistant, the Collector of Customs and Land Revenue, and the Assistants to the Warehousekeeper and Paymaster, and to the Superintendent of Marine. There was also a Surgeon and two Assistant Surgeons for the Medical Department, and a Chaplain "to promote the interests of religion and morality on the island". The remainder of the twenty-six civil servants were Writers, the most junior grade of the Company's service, who were to form a nucleus

7. See Appendix IA.

8. Mills (1925), 84. For example, P. Dundas and H.S. Pearson came from Bombay, J.H. Oliphant and A. Gray came from Madras. See JIA, VI, 22-3 (footnotes).

9. For list of 1805 Establishment, see Appendix IIA.

from which subsequent promotions could be made. Since the salaries attached to these posts were high, all covenanted servants were forbidden to trade or to plant for export.

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In addition there were a number of uncovenanted servants, that is non-Company servants, usually local residents who were employed on the spot when no covenanted servant was available to fill a post. Only the less important posts were open to them, in theory at any rate. Certain uncovenanted servants who had served in the former administration were requested to continue in their posts, notably John Baird, the Master Attendant, Thomas Hutton, the Malay Translator, and John Hall.

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The arrival of this large body of officials was not altogether welcomed, either by the local inhabitants, or by the officials whom they were to replace. Surprise, astonishment and even amusement was felt by some of the residents at the sudden change in Penang's status. The principal members of the previous establishment, notably Robert Farquhar, strongly opposed the change, partly because of the lack of local experience of the numerous new officials.

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10. Mills (1925), 92.

11. London to Penang, 14 April 1805, para. 16, JIA, VI, 24; also Mills (1925), 84.

12. Mills (1925), 96.

13. London to Penang, 14 April 1805, para. 23, JIA, VI, 24; Penang Consultations, 24 September 1805, SSR (IOL) XI, 29; Wurtzburg (1954), 41-2.

14. See Wurtzburg (1954), 31-2; Clodd (1948), 143; Davies (1956), 17.

It is possible that W.E. Phillips, who had five years experience as secretary to Leith and Farquhar, and was acting as Governor before the arrival of the new government, felt his new position of Collector of Customs and Revenue not worthy of his experience.¹⁵ George Caunter, an

uncovenanted official in Farquhar's government whose appointment of First Assistant, Treasurer and Chaplain ceased in September 1805, left Penang for some time, but his experience was acknowledged in 1808 when he was appointed to take over the position of Superintendent of Police.¹⁶

The installation of the new government was no easy matter. The change of office holders, the inexperience of the new officials, and the absence of any trained body of clerks among the local inhabitants caused initial confusion and dislocation. According to Raffles it was also hampered by the "want of regularity in all the departments" of the previous government. Another problem was the shortage of accommodation for the new officials, and rents for available houses and offices naturally soared. Raffles for example had to pay £330 a year for a house, while the Writers or "young gentlemen of the civil service" were to be furnished

15. Wurtzburg (1954), 31.

16. Penang Consultations 20 September 1805, JIA, VI, 31; Penang Consultations 21 July 1808, SSR (IOL) XI, 877.

17. Wurtzburg (1954), 34.

board by a Mr. Porter, at Flower Pot Hall, at the rate of \$1¹⁸/₄ daily "including a bottle of wine between four".

A characteristic of the new regime was the systematic organization and clear demarcation of departments, their staff and their functions. Besides being assisted by a covenanted servant each departmental head had beneath him a separate establishment, consisting of local inhabitants, both Europeans and Asians, who filled positions as clerks, peons and other subordinate posts. The five Departments that constituted the administrative machine of the new government were the Civil, Judicial, Revenue, Commercial and Marine, as well as the Military Department. Within the Civil Department were the respective offices of the Secretary, the Accountant, the Treasurer, the Warehouse-keeper and Paymaster, the Translator, the Clergy, the Medical Department and the Superintendent of Convicts. Within the Judicial Department was the establishment under the Judge and Magistrate, aided by that of the Superintendent of Police. The Revenue Department consisted of the establishment of the Collector of Customs and Land Revenue. Within the Commercial and Marine Department, were those of the Superintendent and Paymaster of Marine, including the establishments under the Master Attendant and Master Builder.

18. Ibid., 33; Davies (1956), 17-18; JIA, VI, 32. Penang Consultations 24 September 1805, SSR (IOL) XI. 24.

Finally the Military Department supervised the garrison of the island, and included an office under the Superintending Engineer.

II

The systematic basis on which the Government was organised may be more clearly illustrated by looking in detail at each of these Departments. Considering first¹⁹ the offices in the Civil Department, the Secretary's office, one of the most important, was responsible for drafting correspondence to and from the Governor and Council, despatches to Bengal and to London, and various official reports. The Secretary appointed in 1805 was the irregular and inefficient H.S. Pearson. During the first year, owing to the shortage of clerks and paper, the work of his office fell seriously into arrears, and it was only because of the ability and energy of Thomas Raffles, the Assistant Secretary, that it continued to function at all. After his appointment in August 1806 Raffles proved himself a capable Acting Secretary and also Secretary

19. Much of the material concerning the Establishment of various Departments is derived from London to Penang 21 April 1809, the despatch ordering reductions in the Establishment, which was based, as stated by the Directors, on the last list of Establishments they received from Penang, dated 1 July 1807. SSR (IOL) XXVI, para. 14.

in 1807. After that date, the arrears in the office were gradually removed. ²¹ 41

The establishment beneath the Secretary included an Assistant Secretary, all the covenanted writers, a head clerk, five or six clerks or "monthly writers" and the usual jemader (or "head peon") and a number of very low paid peons. ²² The covenanted writers were at first attached to the Secretary's office to gain experience in the workings of government before being assigned to other departments. Frequent changes of their positions were made in 1807 before they were finally allocated to a specific department. For instance, following Raffles promotion to the post of Secretary in 1807, W.A. Clubley was appointed Deputy Secretary on 1 April 1807. ²³ In October 1807, after W.E. Phillips proposed that the writers, having spent two years in the Secretary's office, would be more beneficially employed in other departments, certain office heads took advantage of the suggestion. ²⁴ Phillips himself requested the transfer of Robert Ibbetson to the Collector's office,

20. In August 1806 Raffles was appointed Acting Secretary when Pearson went on leave. Then on 26 March 1807, when Pearson was appointed a member of Council Raffles succeeded him as Secretary. See Penang Consultations 26 March 1807, SSR (IOL) XVII, 271-2.
21. Wurtzburg (1954), 43.
22. See lists of Establishment, Penang Consultations 23 September 1806 (appendix), SSR (IOL) XIII; and London to Penang 21 April 1809, para. 16, SSR (IOL) XXVI, 49.
23. Penang Consultations 1 April 1807, SSR (IOL) XVII, 294-5; See Appendix II for comprehensive list of writers and their positions.
24. Penang Consultations 27 October 1807, Minute by W.E. Phillips, SSR (IOL) XVIII, 1003-4.

but he remained there only a short time before orders came²⁵ in December for him to proceed to Rangoon. On 24 November 1807 John Macalister, who had previously been attached to the Warehouse, was appointed Assistant Collector at Malacca,²⁶ and W. Bennett took his place as Assistant in the Warehouse.²⁷ J.C. Lawrence continued as an Assistant in the Secretary's office, and on 27 November 1807 was also appointed Acting Malay Translator, after the departure of Thomas Hutton.²⁷ On March 17, 1808, Raffles' brother-in-law Quinton Dick Thompson, the Paymaster and Storekeeper, requested the services of a covenanted writer and J.L. Phipps was appointed²⁸ Assistant in that office on his return from leave. J.T. Sherwood who had been Assistant in the Accountant and Auditor's office since 1806 continued in that capacity.²⁹ ~~The status or whereabouts at this time of A. Tegart, another~~ writer whose name appeared in the 1805 Establishment, is unknown, and his name appeared only in 1810. The salaries of the writers at this stage of their careers stood between^{Spanish} 130 and 150³⁰ dollars per month.

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25. Ibid., 1004; Ibbetson to Raffles 30 March 1808, Penang Consultations 26 April 1808, SSR (IOL) XIX, 475.
 26. Penang Consultations 20 and 24 November 1807, SSR (IOL) XVIII, 1053, 1071-2.
 27. Penang Consultations 27 November 1807, SSR (IOL) XVIII, 1089-90.
 28. Thompson to Raffles 8 March 1808, Penang Consultations 17 March 1808, SSR (IOL) XIX, 320-1; Phipps to Lawrence 6 September 1808, Penang Consultations 8 September 1808, SSR (IOL) XX, 995.
 29. Hobson to Raffles 18 September 1806, Penang Consultations 19 September 1806, SSR (IOL) XIII, 1209.
 30. As stated in correspondence relating to the above appointments.

The Accountant's office, the second in the Civil Department was smaller, but no less important, and controlled the financial affairs of the Civil Department, particularly the salaries of civil servants. J.P. Hobson, the Accountant was assisted by William Robinson (who was also Assistant to the Governor in his capacity as Treasurer).³¹ Beneath them was a first assistant, J.T. Sherwood, two uncovenanted assistants or clerks, and the usual Asian peons and sweeper.³² It is interesting to note that both a Portuguese and a Chinese assistant were considered necessary to the functioning of the office,³³ revealing perhaps that certain language difficulties may have been present there.

The next office was headed by the Warehousekeeper and Paymaster, J.H. Oliphant, who was assisted by the Sub-Warehousekeeper G.D. Thompson. They were allowed a commission on the sale of the Company's goods of 3% and 2% respectively.³⁴ Beneath them was a separate establishment of a clerk and assistants and peons for both the Pay office and the Warehouse.³⁵ In 1806 a conflict of jurisdiction arose

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34. ~~As stated in correspondence relating to the above~~
31. ~~appointments.~~ Penang Consultations 19 September 1806, SSR (IOL) XIII, 1229.
32. For lists of establishment see London to Penang, 21 April 1809, para. 17, SSR (IOL) XXVI, 49; Penang Consultations 8 December 1807, SSR (IOL) XVIII, 1121.
33. Ibid., 1121; and Penang Consultations 13 January 1808, SSR (IOL) XIX.
34. See Appendix II A.
35. For details see Penang Consultations 12 November 1805, SSR (IOL) XI, 376-7.

between Oliphant and his co-member of Council, Alexander Gray, who was Superintendent and Paymaster of Marine, and Naval and Military Storekeeper. The dispute arose over the duties of Military Storekeeper. Gray thanked Oliphant in rather a caustic manner for "the obligation he had laid before me for performing the duties which properly belonged to me".³⁶ At the end of 1807 an attempt was made to improve the efficiency of certain over-lapping duties. The absence of a regular establishment for receiving and issuing provisions and petty stores for the troops and convicts was noted, and the numerous duties of the Superintendent of Marine and the Warehousekeeper were pointed out. Council therefore decided to appoint separate offices of Storekeeper and Paymaster. From 1 December 1807, Q.D. Thompson the Deputy Warehousekeeper, was to hold the office of Paymaster, and John Macalister, also from the Warehouse, that of Storekeeper.³⁷ Four separate establishments were created for the Warehouse, the Superintendent and Storekeeper of Marine, for the Pay office and for Stores. The first two were larger and more expensive, both consisting of a head clerk, two writers (probably Europeans), and a weighman, jemadar and five peons. Those for the Pay office

36. Penang Consultations 5 September 1806, Minute by Gray, SSR (IOL) XIII, 1075.

37. Penang Consultations 20 November 1807, SSR (IOL) XVIII, 1052-3.

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and Stores were smaller and consisted mainly of clerks and
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peons. A few days later a further change was made to
tighten up these offices by combining those of Paymaster
and Storekeeper under Thompson. Similarly, the establish-
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ments consisting of the same clerks and peons were united
to form the Pay and Store Department.³⁹

Next, the Translator's office was at first under
Thomas Hutton, who had been Malay Translator under the
former administration. Hutton's work was for some time
considered unsatisfactory, and in January 1807, when he
went on six months leave, Acting Secretary Raffles, who
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had been studying Malay, took over his duties. Later in
the year events occurred that led to Hutton's resignation.
At first he refused to undertake additional duties without
an increase of salary, and when Council refused to grant
this, he not only resigned but also refused to examine any
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candidates to act as his successor. Council was there-
fore unable to assess the qualifications of the applicants.
As Raffles was absent in Malacca, J.C. Lawrence was appointed
Acting Malay Translator, since it was understood that he

38. For full list of these establishments see Penang
Consultations 20 November 1807, SSR (IOL) XVIII,
1054-5.

39. Penang Consultations 24 November 1807, SSR (IOL)
XVIII, 1071-2.

40. Wurtzburg (1954), 52-3.

41. Hutton to Raffles 23 November 1807, Penang Consul-
tations 24 November 1807, SSR (IOL) XVIII, 1074-5;
Penang Consultations 27 November 1807, SSR (IOL)
XVIII, 1089.

was quite proficient in the language.⁴² Proof of this was soon borne out, and five months later he was confirmed in that office.⁴³ His establishment at this time consisted of four lowly paid assistants, an interpreter to attend on government and a peon.⁴⁴

A knowledge of Malay by some of the Penang civil servants was essential in conducting official negotiations with the Malay rulers of the Peninsula and Sumatra. The government at this time recognised this and on 8 May 1807 it informed the writers of the benefits that would arise from a knowledge of Malay. Those who could master it in one year were to be awarded a sum of 500 Spanish Dollars.⁴⁵ In addition, an allowance was made to the student for paying his "munshi" or native teacher.⁴⁶ The value of a knowledge of and interest in the language and culture of the Malays was proved by the later careers of those who became proficient in that field. The achievements of Raffles, the greatest of all, need no further mention here.

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42. Penang Consultations 27 November 1807, SSR (IOL) XVIII, 1089-90; Wurtzburg (1954), 56.
43. Penang Consultations 26 April 1808, SSR (IOL) XIX, 480.
44. See London to Penang 21 April 1809, para. 20, SSR (IOL) XXVI, 50.
45. Ibbetson to Raffles 30 March 1808; Lawrence to Raffles 26 April 1808; Minute by Governor, Penang Consultations 26 April 1808, SSR (IOL) XIX, 474-80.
46. See Mills (1925), 93; Penang Consultations 26 April 1808, SSR (IOL) XIX, 480.

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Java administration, Robert Ibbetson, who later became Governor of the Straits Settlements, and John Crawford, who came to Penang in 1808 as an Assistant Surgeon, and became Acting Malay Translator there, and whose subsequent career⁴⁷ took him to Java, Siam and Singapore.

The head of the Medical Establishment was a well known and highly-paid Surgeon from Bengal, William Dick, who was aided by a First Assistant, Henry Waring, also from Bengal, and a Second Assistant, James Herriot, who had been head of the medical side of the administration under Farquhar.⁴⁸ In December 1805, William Dick was granted separate establishments for the hospital and the Vaccination Department. The first and much the largest, consisted of ~~an European and a native apothecary, two compounders and two dressers,~~ as well as cooks, servants "to attend on the sick" and nurses. All of these, judging from the low salaries, were Asian inhabitants of Penang. The Department of Vaccination required only a jemadar, a peon and a cart driver.⁴⁹ The Hospital was at first situated at some distance from Georgetown but in 1809 it was removed to a⁵⁰ healthier site closer to town. During the first five years

47. For more details about Crawford, see Chapter II (iii).
~~40-44.~~

48. See Appendix I A.

49. For details of these establishments see Penang Consultations 16 December 1805, SSR (IOL) XII, 609.

50. See Penang Consultations, SSR (IOL): 2 February 1809, XXII, 123-9; 11 May 1809, XXII, 384-8; 22 June 1809, XXII, 577-82; 2 August 1809, XXIII, 733-4; 18 October 1809, XXIII, 1328; 15 November 1809, XXIII, 1405-15.

of Presidency government the medical officers were continually changing, replacements being sent from Bengal.

William Dick, the Head Surgeon, departed in June 1807,⁵¹

and his successor, Charles Mackinnon, was suspended from his appointment as head surgeon shortly after his arrival because of disrespectful conduct towards the Governor.⁵²

Other appointments of Assistant Surgeons were Thomas

White in 1807 and Chalmers, Loftie, Anderson and John,

⁵³
Brawford in 1808. The various duties were divided

between the medical officers. Usually, the Head Surgeon

was in charge of the hospital, the First Assistant in

charge of vaccination, the Second Assistant in charge of

medical stores, while the charge of the dispensary varied

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according to their other duties. Each of these sections

had small establishments paid for by allowances to its

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head. In addition, an Assistant Surgeon from the Pre-

⁵⁶
sidency did periodic tours of duty at Malacca.

The final section of the Civil Department was under the less important Superintendent of Convicts, an uncovenanted

51. Penang Consultations 2 June 1807, SSR (IOL) XVII, 419.

52. General Orders 28 October 1808, SSR (IOL) XX, 1225-6.

53. ~~Penang Consultations 29 September 1808, SSR (IOL) XX, 1061.~~

54. See lists of Establishments, Appendix II C and II D.

55. London to Penang 21 April 1809, para. 21, SSR (IOL) XXVI, 51.

56. See Penang Consultations 29 September 1808, SSR (IOL) XX, 1069-70; Penang Consultations 8 December 1808, SSR (IOL) XX, 1395; Penang Consultations 16 March 1809, SSR (IOL) XXII, 213-14; Penang Consultations 16 April 1809, SSR (IOL) XXII, 247-50.

servant. In 1808 John Hall, who had been in Penang before
1805, was appointed Superintendent,⁵⁷ and his establishment
included an European registrar, two overseers, forty native
serangs, forty convicts acting as tindals, and two native
writers.⁵⁸ This is of interest, since it appears that the

convicts, because of a shortage of personnel, served on the
establishment designed to discipline them themselves.

The Judicial Department, the second in the Penang
administration, consisting of the various Courts and their
establishments and the Police office, forms such important
section of the administration that it is considered in a
separate Chapter.⁵⁹ It is sufficient to mention here
that most of the people in that Department were uncovenanted
servants, both European and Asian, and were not connected
with civil or other departments. The major exceptions
were the Governor and members of Council who sat in the
Court of Judicature in a magisterial capacity. In addition,
some of the younger covenanted servants acted as Commissioners
of the Court of Requests, in addition to the civil duties
they already performed. This overlapping of civil and
judicial powers caused friction on both sides, just as it
had before 1805.

57. Penang Consultations 25 February 1808, SSR (IOL) XIX, 171.

58. See London to Penang 21 April 1809, para. 22, SSR (IOL) XXVI, 51.

59. See Chapter III.

The Revenue Department, the third in the administration, was supervised by the Collector of Customs and Land Revenues, W.E. Phillips, who had been Secretary to the former government. This Department was essential to the new government, as most of its revenue was derived from farms, customs and land rents, which were collected by this Department. The efficiency of the Collector was apparent from the sharp rise of revenue in the first few years after 1805, and by his statement about his own duties soon after he took over the post. He was to hear complaints by or against the different renters of farms, to protect trade from "any under exactions" of these renters, to superintend the different sources of revenues and report on the amount of imports and exports and the means of increasing revenue, and finally, to make and record all revenue collections.

Late in 1805 a certain amount of confusion in the Collector's Department was caused by Phillip's presumption, against the intention of Council, that he was to hold the office of Land Surveyor, as had the previous Collector. Council therefore did not approve the two separate establishments he had submitted. Shortly afterwards Phillips informed Council that his duties as Collector could not be carried

60. See Chapter IV.

61. Phillips to Dundas 1 October 1805, Penang Consultations 8 October 1805, SSR (IOL) XI, 128-9.

62. Phillips to Pearson 27 September 1805, Penang Consultations 27 September 1805, SSR (IOL) XI, 32-3.

out without a Malay writer, a native surveyor and his 51
assistants from the Surveyor's office, and a shroff. 63

He was therefore granted an establishment consisting of
the above requests and two office peons. 64 Even so, this

establishment was hardly adequate in view of the enormous
amount of work to be coped with by the Department, in
spite of the other assistants, John Hall, the Deputy

Collector, 65 and in 1807 the writer, Robert Ibbetson. Nor
was the burden of work lightened by the later arrival of
a Surveyor, Jeremiah McCarthy. Nevertheless within two

years the changed structure of the establishment of the
Revenue Department showed that the activities of the
Collector's office had extended well beyond the limits of
Georgetown itself. In addition to the writers and peons

~~in Georgetown, there was an European writer at Seangai~~
Kluang and two native writers and eight peons "in the country
these still no doubt being insufficient for the amount of
work involved. 66

At the head of the fourth Department, the Commercial
and Marine Department was Alexander Gray, whose full title
was at first Superintendent and Paymaster of Marine and

63. Phillips to Pearson, 8 November 1805, Penang Consul-
tations 12 November 1805, SSR (IOL) XII, 365.

64. For list of establishment and salaries see Penang
Consultations 12 November 1805, SSR (IOL) XII, 366.

65. John Hall, besides being Deputy Collector, was from
1808 Superintendent of Convicts, and from September
1807 in charge of the Post Office situated at the
Custom's House. See Penang Consultations 30 July 1807,
SSR (IOL) XVII, and Appendix II C and II D.

66. For list of establishment see London to Penang 21
April 1809, para. 25, SSR (IOL) XXVI, 52.

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aval and Military Storekeeper. His Assistant was J.J. rskine, and like their colleagues in the Warehouse, both received a commission on the sale of Company stores of 3% and 2% respectively.⁶⁷ Since the change concerning the offices of Paymaster and Storekeeper has already been discussed, it remains only to look at the Marine side of the Department.

In his capacity of Superintendent of Marine, Gray exercised general supervision over the Master Attendant's Department, the Master Builder's Department and the Establishment of Vessels and Boats. In view of the expectations entertained in 1805 of Penang's future as a naval base and shipbuilding centre, this was a considerable responsibility. The Master Attendant, Captain John Baird, was retained in the position he had held under Farquhar's administration,⁶⁸ but received a larger salary. A year or two later

another uncovenanted servant, Francis Lynch, was appointed Deputy Master Attendant.⁶⁹ Like the other offices, there were a writer, lascars, tindals and peons in the establishment.

The Master Builder's Department was of particular importance at first, as this was to be the centre of shipbuilding operations and the construction of the naval base.⁷⁰

67. See Appendix II A.

68. London to Penang 14 April 1805, para. 23, JIA, VI, 24; Penang Consult tions 24 September 1805, SSR (IOL) XI, 29.

69. See Appendix II C. Lynch was a country trader well known in the Moluccas.

70. See M. Stubbs Brown, "The Failure of Penang as a Naval Base and Shipbuilding Centre", JMBRAS, XXXII, 14 (1959) 28-32b.

The scheme had an inauspicious beginning when the arrival of the officiating Civil Engineer Paul Tate, was delayed until May 1806, after which he spent some time searching for the best site for a naval base.⁷¹ On the shipbuilding side was Joseph Seaton, master shipwright and purveyor of timber, who was an expert sent out from the dockyard at Portsmouth.⁷² His assistant, John Foote, arrived also in 1806, and spent some time in Rangoon (1808-9) arranging for the transport of timber from there. For a time, an acting assistant shipwright, one John Hawkins, was at the Presidency and young Frederick Garling, before joining his brother Samuel at Bencoolen, spent some time in Penang as assistant, then warden and muster-master of the marine yard.⁷³ The establishment of vessels and boats bore the cost of the few vessels that were being built in the shipyards.

Details of the fifth and final Department of the administration, the Military Department, concerning the supervision of the garrison and troops on the island, are irrelevant to a discussion of civil affairs in Penang. It is interesting to point out, however, that military men of high rank were sometimes involved in civil affairs, notably Colonel Macalister, who was a member of Council and later

71. Penang to London 23 March 1809, SSR (SNL) B2, 262.

72. Penang Consultations 15 November 1805, SSR (IOL) XI, 372.

73. See Appendix II C and II D for lists of Marine Establishment.

Governor, at the same time as being Commandant of the Troops in Penang. Also during this period Major William Farquhar was both civil and military head in Malacca. Certain commissioned officers held, from time to time, such posts as Military Storekeeper, and Deputy Commissary of Ordnance. More important, the post of Engineer was occupied by a military man, who performed various civil duties. Early in 1809 the matter of the heavy duties of Captain Robertson, the Military Engineer and Surveyor, was raised. It was decided that many of his duties should be transferred to the Surveyor, Jeremiah McCarthy, and each was granted an allowance and establishment for carrying out his respective duties.

III

Having examined the government departments, a brief glance at the changes that took place in the Governorship and Council completes the picture of the newly formed Presidency Government. The membership of the Council remained unchanged from September 1805 until 1807, which has been described as the "year of fatalities" for the Penang government.

74. For full discussion of these changes see Penang Consultations 2 February 1809, SSR (IOL) XXII, 132-3.

75. Wurtzburg (1954), 53.

the fatal effects of the climate on the older members of⁵⁵
the establishment, and illustrated the pettiness of some
of the remaining officials. Early in 1807 three members
of Council died. In January 1807 Alexander Gray, third
member of Council, set sail with Captain Troubridge on the
ill-fated HMS. Blenheim, which was lost with all hands off
Madagascar early in February 1807.⁷⁶ The Secretary H.S.
Pearson, after his return from six months leave was
temporarily to replace Gray on Council and Thomas Raffles
was to act as Secretary.⁷⁷ Next, the death of J.H. Oliphant,
second member of Council, who had returned from leave in
February occurred after a short illness on 22 March.
Consequently, Pearson was sworn in as a permanent member
of Council, and the Collector, W.E. Phillips, as a provisional
member until the return of Mr. Gray (the news of his death
not having reached the Presidency), and Raffles was appointed
Secretary.⁷⁸ From time to time the Governor, Phillip
Dundas, had been indisposed and on 1 April 1807 he embarked
for a short sea trip on the HMS Belligueux in the hope of
recovering his health. Matters did not improve however,
and his death, the third in succession, took place at sea
on 8 April 1807.⁷⁹

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76. Gray to Raffles 10 January 1807, Penang Consultations
24 February 1807, SSR (IOL) XVII; Wurtzburg (1954),
52; JIA, VI, 22, Footnote 3.
77. Penang Consultations 24 February 1807, SSR (IOL) XVII.
78. Penang Consultations 17 February 1807, Penang Consul-
tations 26 March 1807, SSR (IOL) XVII, 190, 271-2.
79. Dundas to Raffles 31 March 1807, Penang Consultations
1 April 1807, SSR (IOL) XVII; Penang Consultations
13 April 1807, SSR (IOL) XVII, 303; also SSR (SNL)
D10, 26.

The dispute that arose over the succession to the Governorship illustrated the type of official that appeared from time to time in such outposts as Penang. The wrangle began on 26 March when in the absence of Dundas from Council owing to illness, Pearson, having just been sworn in as a permanent member, insisted that owing to some regulations laid down by the Secret and Political Department in Bengal, Colonel Macalister could not hold the Chair at the same time as being Commander of Troops. Macalister therefore vacated the Chair in favour of Pearson. On the death of Dundas, Pearson therefore assumed that the office devolved automatically on him. This Macalister allowed, on condition that the difference of opinion regarding the succession to the Governorship be referred to Bengal.

The answer received in October 1807 stated definitely that the Councillor next in rank was entitled to succeed to the Governorship. Colonel Macalister was ordered to take the Chair and Pearson was to take his place as second in Council. After the receipt of this news, Pearson was rather disgruntled at the lowering of his status, and expressed doubts as to the grounds on which he was superseded. This was soon clarified on the arrival of a

0. Penang Consultations 26 March 1807, SSR (IOL) XVII, 271.
1. Penang Consultations 13 April 1807, SSR (IOL) XVII, 304; Wurtzburg (1954), 53.
2. Bengal to Penang 14 August 1807, Minute by Pearson 15 October 1807, Penang Consultations 16 October 1807, SSR (IOL) XVIII, 974-5, 977-8.

further despatch from Bengal which enclosed the opinions of the Advocate General on the succession and the position of Penang in relation to the other Presidencies. In supporting the right of Colonel Macalister, the Advocate General stated that it was clear that the Councillor next in rank should succeed, and that the exclusion of the Commander from becoming Governor in the three other Presidencies did not apply to Penang. In the other Presidencies he said, the Commander in Chief was next in rank to the Governor, and without any provision he would be likely to succeed to the Governorship. But in Penang, where the Commander in Chief ranked fourth in Council, the improbability of the deaths of three members of Council made such a provision unnecessary. Finally the Advocate General declared that since the law of succession did not apply to the Penang Presidency, and when it was stated that the next in Council should succeed, without exception, he could not imagine why an exception should be expected.⁸³ By this letter, Pearson's claims were finally and irrevocably squashed.

In September 1807 [to complete the membership of Council] a fourth member, J.J. Erskine, had been appointed in spite of a complaint by J.P. Hobson the Accountant, that it was a

83. Bengal to Penang 23 July 1807, Advocate General to Chief Secretary, Fort William, 20 May 1807, Penang Consultations 21 October 1807, SSR (IOL) XVIII, 983-8.

84

supercession of his rank. By the end of 1807 the membership of Council was finally settled, and remained as such until early 1810. Below Colonel Macalister, the Governor and Commander in Chief, was H.S. Pearson, second in Council and Warehousekeeper; W.E. Phillips, third in Council and Collector of Customs and Land Revenue; and J.J. Erskine, fourth in Council, who had also been promoted from Assistant to Superintendent and Storekeeper of Marine.

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IV

Another interesting theme concerning civil servants during this period is the career of Thomas Raffles in his first eastern appointment. His ability and energy and his interest in Malay language and culture was soon apparent, and certain events during this period explain some of his later attitudes towards Penang and perhaps the attitude of many officials there towards him. A vivid but possibly exaggerated account of Raffles' activities and his importance in the functioning of Government during this period is given by Wurtzburg. A more critical account of Raffles and his scheming activities during his stay in

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4. Penang Consultations 3 September 1807, SSR (IOL) XVII, 713; Hobson to Governor 7 September 1807, Penang Consultations 8 September 1807, SSR (IOL) XVIII, 750-2.
5. See Appendix II B.
6. Wurtzburg (1954), 31-87.

87

Penang has been written by H.F. Pearson.

Raffles' work in the Secretary's Department has already been mentioned. Shortly after his appointment as Secretary, an event occurred which later had serious repercussions for him. On 1 April 1807 Pearson proposed in appreciation of the heavy duties carried out by Raffles, that his salary which had already risen to \$8,000 per annum on his promotion to Secretary should be further increased by \$2,400 per annum and that this amount be deducted from the salary of the newly appointed Assistant Secretary, W.A. Clubley. Henceforward, subject to the approval of the Court of Directors, their salaries were to be: Secretary to Government, \$866.66 per month and Deputy Secretary, \$300 per month.⁸⁸ The proposal was accepted by the Governor and Council and the matter referred to the Directors. The change it was explained was a "full remuneration for the laborious duties and responsibilities of the office", while the salary for the Assistant was sufficient for a writer of only two years standing, and it would involve no additional expense to the Company.⁸⁹

During 1807, Raffles suffered the first of his illnesses which necessitated his leaving the Presidency and spending some time in Malacca. This in turn led to events which

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87. H.F. Pearson, This Other India: A Biography of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles (Malayan Biographies Series No. 1) (Singapore 1957), passim.
88. Penang Consultations 1 April 1807, SSR (IOL), XVII, 295.
89. Wurtzburg (1954), 53.

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brought him to the notice of the Governor-General, Lord Minto. In November 1807 he applied for and was granted leave "to proceed to sea for his health" and Clubley took over as Acting Secretary in his absence,⁹⁰ for about two months. In January 1808 Governor Macalister hurriedly wrote to Raffles requesting his return, because "we shall not be able to make up any dispatches for the Court without your assistance... With the exception of Mr. Phillips the rest of the Board can give but little assistance in making out the General Letter, none, however, so little as myself."⁹¹ Clubley and Lawrence in the Secretary's Department were as yet inexperienced, Macalister was essentially a soldier, and Pearson, the former Secretary, according to Wurtzburg no doubt felt it beneath him to offer help in such work. Thus Raffles had to hurry back to Penang to compile the despatch, for which a ship had long been waiting in harbour. This incident besides throwing light on certain animosities among the civil servants resulting from the Pearson-Macalister dispute over the Governorship, showed how much the Penang Government apparently depended on Raffles, and explains to some extent why Raffles looked on the Penang Government, both then and later, with thinly disguised contempt.⁹²

90. Penang Consultations 20 November 1807, SSR (IOL), 1068.

91. Macalister to Raffles January 1808, Wurtzburg (1954), 61.

92. Wurtzburg (1954), 62.

Raffles' work soon increased as a result of the fire that swept through Georgetown in March 1808.⁹³ In the same month the application of Clubley for four months leave further increased the burden, as Lawrence, who acted as Assistant Secretary in his place, was still inexperienced.⁹⁴ The major event of 1808, the arrival of the Recorder, Sir Edmond Stanley with the Charter of Justice, also affected Raffles' burden of work. As he described his role in the early days of its promulgation: "All was confusion here... and that Court could not have been established had I not come forward and voluntarily acted as Regular Clerk of the Crown... War was brewing between Sir Edmond Stanley and the Governor... Stepping between them judiciously I am confident that I stopped a breach which might never have been healed up."⁹⁵ Another position he held was that of Acting Registrar, to which Olivia Raffles referred in a letter to John Leyden. She said: "... he (Raffles) has taken the enormous task of Registrar and without a fee or present reward... secretary without an assistant, or anyone who can afford him the least possible assistance. The consequence begins to show itself very soon... he is ill and quite worn out and I dread another long and lingering

93. Ibid., 63.

94. Clubley to Raffles 15 March 1808, Penang Consultations 17 March 1808, SSR (IOL), 319-20.

95. Wurtzburg (1954), 64.

fit of illness such as he had last which was brought on by intense labour of mind and body... all here is dull stupidity...."⁹⁶

The strain of the extra duties he had undertaken and the lack of assistance he had received, had indeed been telling on Raffles. In July 1808 he again applied for leave "to take a short sea voyage", for the sake of his health, and again he went to Malacca. This visit was to be "the turning-point in his career".⁹⁷ Raffles returned to Penang only on 29 October 1808 and on 31 October he submitted his Report on Malacca, which was in time despatched to the Governor General.⁹⁸ The outcome of this Report, the orders from Calcutta to bring an end to the destruction of Malacca and the attention it drew to its writer, are too well known to be elaborated further.

In 1809 Raffles assumed another official duty. Together with Caunter and Lawrence he became one of the three Commissioners of the Court of Requests. Although more hard work was involved, the legal experience he gained through association with Sir Edmand Stanley proved to be of great value later.⁹⁹ Shortly afterwards in July 1809, Raffles'

96. Olivia Raffles to John Leyden 3 August 1808, Wurtzburg (1954), 65.

97. Wurtzburg (1954), 67.

98. Ibid., 68-79; Full text of Report also in SSR (IOL) X.

99. Penang Consultations 18 May 1809, SSR (IOL) XXII, 443; Wurtzburg (1954), 82.

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brother-in-law Q.D. Thompson died, and Raffles, with the Governor's permission, temporarily took over his duties as naval agent. When he was still holding the post three months later, he was attacked in Council by Pearson who considered that Raffles' holding of that post was incompatible with that of Secretary to Government. ¹⁰⁰ Raffles presumably relinquished the post, but the incident remained one of those petty and unpleasant ones which he did not forget.

The worst blow to Raffles' career in Penang took place in January 1810. Accompanying the dispatch ordering reductions in the establishment, the Directors referred to the increase of salary granted to Raffles by Council in 1807, subject to their consent. The answer received nearly three years after the original decision, expressed disapproval of the arrangement because "we can never admit that because the salary of one Officer will bear reduction, another is therefore to be increased in a proportionate degree." The Secretary's salary was therefore to be reduced to the sum originally fixed by the Directors, and Raffles was to refund the amount he had received over and above the sum of \$8,000 per annum. ¹⁰¹ Raffles appealed to Council concerning this decision, stating his "total inability to comply with the heavy and unexpected demand now made... nearly three years

100. Wurtzburg (1954), 82, 84.

101. London to Penang 28 April 1809, "Penang Consultations 18 January 1810, SSR (IOL) XXVI, 95-7; also Wurtzburg (1954) 86.

subsequent to my appointment". His letter was supported by one from Pearson (having apparently overcome his animosity after the previous years' attack on Raffles), who acknowledged the truth of Raffles' statements about the circumstances under which the appointment was made. Council therefore resolved to refer the subject again to the Court of Directors and this was soon done.¹⁰² But the only reply was a repeated demand for repayment which was written off only after Raffles was able to raise the matter personally in London in 1817.¹⁰³

V

Such was the structure and functions of the government and its numerous departments as set up in September 1805, which were in some cases enlarged upon, reshuffled or renovated as the need arose in the ensuing years. In the forefront of the administration was the retinue of civil servants sent to Penang in 1805 to organise the new Presidency government. Some were doomed to a short life and final place of rest far away from their homeland, a very few rose above the hum-drum mediocrity of the Penang administration to achieve fame elsewhere, and a small number

102. Raffles to Macalister 8 February 1810, Minute by Pearson, Penang Consultations 8 February 1810, SSR (IOL) XXVI, 212-8, Penang to London 15 March 1810, SSR (IOL) XXVI, 407-10.

103. Wurtzburg (1954), 87.

gradually worked their way up the longer ladder of promotion until they reached the top posts in the Penang and later in the Straits Settlements government, finally, in some cases, retiring to the comparative comfort of England. A brief glance now and then at the characters of these people who carried out the everyday work of the Penang administration provides a human background to the struggles for recognition and survival on that island and its shortlived glory as the centre of British hopes and ambitions in the Malay Archipelago.

(ii) Reduction of the Establishment 1810

The unfortunate events of the first few years of Penang's history as a Presidency¹ naturally led to misgivings on the part of the Court of Directors, who clearly resented Penang's financial burden on the Company. The most obvious cause of this was the size of the civil administration, and the Directors evidently felt that reductions within this sphere would decrease the annual deficits of the island.

The definite arrangements outlined in a letter of 21 April 1809 from the Court of Directors inaugurated the policy of retrenchment.² Particular attention was paid to the civil servants of the establishment and to the departments in which posts were to be abolished and salaries decreased. The Directors first pointed out that for some time certain changes had been contemplated. In 1805 the Presidency and its establishment had been formed because of London's scheme of making Penang an important naval station and shipbuilding centre for the construction of an arsenal and docks for the use of British ships in the East. Since little progress had been made in the scheme,

1. See Chapters IV and VI, and Stubbs Brown (1958), 28-32b.
2. London to Penang 21 April 1809, Penang Consultations 18 January 1810, SSR (IOL) XXVI, 38-54.

and Admiralty backing had been withdrawn,³ the Directors felt it expedient to reduce the establishments of the island to meet the needs of a commercial entrepôt instead of those of an important naval base.⁴

The Directors then enlarged upon their proposed changes. The number of Councillors was reduced from three to two. The position of Superintendent of Marine, being considered unnecessary, was abolished, but J.J. Erskine, who held that position, was to retain it until some other office of his rank was found for him. He was also to be a provisional member of Council to succeed in the event of a vacancy. H.S. Pearson, second in Council, was ordered to resume his rank in the civil establishment at Bombay, where he was to proceed at the first opportunity. J.E. Phillips was to remain a member of Council and retain the office of Collector of Customs.⁵

Referring to the Governorship, the Directors felt it should be held by a member of the Bengal civil service, and therefore Colonel Macalister could no longer hold it. The death of the person they had in mind for the position had caused a delay in selection, but on the eventual arrival of the new Governor, Colonel Macalister was to resume his

3. See M. Stubbs Brown (1959), 28-32b.

4. London to Penang 21 April 1809, Penang Consultations 18 January 1810, para. 2, 3, SSR (IOL) XXVI, 39-40.

5. Ibid., paras. 4-5, 10-11, 13; 40-1, 43-7.

seat in Council as second member, but could again hold the office of Governor temporarily if a vacancy occurred. In the event of his death, resignation or departure, a civil servant who was able to hold the office of Warehousekeeper⁶ was to be appointed to the vacant seat in Council.

The salary of the Governor was reduced slightly from \$36,000 to \$32,000 per annum, including house rent, and those of the two remaining members of Council were reduced⁷ from \$18,000 to \$16,000 per annum. The salaries attached⁸ to other posts, such as those of the Chaplain, Secretary, Accountant and Auditor, Assistant Accountant and Auditor and Sub Warehousekeeper, the Surgeon, Assistant Surgeons and Master Attendant were retained as originally established⁹ in 1805. However the persons holding those positions had changed since the Directors had received the last dispatch from Penang. The Rev. Atwill Lake had departed for health reasons on 2, March 1809, and W.A. Clubley was acting as

6. Ibid., paras. 8-9, 11; 43-5. Concerning Colonel Macalister also, the Directors considered unnecessary the office of resident Commandant of Troops, so that on the death, resignation or departure of Macalister the office was to be abolished. Instead the command of troops forming the military force of the island were to be placed under the authority of the senior officer doing duty at Penang.
7. Ibid., para. 11, 44-5. Compare with salaries in 1805, See appendix II A.
8. For discussion of Secretary Raffles' salary see Chapter II (i) 63-4 and II (ii) 723.
9. London to Penang 21 April 1809, Penang Consultations 18 January 1810, para. 13, SSR (IOL) XXVI, 47.

Chaplain in his place. On J.P. Hobson's death in May 1809 William Robinson had succeeded him as Accountant and Auditor, and on C.D. Thompson's death in July 1809, his position as Paymaster and Storekeeper was taken over by John Macalister. ¹⁰

The Directors then scrutinized each Department to discover unauthorized appointments and possible retrenchments. In the Civil Department, the office of private Secretary to the Governor, with a monthly salary of \$120 was considered unnecessary and was to be abolished. ¹¹ The establishment of the Secretary's office was also deemed to be unnecessarily large. It included the Secretary, Deputy Secretary and five covenanted writers, a head clerk, six clerks at \$60 a month, a jemadar (or head peon), eight peons at \$5, and a sweeper. The Directors recommended the greatest possible reduction in the allowances of the clerks or monthly writers and of the jemadar and peons. ¹² The same strictures applied to the clerks and peons employed in the Accountant's Office. For the post of Assistant to the Treasurer, held concurrently by the Assistant Accountant (in 1809 by the Accountant), the additional salary of \$150 per month was considered unnecessary and ordered to be discontinued. ¹³ The allowances of the two

10. See Appendix II C and II D.

11. London to Penang 21 April 1809, Penang Consultations 13 January 1810, para. 14-15, SSR (IOL) XXVI, 48.

12. Ibid., para. 16, 43.

13. Ibid., para. 17-18, 49-50.

clerks employed in the Paymaster's office were also to be reduced.¹⁴ The Directors also recommended retrenchments in the Translator's office which consisted of the Translator, four assistants, a peon and an interpreter 'to attend on government'. The number of assistants was to be reduced to two, and the office of interpreter to government was considered superfluous and was to be abolished.¹⁵ In the Medical Department the allowances drawn by the Assistant Surgeons for the establishments of Vaccination and Medical Stores were to be reduced from \$425 to \$300 per month.¹⁶ Similarly, the situations beneath the Superintendent of Convicts - the European registrar at \$30 per month, two overseers at \$20 each, 40 native serangs at \$5, 40 convicts as tindals at \$10, and two munshis or native writers at \$5 - were considered to be too highly paid and were to be reduced.¹⁷

The Directors' remarks concerning the Judicial and Police Departments were somewhat out of date as they were based on information submitted before the introduction of the new Judicial system after the arrival of the Charter. Prior to 1808, the Police Department entailed monthly expenses of \$1,224 and the Judicial Department

14. Ibid., para. 19, 50.

15. Ibid., para. 20, 50.

16. Ibid., para. 21, 51.

17. Ibid., para. 22, 51.

\$1,143, and the Directors ordered the former to be reduced¹⁸ to \$800 per month.

The salaries of the two clerks and eight peons in the Commercial Department were to be revised. In the Revenue Department, consisting of two European writers, one jemadar, 19 peons in Georgetown and outside it, and two native writers, the salaries were also ordered to be¹⁹ reduced.

The most sweeping reductions were ordered in the Marine Department. The offices of muster-master (at \$100 per month), a book-keeper (at \$100) and two clerks (at \$70 each) were considered completely unnecessary. Another not unexpected development, due to the uncertainty concerning shipbuilding, was the abolition of the offices of deputy Builder and Civil Engineer (both \$500 per month).²⁰ Other appointments under the Superintendent of Marine, such as Marine Paymaster and Naval and Military Storekeeper²¹ were to be transferred to the office of Warehousekeeper. The establishment in charge of the Admiralty, an European²² at \$30 per month, and two peons at \$5 was also abolished.

18. Ibid., para. 23, 51-2.

19. Ibid., para. 24-5, 52.

20. Ibid., para. 26-7, 52-3.

21. Ibid., para. 5, 40-1. These since November 1807 had been under the control of a separate Paymaster and Storekeeper, see Chapter II (1), 14-5.

22. Ibid., para. 28, 53.

The Directors declined to take decisive action by abolishing the post of Military Engineer because of the possible need of his services in erecting new fortifications.²³ In conclusion, the Directors expressed hopes that every possible reduction would be made but they conceded, that in certain circumstances it might be inadvisable to carry out in full some of these reductions. However any objections could²⁴ be submitted to them for final decision.

In another letter received at the same time, the Directors expressed strong disapproval of the increase of Secretary Raffles' salary in 1807 and stated that the usual salary of \$8,000 per annum was sufficient. They approved of the reduction of W.A. Clubley's salary to \$2,000 per annum because he was a writer of only two years standing and agreed that after three years residence in India, it was to be raised to \$3,600 as suggested by Council. But Raffles was to refund everything that he had received²⁵ over \$8,000 per annum, which he was unable to do.

Having read the above despatches, Council met to consider them the next day, Thursday 19 January. The first question raised was the likely effect of the new organisation

23. Ibid., para. 29, 53-4.

24. Ibid., para. 29-30, 54.

25. London to Penang 28 April 1809, Penang Consultations 18 January 1810, SSR (IOL) XXVI, 95-7. See Chapter II (1)

of government on the constitution of the Court of Judicature which was to consist, as laid down by the Charter, of the Governor, three Councillors and the Recorder. The Recorder felt that "the immediate adoption of these orders [might] interfere with the constitution of the Court and embarrass its proceedings unless provided for by an additional clause in the Charter". It was therefore resolved that the matter should be referred to Bengal.

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In accordance with the Directors' orders Council then passed various resolutions concerning members of the establishment. H.S. Pearson was to proceed to Bombay as soon as possible to resume his position there, and was to deliver over charge of the Warehouse to J.J. Erskine. Phillips and Erskine were to rank in that order in Council after Colonel Macalister. The office of Superintendent of Marine was abolished and Erskine was appointed Warehouse-keeper, retaining charge of Marine stores, these departments having been combined by the Directors' orders. Since Council wished to reduce the Government's expenses ^{without} delay, it was resolved that ^{the} revised salaries of the members of Council should take effect immediately, and that the reduction of the expenses of the various departments was to be "taken into early consideration".

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26. Penang Consultations 19 January 1810, SSR (IOL) XXVI, 127, also SSR (SNL) A7, 76-8, Cowan (1950), 40.
27. Penang Consultations 19 January 1810, SSR (IOL) XXVI, 128-30.
28. Ibid., 130, also SSR (SNL) A7, 79, Cowan (1950), 40.

The imminent departure of H.S. Pearson provoked an unusual display of esteem. Notwithstanding "the difference of opinion that has in many instances existed between us", Macalister acknowledge Pearson's support "on occasions when it became necessary to uphold the stability and authority of Government by measures of unanimity and firmness". The other members of Council solemnly recorded "the solid benefits derived from Mr. Pearson's experience with the Honorable Company's affairs", referring to his short term as Acting Governor and his management of the

29 Warehouse. It is to be suspected that these eloquent remarks were due more to the required formalities than to any sincere feelings on the part of those involved. The meeting was then adjourned until the following week in order to complete the rearrangements and reductions of the various Departments.

When Council met again on 25 January 1810, sweeping changes were submitted and approved. The first matter dealt with the effect of the new organisation of government on the Court of Judicature. The Recorder, after perusing the original commission of government for the Presidency, changed his mind on the subject, and expressed the view that the reduction of Council to a Governor and two members

could not in any way affect the constitution of the Court.
 This rendered unnecessary any reference to Bengal.

The carefully revised establishments were then laid before Council. These were reduced "to the lowest standard practicable consistent with due efficiency", with "every due and liberal consideration to the duties to be performed". As they were considered adequate, it was resolved that the revised establishments should take effect from 1 February 1810. The total savings in all departments were as follows:

Department	Cost of former Establishment	Reduced Establishment	Saving
Civil Department	\$ 15,601.98	\$ 11,879.65	\$3,722.33
Judicial Department	3,270.00	3,270.00	-
Revenue Department	1,306.00	710.00	596.00
Commercial Dept. & Marine Department	4,839.49	3,118.99	1,720.50
Military Department	2,042.12	2,042.12	-
Total Sp.Dls. per month	\$27,059.59	\$21,020.76	\$6,038.83
	*****	*****	*****

Total Annual Savings - Spanish Dollars 72,465.96

30. Penang Consultations 25 January 1810, SSR (IOL) XXVI, 133-4.

31. Ibid., 134, 143.

32. Ibid., 141, also Penang to London 1 February 1810, SSR (IOL) XXVI, 197. For complete list of reductions within each department see Appendix II F.

Next the question of house rent was raised. Until all public offices could be accommodated in one government building, the heads of Departments were allowed to draw an authorized amount for house rent. In connection with the Directors' orders to reduce the salaries of the monthly writers and peons, Council drew attention to the difficulties of procuring persons seeking employment in that capacity. Furthermore, since the allowance paid to the peons was less than the monthly earnings of a labourer, it was considered preferable to reduce the number of persons employed as peons rather than reduce their allowances. ³³ At the same time the positions of some of the writers were changed. From 1 February 1810, A. Tegart was to be First Assistant and J.C. Lawrence Second Assistant in the Secretary's office. J. Cousens was transferred from the Secretary's office to the position of Assistant to the Warehousekeeper and owing to the death of J. Sherwood, J.L. Phipps was promoted from Acting Assistant to Assistant to the Accountant and Auditor. ³⁴

The Directors were duly informed of the measures taken in accordance with their orders. A summary of the reductions in each department was submitted along with Council's

33. Penang Consultations 25 January 1810, SSR (IOL) XVII, 142-4.

34. Ibid., 144. See Appendix II D and II E.

opinion that they had been reduced "as low as possible consistent with due efficiency". After showing the reduction of \$72,465.96 per annum, assurance was given of a "strict adherence to the system of economy so forcibly urged by your Honorable Court", and of the cheerful acquiescence of the Company's servants in the measures adopted. ³⁵

There ended the largest reshuffle of the Penang establishment since the inception of the Presidency. It formed the first of a series of reductions until 1829, which step by step reduced the size of the government at Penang to within its financial means and its actual importance.

35. Penang to London 1 February 1810, SSR (IOL) XXVI, 189-98.

(iii) Civil Servants 1810-1819

Following the reductions in the establishment in 1810, the main events which affected the Penang civil servants in the period until 1819 were the British occupation of Java from 1811 to 1816 and the second reduction in the establishment that took place in 1816.¹

The first of a new series of governors, Charles Andrew Bruce,² arrived in Penang in March 1810 and in accordance with the Directors' instructions,³ Colonel Macalister stepped down to second in Council.⁴ Neither of these gentlemen remained in Penang for long. In August 1810 Macalister embarked on a sea trip and was lost when the ship Ocean went down in a typhoon on the way to China in September 1810.⁵ Like many civil servants before him, C.A. Bruce's death took place soon after his arrival in December 1810, and as on several subsequent occasions W.E. Phillips took charge of government until instructions were received from the Court of Directors. At the same time J.J. Erskine,

1. See Chapter II (iv).

2. C.A. Bruce was a brother of Lord Elgin, who removed the 'Elgin Marbles' from Athens to England. Wurtzburg (1954), III.

3. See Chapter II (ii).

4. Penang Consultations 21 March 1810, SSR (IOL) XXVI, 488-90.

5. Macalister to Bruce 1 August 1810, Penang Consultations 2 August 1810, SSR (IOL) XXVII; Penang Consultations 28 December 1810, Minute by Phillips, SSR (IOL) XXVII, 1473; Penang to London 11 June 1811, SSR (IOL) XXX, 620-1; Sir Evan Cotton, The East India Company's Maritime Service (London 1949), 168. (Footnote 87).

who had withdrawn from Council on the arrival of Bruce in March, again became third member on his death.⁶ Henceforth both he and Phillips remained members of Council until the early 1820s.

In 1810 another large-scale reshuffling took place in the positions of the writers. In April J.C. Lawrence, the Malay Translator, was removed from the Secretary's office to the warehouse, while J. Cousens was removed from the warehouse to become Assistant to the Treasurer,⁷ a transfer that was to have serious consequences later.⁸ In May the posts of R. Ibbetson and J. Macalister were reversed, Macalister becoming Collector at Malacca (with a monthly salary of \$300 and a 5% commission on customs) and Ibbetson becoming Paymaster and Storekeeper.⁹ These proved to be permanent appointments, as Macalister remained in Malacca until 1816 and Ibbetson was still Paymaster and Storekeeper in 1820.¹⁰ After Raffles' departure from Penang in June 1810¹¹ changes were made in the Secretary's office. W.A. Clubley became Acting Secretary and W. Bennett, on his return from England was appointed Assistant in that

6. Penang Consultations 28 December 1810, SSR (IOL) XXVII, 1472-6. See Appendix II L.
7. Penang Consultations 12 and 19 April 1810, SSR (IOL) XXVI, 577, 591-2.
8. See Chapter II (ii).
9. Penang Consultations 31 May 1810, SSR (IOL) XXVI, 765.
10. See Appendix II K.
11. Penang Consultations 7 June 1810, SSR (IOL) XXVI, 814-15.

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office. In November, when it appeared unlikely that Raffles would resume his post for some time, further changes were made. Both A. Tegart and W. Bennett were removed from the Secretary's office to the respective positions of Assistant Collector at Malacca and Assistant Warehousekeeper. J. Cousens became Acting Deputy Secretary, and the monthly salary of W.A. Clubley, the Acting Secretary, was increased from \$300 to \$500.

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In the later years these positions remained essentially the same as they had been fixed by the end of 1810. In September 1810, having completed five years of service in India, the eight writers who had arrived at the Presidency in 1805 became Factors and three years later, having completed eight years of service, they became Junior Merchants.

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II

Meanwhile, during the second half of 1810, Raffles had been busy in Calcutta and the impression he made on Minto, the Governor-General, resulted in his appointment as Agent to the Governor-General with the Malay States in October 1810.

12. Penang Consultations 22 June, 18 August 1810, SSR (IOL) XXVII, 829, 1053-4.
13. Penang Consultations 15 and 22 November 1810, SSR (IOL) XXVII, 1420-1, 1430. See Appendix II 4.
14. Penang Consultations 5 April 1810, SSR (IOL) XXVI, 543; Penang Consultations 1 April 1813, SSR (IOL) XXXIX, 591-2.

He was ordered to proceed to Malacca to make enquiries as a preliminary to the contemplated operations against the Dutch and French in Java.¹⁵

Raffles arrived at Penang in November, and besides his own instructions he brought a private despatch to Governor Bruce.¹⁶ Bruce was informed of the nature of Raffles' mission, he was allowed to peruse Raffles' instructions, and his cooperation and assistance ~~was~~ requested. Because of the secrecy involved he was to refrain from placing anything on the government records. Raffles was to draw a monthly salary of 2,000 sicca rupees and to charge his personal expenses to the public account. He was also to be supplied with a sum of \$5,000 for "eventual disbursements connected with the object of his mission" in such a way as to "preclude any suspicion of the nature of his service."¹⁷ Bruce complied with his instructions: he promised assistance and co-operation, guaranteed the utmost secrecy and gave Raffles the necessary financial assistance.¹⁸ At the same time Bruce informed William Farquhar at Malacca that he was to consider himself under the orders of Raffles

15. See Wurtzburg (1954), 103-9.

16. Ibid., III.

17. Minto to Bruce (secret and confidential) 19 October 1810, Appendix to Consultations of 1813, SSR (IOL) XLII, (Appendix No.6, Document 2).

18. Bruce to Minto 27 November 1810 (by HMS. Modeste, Captain Elliot), Appendix to Consultations of 1813, SSR (IOL) XLII, (Appendix No.6, Document 3).

in all matters not connected with the settlement at Malacca. Since Raffles' mission was confidential, the authority given for supplies and money could not be recorded in the consultations, but a 'limited explanation' was given privately by Bruce. According to Wurtzburg the members of Council were somewhat indignant that their late Secretary should have been given such authority. ²⁰ No implication of this, however, appeared in the consultations at the time.

Relations between Raffles and the government at Penang became increasingly strained after Bruce's untimely death on 27 December. When Phillips became Acting Governor, Raffles communicated to him the secret information which had been given only to Bruce upon which Phillips (according ²¹ to Wurtzburg) was 'piqued' not to have been informed earlier. Penang's lack of co-operation was also noticeable in the apparent slowness in forwarding mail from Raffles to the Supreme Government, which eventually necessitated the dispatch of letters directly from Malacca. Raffles complained to Kinto that no co-operation could be expected from Penang except on express orders from the Supreme Government, and he accused the government at Penang of wanting to force the

19. Bruce to Farquhar, Appendix to Consultations of 1813, SSR (IOL) XLII (Appendix No.6, Document 4).

20. Wurtzburg (1954), III.

21. Ibid., 123-4, 128.

whole expedition into Penang instead of Malacca. The far from amicable attitude of the Penang Government towards Raffles was apparent from their comment after being informed of Raffles' new appointment as Secretary to the Governor-General on the Java expedition. The members of Council stated that this was the first official intimation they had received of the appointment of Raffles to a mission to the Malay states. They therefore presumed it was on the grounds of that appointment that the late Governor had proposed the arrangements adopted on 20 November 1810, although he had not considered it advisable to record it in the government proceedings.

News arrived at Penang in March 1811 of the appointment of Archibald Seton as Governor, and of the fact that he was to accompany Lord Minto on his trip to the east. The

- 22. Minto to Phillips 25 February 1811, Penang Consultations 29 March 1811, SSR (IOL) XXX, 383-4.
- 23. Minto to Phillips 27 February 1811 and 4 March 1811, Penang Consultations 29 March 1811, SSR (IOL) XXX, 384-6. Seton was formerly Resident at Delhi (in a letter from Minto to Raffles concerning Seton), Wurzburg (1954), 129. This appointment, according to Cowan, was a sinecure, made to provide Seton with a salary while accompanying Minto on the expedition to Java. Cowan (1950), 43 (footnote). The actual government of Penang was for some months in the hands of W.E. Phillips (11 May 1811 - 28 January 1812) but not, as stated by Cowan, until the appointment of Petrie in 1812. Seton returned to Penang and held the governorship from 28 January 1812 to 27 July 1812, when Petrie's appointment was announced. Penang Consultations 16 May 1811, SSR (IOL) XXX; Penang Consultations 28 January 1812, SSR (IOL) XXIV, 73-4; Penang Consultations 27 July 1812, SSR (IOL) XXXV, 1118.
He then returned to Bengal and took his seat in Council at that Presidency. Minto to Seton 23 December 1812, Penang Consultations 4 February 1813, SSR (IOL) XXXVIII. See Appendix II (L).

party left Calcutta on the Mornington on 11 March 1811, and on arrival at Madras, transferred to the Modeste, a frigate commanded by Minto's son, the Hon. George Elliot. On this vessel, they reached Penang on 9 May. ²⁴ On the same

day Seton took his seat as Governor, and in accordance with the Act of the 33rd year of George III's reign, Chapter 22, Minto took his seat as Governor-General at

²⁵ the Presidency. Minto, however, told the members of Council that he took his place only to comply with the provisions made by Parliament for such cases, and that he had no wish to disturb by his "short and accidental visit" the usual course of affairs or to divert the business of government from its normal channels. He also expressed the wish that Seton should accompany him on the expedition. He was more reconciled, he said, to Seton's temporary

24. Wurtzburg (1954), 131; Countess of Minto, Lord Minto in India.
25. Text of the Act: It is enacted that when the Governor-General in Bengal... shall find it expedient to visit the Presidency of Fort St. George or Bombay or other Province... in India the powers and authority of the Governor or other Chief Officer... of such Presidency... shall from the time of the Proclamation of the arrival of the said Governor-General therein, be suspended, (except with regard to Judicial proceedings) and shall continue to be suspended, until other Proclamation be made to the contrary... and that during the interval, the powers and authorities of the said Governor... shall be vested in the said Governor-General with liberty... for such Governor to sit and act as a member of Council of such Presidency, and that the Governor-General in Council... shall be invested with the powers and authorities of the Governor and Council of the same Presidency.... Penang Consultations 9 May 1811, Proclamation, SSR (IOL) XIX, 474-6.

absence, as the administration would devolve on W.E. Phillips, whose appointed and distinguished talents, whose long and intimate acquaintance in its affairs, and whose experience in this very office inspired his confidence.²⁶ Seton expressed similar confidence in Phillips, to whose "able and trustworthy hands" he handed over charge of the government during his absence.²⁷ In honor of the embarkation of Minto's party the next day, all the troops paraded in front of the Council House at 8 o'clock, a salute of nineteen guns was fired from the garrison when the Governor-General left the shore, and a further salute when HMS. Modeste got underway.²⁸ There ended, what Minto referred to in a letter to his wife, as the conversion of this small Presidency into the Supreme Government of India, and "acting myself the part of the great lady on the little parlour",.... "an odd accident in the history of both Governments."²⁹ There was an unfortunate postscript to this short and hurried visit of Minto to Penang. As his ship was leaving, two prows hove into sight, one with the Sultan of Kedah on board, wishing to "pay his respects", but the Modeste "got under way and left His Majesty in the lurch".³⁰

26. Penang Consultations 9 May 1811, SSR (IOL) XXX, 479-82.
27. Penang Consultations 11 May 1811, SSR (IOL) XXX, 486-8.
28. General Orders 11 May 1811, SSR (IOL) XXX, 488-9.
29. Wurtzburg (1954), 132.
30. Ibid., 132.

III

The final plans for the expedition were made at Malacca and the dispatch of a large body of troops from there began on 11 June 1811.³¹ The British invasion of Java was

successful and the final capitulation took place on 18

September 1811.³² The work of organising an administration

then began under the newly appointed Lieutenant-Governor

Raffles.³³ The shortage of suitable personnel was alleviated

to some extent by the presence of a few civil servants from

Penang. These were William Robinson, the Accountant and

Auditor at Penang, John Crawford, an Assistant Surgeon,

and Thomas McQuoid, the Police Magistrate at Penang from

1806-1808. Later they were joined by J.C. Lawrence, the

Malay Translator.³⁴

William Robinson, considered by Raffles as the "only person on that island likely to be of use",³⁵ applied for

three months leave in February 1811.³⁶ In the following

31. Ibid., 157.

32. Minto at Batavia to Penang 29 September 1811, Penang Consultations 31 October 1811, SSR (IOL) XXXI, 1366.

33. Raffles to Seton 1 November 1811, Penang Consultations 6 February 1812, SSR (IOL) XXXIV, 90-1. (This was the first time the word "Stamford" was added to Raffles' name in the Penang records).

34. See Wurtzburg (1954), 185.

35. Ibid., 124.

36. Robinson to Clubley 2 February 1811, Penang Consultations 7 February 1811, SSR (IOL) XXX, 129.

June he arrived at Malacca, and Penang government was requested to extend his leave "to enable him to attend his Lordship to the Eastward", and to be employed there without prejudicing his situation at Penang.³⁷ Robinson held various positions in the Java administration mainly in connection with the Customs and Revenue Department over which he presided from September 1811. From time to time he was also Acting Secretary to Raffles while he was travelling in Java. On his death in June 1815 he was referred to as Raffles' "old and intimate friend and a trusted colleague".³⁸

John Crawford, Assistant Surgeon and Acting Malay Translator, was in May 1811 granted leave of absence for six weeks to proceed to Malacca, no doubt with Minto's party. The following month a request was made that his leave be extended to enable him also "to accompany his Lordship to the Eastward".³⁹ Crawford's proficiency in Malay was an obvious advantage, and in October 1811 he was appointed Resident at Jogjakarta. His other appointments

37. Raffles to Clubley 10 June 1811, Penang Consultations 27 June 1811, SSR (IOL) XXX.

38. See F. de Haan, "Personalia der periode van het Engelsh bestuur over Java 1811-1816", BKI, 92 (1935), 628-9; Wurtzburg (1954), 364.

39. Penang Consultations 11 May 1811, SSR (IOL) XXX, 486; Raffles to Clubley 31 May 1811, Penang Consultations 9 June 1811, SSR (IOL) XXX, 658-9.

included the Residency at Semarang and later at Sourabaya. In 1816 he again became Resident of Jogjakarta where he remained until the return of the Dutch.⁴⁰ Crawford never returned to Penang, but his later activities in the east included a mission to the Court of Siam in 1822, and the Residency at Singapore, in 1823. He is also remembered⁴¹ as the author of a history of the Malay Archipelago.

Thomas McQuoid, after serving at Penang from 1806-1808, went to Amboyna where he held an official position. He left there in May 1812 and went to Java "for the advancement of his private interests." Wurtzburg refers⁴² to him as an "intimate friend of Raffles", obviously from their early days in Penang. The positions held by McQuoid in Java under Raffles' administration were Superintendent of Coffee cultivation, Resident of Buntenzorg and the Preanger district, and Superintendent of the Salt Department. He also took part in the assessment of land rents in Japara which were connected with Raffles' new land rent policy.⁴³ McQuoid was involved in the

40. See de Haan (1935), 526-8; Wurtzburg (1954), 191.

41. Cowan (1950), 12-13; J. Crawford, History of the Indian Archipelago (3 vols.) (Edinburgh 1920). See J. Bastin, "Malayan Portraits: John Crawford", Malaya, 1954, III (12), 697-8.

42. de Haan (1935), 605; Wurtzburg (1954), 334.

43. See de Haan (1935), 605-7; Wurtzburg (1954), 228, 323; J. Bastin, "Raffles' Ideas on the Land Rent System in Java", VKI, XIV, 1954.

Raffles-Gillespie quarrel, certain allegations of favoritism by Raffles towards McQuoid being made and which may have been partly justified. ⁴⁴ After the restitution of Java to the Dutch McQuoid left in 1817 but returned in 1821 on business, which proved to be an unsuccessful venture. At one stage he was given land in Singapore ⁴⁵ but he never again returned to Penang.

The fourth Penang official who joined the Java administration was J.C. Lawrence. In March 1812 a dispatch arrived from Batavia requesting that he might proceed there, ⁴⁶ providing his services could be spared. Members of Council had qualms over his loss, since there was no one so well qualified to take his place as Malay Translator. Nevertheless they wished to co-operate and Lawrence was ⁴⁷ ordered to proceed to Java. He was permitted to retain his positions at Penang until some permanent arrangement had been made in Java, so that in June 1812 when news was received that he had been given an appointment, he was ⁴⁸ struck off the warehouse establishment. Lawrence's abilities in Malay were a great asset to his career in Java.

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- 44. Wurtzburg (1954), 328-36.
 - 45. Ibid., 420, 513; de Haan (1935), 607.
 - 46. In the previous year Lawrence had headed a mission to Acheh. Penang Consultations 18 July 1811, SSR (IOL) XXXI, 883.
 - 47. Eckford to Seton 28 January 1812, Penang Consultations 26 March 1812, SSR (IOL) XXXIV, 309.
 - 48. Penang Consultations 2 April, 18 June 1812, SSR (IOL) XXXIV, 351-3, 782-3.

He was at first appointed Resident of Cheribon in May 1812, then Resident of Samarang in July 1812 before he resigned the following October because of illness. After making a short sea voyage in 1813 he was appointed to the Residence of Redu and Pekalongan which he held until 1816, and where he made various assessments of land rent. His great ability and energy was praised by Raffles. ⁴⁹

Although Lawrence's name remained on the Penang establishment until the early 1820's (as did Raffles') he never resumed his position on the island, and in 1816 returned to England.

IV

Because of the absence of these officials from Penang, certain readjustments were made in the establishment there.

W.A. Cludley became Acting Secretary, and J. Cousens Acting Deputy Secretary, after the departure of Raffles in 1810. ⁵⁰

In February 1811 J.L. Phipps became Acting Accountant and Auditor during Robinson's absence. ⁵¹ Later in the same

year an Assistant Surgeon of the Madras establishment named Alexander, who came to Penang on his return from Amboyna, was appointed to the Medical Department to fill

49. See de Haan (1935), 594-5; Kurlzburg (1954), 323.

50. See Chapter II (ii).

51. Penang Consultations 7 February 1812, SSR (IOL) XXXIV, 128.

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the vacancy created by Crawford's absence. Following the departure of Lawrence in March 1812 Captain McInnes, aide-de-camp to the Governor, was appointed Acting Malay Translator.

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The question then arose as to the rate of salary which should be paid to civil servants acting in these offices. Theoretically the question was whether or not a salary should be attached to the individual or to an office. It was felt ^{locally} that officials should be paid according to the positions they held and the work that was carried out rather than to the position they actually held.

The discussion which began in 1811 was settled only two years later. In April 1811, J.L. Phipps informed Council that for fifteen months since the departure of Robinson he had carried out the duties of Accountant and Auditor and Accountant General to the Court of Judicature without any

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remuneration whatsoever. In June the Governor pointed out that since the departure of Lawrence, Captain McInnes had acted as Malay Translator without drawing any part of the salary attached to that office. Therefore from the date of Lawrence's Java appointment McInnes was entitled to draw the salary of the office of Translator. His case,

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52. Penang Consultations 10 October 1812, SSR (IOL) XXXV, 1278-80; Penang to London 23 November 1811, SSR (IOL) XXXV, 1546-7.
53. Penang Consultations 26 March 1812, SSR (IOL) XXXIV, 31
54. Phipps to Clubley 7 April 1812, Penang Consultations 9 April 1812, SSR (IOL) XXXIV, 397.
55. Penang Consultations 18 June 1812, Minute by Governor, SSR (IOL) XXXIV, 780-3.

at least, was settled quickly. Later in the same month the members of Council agreed with Governor Seton's opinion that the appointment of one civil servant to officiate for another did not entitle the person acting or officiating for another to draw the salary or allowances of the office, and that government was entitled to decide what measures should be taken according to the circumstances of the case.

Considering that of J.L. Phipps the Acting Accountant, Council recalled that it was similar to that of W.A.

Clubley the Acting Secretary whose monthly salary had been increased in November 1810 from \$300 to \$500. It was felt that their allowances should be put on the same footing, so from 1 September 1811, when Robinson was supposed to have received an appointment in Java, Phipps' monthly salary was also raised to \$500.⁵⁶

In October 1812 the question of salaries was again raised by Clubley, who stated that since 14 June 1810 he had been acting as Secretary, yet the appointment to which his superior Raffles had been called was declared to be without prejudice to the one he held in Penang, which precluded even the possibility of his [Clubley]⁵⁷ making any application for an increase of salary. The new Governor, William Petrie, expressed different opinions

56. Penang Consultations 27 June 1812, SSR (IOL) XXXIV, 814-15.

57. Clubley to Petrie 6 October 1812, Penang Consultations 22 October 1812, SSR (IOL) XXXV, 1565-9.

on the matter from his predecessor. He pointed out the difference of policy between the Bengal Presidency, from which Seton came, and that of the Madras Presidency where he had served. At the latter, in cases where public offices were held in the absence of the head of the office by the person next in seniority, the salary allowed to an office was considered to be attached to that office and not to the individual. Even in cases of absence due to ill health, the individual could retain his office and his salary for only a short time. Referring to Penang, Petrie considered that from the day of the nomination of Penang civil servants to appointments in Java, the salaries of the offices they held in Penang should have devolved on those who were appointed to perform the duties of such officers during their temporary absence or until their return, provided they were entitled to draw such salaries and had the confidence of government. He praised the abilities of Clubley, and emphasized that the responsibilities of his office were greater than those of his counterparts in India. ⁵⁸ The members of Council commenting

58. Penang Consultations 22 October 1812, SSR (IOL) XXV, 1570-4. "Under the other Presidencies of India, the business of government in its several departments is so subdivided, arranged and organised under the various boards of Revenue, Commerce, Military, Marine and Finance, who reduce all the details, correspondence and various matters which are referred to the ultimate decision of Government into regular and methodical reports... and that although the duties of Chief Secretary in his general superintendence are of an important and delicate nature yet his personal labours and attendance in Office are not so great nor so constant as those of the Chief Secretary at this Presidency." Ibid., 1573-4.

on Petrie's minute decided to refer the question to Bengal.⁵⁹

In answer the Governor-General-in-Council agreed that salaries ought to be fixed with reference to the nature and extent of the duties performed. If employed temporarily in a higher situation, a person was no doubt entitled to some compensation for the labour and responsibility involved, but it did not follow that such a person should receive the full salary of such an office. In Bengal the full salary was rarely granted, but a 'deputation allowance' was fixed, taking into account the nature and extent of the duty and the rank and services of the individual. However, should the services of members of the Penang establishment be definitely fixed in Java or elsewhere, then their situations at Penang would be considered vacated and their appointments filled accordingly.⁶⁰

This opinion concerning salaries was to be expected, since Archibald Seton, Penang's previous Governor, was by this time a member of the Council at Bengal.⁶¹

W.A. Clubley's predicament, however, was solved in August 1813 when news was received in Penang that Raffles, on the termination of his office of Lieutenant-Governor of

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59. Penang Consultations 22 October 1812, SSR (IOL) XXXV, 1573-8; Penang to Bengal 22 October 1812, SSR (IOL) XXXV, 1579-81.
60. Bengal to Penang 16 January 1813, Penang Consultations 1 April 1813, SSR (IOL) XL, 533-5.
61. See Chapter II (111) footnote 23.

Java, was to be appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Bencoolen.
Raffles' post at Penang was therefore considered vacated,
and Clubley was appointed Secretary from 1 September 1813.⁶²
Then, a few weeks later, J. Cousens was appointed Deputy
Secretary, and Clubley was informed that a sum of \$5,166.46
was due to him, being the difference of the pay drawn by
him as Acting Secretary and the full allowance which had
not been drawn since 1 January 1811.⁶³ Clubley remained
Secretary from that time until the early 1820s, when he
became a member of Council.⁶⁴ The Acting Accountant and
Auditor J.L. Phipps was less fortunate and his position
was settled much later. In October 1814 Phipps submitted
a request for an increase of pay, as he had been acting
as Accountant during Robinson's absence since February 1811.
After some deliberation Council authorized Phipps henceforth
to draw the full salary of Accountant.⁶⁵ However only in
August 1817 was Phipps officially appointed Accountant
and Auditor, though the death of William Robinson in 1815
had long created a vacancy. He did not enjoy this position
long: he died in July 1819.⁶⁶

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- 62. Bengal to Penang 4 June 1813, Penang Consultations
5 August 1813, SSR (IOL) XL, 1231-2.
 - 63. Penang Consultations 26 August 1813, SSR (IOL) XL, 1375-8.
 - 64. See list of the Company Civil servants on the establish-
ment at Penang, December 1824, June 1826, October 1826.
SSR (SNL) B8, 14, 229, 280. See Appendix VIIIA & VIIIB.
 - 65. Penang Consultations 13 October 1814, SSR (IOL) XLV,
2470-83.
 - 66. Penang Consultations 21 August 1817, SSR (IOL) LXI,
253-4; Penang Consultations 27 July 1819, SSR (IOL) LXXI

V

During this period the ranks of the civil service, reduced by the departure of some of its members to Java, were replenished by the arrival of a number of new Writers. In April 1811 William Sartorius landed at the Presidency, followed by Kenneth Murchison in August 1811.⁶⁷ In

accordance with the usual practice they were first attached to the Secretary's office and then temporarily to certain others such as those of Accountant, Paymaster and Warehousekeeper. By 1816 they were appointed to more permanent posts, Sartorius as Assistant to the Accountant and Auditor and Murchison as Deputy Secretary.⁶⁸ In October 1816 both were promoted to Factors at the same time as were those who had been in Penang since 1805 became Senior

Merchants.⁶⁹ By 1820 they were still in the same departments, Sartorius having risen to Accountant on the death of Phipps, and Murchison was still Deputy under Clubley.⁷⁰ In the previous year both had become Junior Merchants.

In July 1813 W.S. Cracraft arrived at Penang, followed by

67. Penang Consultations 11 April 1811, SSR (IOL) XX, 397-8; Penang Consultations 29 August 1811, SSR (IOL) XXI, 1080.

68. Penang Consultations 9 April 1814, SSR (IOL) XLIII, 812; Penang Consultations 3 August 1816, SSR (IOL) LVI. See Appendix II (I).

69. Penang Consultations 5 October 1816, SSR (IOL) LVII. See Appendix II (I).

70. Penang Consultations 7 October 1819, SSR (IOL) LXXII. See Appendix II K.

A.D. Maingy and J.M. Anderson in August 1814, and W.M. Williams in August 1817.⁷¹ After being attached to the Secretary's office, they were similarly given experience in other offices. Eventually Cracroft was appointed Malay Translator, acting Deputy Secretary and later Deputy Accountant and Auditor, Maingy became Deputy Collector of Customs, and Anderson Deputy Warehousekeeper.⁷² They still held these positions in 1820 when all had become Factors, Cracroft in 1818 and Maingy and Anderson in 1819.⁷³

In 1814 the policy of encouraging the study of Malay by junior civil servants was revived. The members of Council, recalling the minute of 8 April 1807, stressed the desirability of the newly arrived Writers becoming conversant with the Malay language. As an encouragement, a sum of \$500 was to be awarded to those who could pass an examination in reading, writing and conversing in Malay before 1 September 1815. Furthermore, the strongest recommendation for the promotion of junior civil servants would be a knowledge of that language.⁷⁴ In that year

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- 71. Penang Consultations 15 July 1813, SSR (IOL) XL, 1111; Penang Consultations 25 August 1814, SSR (IOL) XLIV, 1899; Penang Consultations 14 August 1817, SSR (IOL) LXI, 245.
 - 72. Penang Consultations 8 January 1818, SSR (IOL) LXV, 49; Penang Consultations 4 December 1817, SSR (IOL) LXII, 167-9; Penang Consultations 13 December 1817, SSR (IOL) LXII, 216.
 - 73. Penang Consultations 5 September 1818, 7 October 1819, SSR (IOL) LXVII, LXXII. See Appendix II K.
 - 74. Penang Consultations 25 August 1814, SSR (IOL) XLIV, 1900-2. See Chapter II (1).

three of the newly arrived Writers, W.S. Cracroft, A.D. Maingy and J.M. Anderson applied for and were granted an allowance of \$10 per month for the employment of a munshi for the study of Malay.⁷⁵ In February 1815 two Writers, Cracroft and Sartorius applied for examination in that language.⁷⁶ The examination committee consisting of W.E. Phipps, Secretary Clubley and Acting Malay Translator McInnes, agreed that both had attained considerable proficiency. Cracroft was more highly praised on account of the shorter time he had devoted to its study, and in accordance with the benefits laid down in the previous August, he was awarded the sum of \$500. Since Sartorius had never been granted an allowance for a munshi, he was allowed to draw that allowance for the period of twelve months for which it was normally awarded, but he had not become proficient within the time (12 months) entitling him to the \$500 government award.⁷⁷ In May 1815 Anderson similarly submitted a request to be examined and having proved himself proficient in writing, speaking and translating the language, after only nine months, he was granted

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75. Penang Consultations 17 February 1814, SSR (IOL) XLIII, 316-17; Penang Consultations 6 October 1814, SSR (IOL) XLV, 2309-11.
76. Penang Consultations 11 February 1815, SSR (IOL) XLVIII, 219-20.
77. Penang Consultations 4 March 1815, SSR (IOL) XLVIII, 399-401.

the agreed \$500 reward.⁷⁸ A similar procedure was followed by the writer W.M. Williams who in the month of his arrival in Penang in 1817, requested an allowance for a Malay munshi to enable him to acquire a knowledge of the language within the period specified by government.⁷⁹

The value of a knowledge of Malay was again demonstrated by the later careers of two of these civil servants. In October 1816, on the resignation of Captain McInnes to become side-de-camp to Phillips, Cracroft was appointed Acting Malay Translator. Then in December, on the receipt of news from J.C. Lawrence of his intention of proceeding to England, thereby vacating his position at Penang,⁸⁰ Cracroft was appointed to succeed him as Malay Translator. In 1818 he was delegated by Bannerman to visit Perak and Selangor on behalf of the Company, which he did as successfully as the circumstances permitted.⁸¹ John Anderson succeeded Cracroft as Malay Translator to Government in 1819 and he still held that position when he became Secretary to Government in 1826.⁸²

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78. Penang Consultations 13 May, 1 June 1815, SSR (IOL) XLII, 369, 1033-4.
79. Williams to Clubley 27 August 1817, Penang Consultations 28 August 1817, SSR (IOL) LXI, 281-2.
80. Penang Consultations 29 October, 19 December 1816, SSR (IOL) LVII (Lawrence was suffering from chronic hepatitis).
81. See C.D. Cowan, "Governor Bannerman and the Penang Tin Scheme", JMBRAS, XXIII, 1 (1950); Chapter VII.
82. Penang Consultations 27 July 1819, SSR (IOL) LXXI, 309-14. See Appendix VIII A & VIII B.

VI

One of the most unfortunate incidents concerning the Penang civil establishment during this period was the discovery in 1815, of serious deficits in the Treasury, and the consequent suspension of James Cousens from his offices of Acting Secretary, Assistant Treasurer and Accountant General to the Court of Judicature and his imprisonment. The matter had come to light because of the apparent difficulty of obtaining cash from the Treasury in spite of the floating cash balance reported by the previous return. Then after investigations were made, a deficiency in the Treasury of almost \$40,000 was found. The seriousness of the case was augmented by Cousens' accusation that his first encroachment into Treasury funds had been made at the instigation of W.A. Clubley (the Secretary who was at that time on leave), that he had "yielded to the necessities of his friend to commit a breach of trust".⁸³ On his return, Clubley denied this accusation. Although he had accepted a loan of \$10,000 he had not the remotest suspicion of Cousens having taken it from the Treasury. Although his explanation was generally accepted by the members of Council, they felt

83. Penang Consultations 12 July 1815, SSR (IOL) XLIX, 1212-1232; Penang to Bengal 21 August 1815, Penang Consultations 21 August 1815, SSR (IOL) L, 1879-1909.

that Clubley should have taken the precaution of checking⁸⁴ the source of such a large loan. In January the Company Law Officer Duff submitted a number of indictments drawn up against Clubley, but these were withdrawn in February⁸⁵ when he was arrested at the suit of the Company.

Only in April 1817 was a reply received from the Court of Directors regarding the fate of Cousens. The problem then arose that although they considered him to be dismissed from the Company's service, they gave no specific orders for his release from confinement or his return to England. Consequently his name was struck off the civil establishment, and the small allowance of \$100⁸⁶ granted for his subsistence ceased. A decision on his release from jail was put aside until the arrival of the new Governor, Bannerman, who was expected to be informed⁸⁷ of the Directors' opinion. In December 1817 a final decision was reached. Bannerman, supported by the Recorder Ralph Rice, and by W.E. Phillips, was of the opinion that dismissal from their service by the Directors was a final

84. Penang Consultations 13 December 1815, SSR (IOL) LI, 225-6, 239; For full account of discussion: Ibid., 222-268. Also Penang Consultations 3 February 1816, SSR (IOL) LIV.

85. Penang Consultations 19 January 1816, 3 February 1816, SSR (IOL) LIV.

86. Penang Consultations 10 July 1817, SSR (IOL) LXI, 138-41.

87. Bengal to Penang 12 September 1817, Penang Consultations 6 November 1817, SSR (IOL) LXII, 13-15.

punishment, and that his release was justified provided⁸⁸ he left the island forthwith.

This event had other effects besides reflecting unfavorably on the Company in general. In the Secretary's office, the shortage of personnel led to arrears of business. Cousens was suspended, and Clubley himself was on leave, and on his return he was temporarily out of office until reinstated after satisfactory explanations had been⁸⁹ made. In their absence, W. Bennett was appointed

Deputy Secretary, but in the following February he was granted leave on account of ill health, and his death was reported in the following August. The position of Deputy Secretary was then filled by K. Murchison.⁹⁰ After

Clubley's reinstatement and the employment of an extra clerk in the office, the arrears of business which had arisen because of the increasing volume of proceedings⁹¹ were gradually lessened. Another effect of the affair

was the separation of the office of Accountant General to

88. Minute by President 13 December 1817, Recorder to Bannerman 23 December 1817, Minutes by Erskine & Phillips 27 December 1817, Penang Consultations 27 December 1817, SSR (IOL) LXII, 277-283.

89. Penang Consultations 3 February 1816, SSR (IOL) LIV.

90. Penang Consultations 4 August 1815, SSR (IOL) L; Penang Consultations 11 February 1816, SSR (IOL) LIV; Penang Consultations 3 August 1816, SSR (IOL) LVI.

91. Penang Consultations 10 February, 9 March, 16 March 1816, SSR (IOL) LIV.

the Court of Judicature from that of Sub-Treasurer to Government, as a precaution against future offences. Since both were held by K. Murchison, W. Sartorius was premanently appointed Accountant to the Court and Murchison retained the post of Sub-Treasurer.⁹²

VII

From 1805 until 1818, when Malacca was handed over to the Dutch, it was under the direct control of the Presidency Government. Reports and requests were regularly submitted to Penang for the Council's decision. While Farquhar continued as Superintendent, two Penang civil servants, J. Macalister and A. Tegart,⁹³ formed the backbone of the civil administration which included the collection of revenues, especially customs duties, and the supervision of pay and stores. One of the Assistant Surgeons, Chalmers, originally sent from India to Penang, continued as Assistant Surgeon at Malacca until August⁹⁴ 1818, when he applied for leave. Lesser positions were usually held by members of the garrison or by private

92. Governor to Recorder 6 December 1815, Penang Consultations 13 December 1815, SSR (IOL) LI.

93. See Chapter II (iii).

94. Penang Consultations 6 August 1818, SSR (IOL) LXVI, 750-1

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residents. Anthony Stuker, for example, was appointed Dutch Interpreter and John Elliot Superintendent of Convicts in 1810.⁹⁵ Some concern must have been felt by the

Penang civil servants stationed at Malacca that their isolation from the Presidency might be a disadvantage to their prospects of advancement compared with their counterparts in Penang. A. Tegart, applying in 1812 for a salary increase equivalent to the assistants in various departments at the Presidency, stated that he found his allowance inadequate to cover living expenses at Malacca, and expressed confidence (which perhaps he did not feel) that his being detached from the Presidency would not impair his rights to promotion and increase of salary in common with the other civil servants of his standing. It was decided by Council, in common with its 1811 policy of equalizing the salaries of the deputies and assistants in the various departments, to raise Tegart's monthly salary from \$250 to \$300.⁹⁶ That advancement was not

prejudiced by service at Malacca was shown both by this incident, and in 1816 by John Anderson's appointment as provisional Councillor at Penang after the death of Governor Petrie.⁹⁷

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95. Penang Consultations 11 January 1810, SSR (IOL) XXVI, 30-1.
96. Penang Consultations 13 May 1812, SSR (IOL) XXXIV, 364-6. From 1 February 1811, the salaries of W. Bennett and J.C. Lawrence, assistants in the warehouse, were raised from \$250 to \$300 per month. Penang Consultations 31 January 1811, SSR (IOL) XXX, 121-2; Penang to London 15 August 1811, para. 38, SSR (IOL) XXXI, 1900-1.
97. Penang Consultations 31 October 1816, SSR (IOL) LVII.

VIII

One of the most noticeable features of the Penang civil service was the frequency of leave taken by its members. A maximum of three persons could be away at any one time and priority was given to holders of medical certificates certifying the need for leave on account of ill health. In other cases civil servants were allowed leave for private reasons, business or otherwise. Apart from those serving in Java, at least one and often two members of the Penang administration were absent on leave, mostly in India, but sometimes in China or the Cape of Good Hope. The tolerance by the Supreme Government of the terms of leave was understandable. The climate and no doubt the food played havoc with the health of the civil servants (especially during the first few years of the Presidency Government) and the standard cure was a short sea voyage. Even this was frequently of no avail, and death often followed. Another reason for the long and leisurely leaves of absence lay in the slow and relatively infrequent shipping which called at Penang. This consisted either of the China fleet on its outward or homeward voyage or intermittent country ships which passed by from time to time. Most of the Penang civil servants except Phillips and Erskine appeared to make the most of the

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general leniency of the terms of leave, and nobody was reprimanded unless his time of leave had been long exceeded.

IX

In Penang, besides the performance of certain duties concerning the superintending of roads and bridges by the Committee of Landholders, or the Committee of Assessors,⁹⁸ the government was aided in its extensive duties by a Military Committee set up in November 1812. This Committee, for "superintending all public buildings, fortifications, repairs and public roads", was to consist of six leading military officers on the island. All plans and estimates for buildings, all indents for materials, all bills for works performed, were to be submitted to them, and all works and repairs were to be inspected, the actual and market price of each article examined and reported to the government, and all plans for road repairs to be submitted to the Committee.⁹⁹ Its establishment was aimed at producing an effective check on the departments to which it was related, to prevent unnecessary expenditure for public works and buildings being built then or later. Its duties

98. The members of this committee included, in 1813 for example, the leading European landowners and merchants, G. Walker, R. Ibbetson, T. McGee, J. McCarthy, P. Carnegie, J. Dunbar, F. Hutton, and David Brown the Chairman. See Penang Consultations 8 July and 15 July 1813, SSR (IOL) XL, 1085-7, 1127.

99. For the duties of the Military Committee see also Penang Consultations 19 February 1818, SSR (IOL) LXX, 336-8.

roughly coincided with those of the Military Boards at
¹⁰⁰
 the other Presidencies. In the following years until
 its abolition in 1818, a considerable proportion of the
 government consultations consisted of lengthy correspondence
 between the Military Committee and the Council on innumerable
 subjects of little importance from a historical point of
 view. Some of the subjects dealt with early in 1813, for
 example, included the conversion of the artillery barracks
 into a new jail, the powder rooms at Fort Cornwallis, the
 Recorder's house, the new wharf and jetty and bridges on
 the road to government hill, the repairs to the house
 allotted to Captains of His Majesty's Navy, the quantity
 of British iron likely to be wanted for the use of public
¹⁰¹
 buildings, and so on.

X

The members of the Penang Medical establishment during
 this period were drawn from the Bengal, Madras and Bombay
 establishments, and frequent changes of personnel took
 place. The reductions of 1810 had resulted in a tightening
 up of the Medical Department along with the others. The
 salaries of the Assistant Surgeons were reduced to \$300

100. Penang Consultations 12 November 1812, SSR (IOL) XXXV, 1802-6.

101. Penang Consultations 21 & 28 January, 11 February, 11 March, 27 March, 29 April 1813, SSR (IOL) XXXVIII, XXXIX, 160, 161, 244-6, 410-11, 412-39, 517-24, 787.

per month, and because the establishment of a hospital ship at Penang for the sick of HM.'s Navy had reduced the number of patients at the general hospital to only 20 Europeans and 18 non-Europeans in the previous 12 months it was felt that the number of hospital servants could be considerably reduced, along with those of the dispensary and the vaccination department. ¹⁰²

In March 1811 Mackinnon was reinstated in the position of Superintending Surgeon, and Billington Loftie, who had been Acting Head Surgeon, returned to his establishment at Madras, after accompanying the expedition to Java. ¹⁰³

Within a short period of time Mackinnon was clamouring for an increase of salary, which he did not get, ¹⁰⁴ and he then unleashed accusations against one of the Assistant Surgeons, Alexander, for his inattention to the sick. For this he was severely censured both by the Military Court set up and by Council. ¹⁰⁵

Certain changes took place in the appointment of Assistant Surgeons. Alexander, Leslie and B.C. Henderson arrived at the Presidency in 1811-12 from the Madras and Bombay

102. Penang Consultations 15 February 1810, SSR (IOL) XXVI, 234-43.
103. Penang Consultations 8 March, 15 March 1811, SSR (IOL) XXX, London to Penang 29 June 1810, Penang Consultations 29 March 1811, SSR (IOL) XXX, 384; Bengal to Penang 22 February 1811, Penang Consultations 4 April 1811, SSR (IOL) XXX, 387-8.
104. Penang Consultations 27 June 1812, SSR (IOL) XXXIV, 816-23; Bengal to Penang 26 November 1812, Penang Consultations 7 January 1813, SSR (IOL) XXXVIII, 43-7.
105. Alexander to Clubley 1 April 1813, SSR (IOL) XXIX, 567-8; Proceedings of Court of Enquiry, Penang Consultations 29 April 1813, SSR (IOL) XXXIX, 678-759; Penang Consultations 6 May 1813, SSR (IOL) XXXIX, 818-19, 820-3.

establishments, to take the places of Crawford, who left for Java, and Anderson and Grierson who returned to Bengal on account of ill health.

The Medical establishment was again subjected to certain changes in the 1816 reductions. The salary of the Superintending Surgeon was considered far too high and was reduced from \$833.33 to \$600 per month, and the number of Assistant Surgeons was reduced from three to two, and their salaries, upon new appointments being made, were to be reduced to \$250 per month for the First Assistant and \$200 per month for the Second Assistant. These orders were carried out accordingly.

In answer to a request from Penang, the Directors in 1817 reversed their decision and again allowed three assistants to do duty on a separate Medical establishment at the Presidency. Option was given to Assistant Surgeons Alexander and Henderson

either to relinquish their ranks at Madras and Bombay or to continue in their situations at Penang.

Assistant Surgeon Little, who had recently arrived at Penang,

106. Penang Consultations, SSR (IOL) :- 10 October 1811, XXI; 9 January, 27 June 1812, XXIV, 24-6, 804-6; 2 July, 24, 25 July, 5 November 1812, XXIV, 841-2, 1081-8, 1726-8; 29 April 1813, XXIX, 678-757; Bengal to Penang 26 November 1812, XXVIII, 47-51.

107. London to Penang 7 February 1816, SSR (SNL) C2, 386-7; Penang Consultations 21 August 1816, SSR (IOL) LVI.

108. London to Penang 9 April 1817, para. 6-11, Penang Consultations 22 January 1818, SSR (IOL) LXV, 113-16.

109. Penang Consultations 29 November 1817, SSR (IOL) LXII, 123.

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and Assistant Surgeon C. Bellamy, were to continue in their positions at Penang with the salaries of \$200 (revised) and \$250 (old rate) respectively. In the event of a new arrival, Bellamy was to return to his position at Bengal. 110
In August 1818 Superintending Surgeon Mackinnon left the Presidency on sick leave, and Alexander, who had returned to Penang, acted in his place 111 and eventually succeeded him.

XI

After the departure of Archibald Seton from Penang in July 1812, the next appointment to the Governorship, William Petrie, 112 was a more fortunate one. From the time of his arrival on 28 September 1812, 113 until his

110. Penang Consultations 22 January 1818, SSR (IOL) LXV, 116-119.
111. Penang Consultations 29 August 1818, SSR (IOL) LXVI, 581-3; Penang Consultations 9 February, 27 July, 26 August 1819, SSR (IOL) LXX, LXXI.
112. William Petrie had been involved in a dispute over the Governorship at Madras when Barlow was appointed in 1807 and in 1809 he was involved in a quarrel between government and army in which he sided with the army against Barlow. The Directors themselves were divided into two sections supporting either Petrie or Barlow, and in 1810 Petrie was recalled by the Directors, followed by Barlow in 1812. See C.H. Philips, The East India Company 1784-1834 (Manchester 1961), 161, 169-74. Presumably the Penang appointment was some sort of compensation for his treatment at Madras, and also served to remove him from the scene of former discord.
113. Penang Consultations 28 September 1812, SSR (IOL) XXXV, 1444-5; Penang to Bengal 28 September 1812, SSR (SNL) D4, 71; Cowan (1950), 45. (between the time of Seton's departure and Petrie's arrival, Phillips again acted as Governor.) See Appendix II L.

death in October 1815, he completed the longest period of service of any head of government in Penang since its founder Francis Light. On Petrie's death, the Governorship again devolved on W.E. Phillips ¹¹⁴ under the orders of the Court of Directors became known. J.J. Erskine

accordingly became second member of Council and Collector, and John Macalister, the civil servant next in rank, was ordered to proceed from Malacca to take up his appointment as provisional member of Council and Warehousekeeper.

W.A. Tegart his Assistant, was to succeed him as Collector and Paymaster at Malacca. ¹¹⁵ Macalister arrived at the

Presidency on 30 December 1816 and took his seat as ¹¹⁶ provisional member. In April 1817, he requested to

be transferred from the Warehousekeeper's office to the Collector's office, in which he had had experience in

Malacca, and Erskine resumed the office of Warehousekeeper. ¹¹⁷

The new Governor, Colonel John Alexander Bannerman, sent from a seat on the Court of Directors to promote economy in the administration, arrived at Penang only in

114. Penang Consultations 29 October 1816, SSR (IOL) LVII; Penang to Bengal 29 October 1816, SSR (SNL) D5, 201; Cowan (1950), 67-8.

115. Penang Consultations, 31 October 1816, SSR (IOL) LVII.

116. Penang Consultations 30 December 1816, SSR (IOL) LVII.

117. Penang Consultations 12 April 1817, SSR (IOL) LX, 386-91.

late November 1817,¹¹⁸ more than a year after Petrie's death. Phillips therefore resumed charge of the office of Collector, and John Macalister retired from Council.¹¹⁹

In December Bannerman endeavoured to settle some of the vacated posts. Since Macalister wished to be employed at the Presidency, he was appointed Deputy Warehousekeeper.¹²⁰ Macalister raised objections to his appointment, expressing preference for the office of Assistant Collector, which had already been filled by A.D. Maingy. Bannerman in reply commented that public servants, however high their rank or claims, had no right to prescribe to government how their services should be employed. Furthermore, had not the departure of Hall the Deputy Collector created a vacancy, he would have remained unemployed altogether. Since Macalister expressed the wish to return to England, John Anderson was appointed Assistant Warehousekeeper, his former post of Assistant Paymaster being abolished.¹²¹ The incident showed that the current attitude of some of the civil servants concerned their own wellbeing rather than in making efforts towards economizing the heavy expenses

118. Penang Consultations 24 November 1817, SSR (IOL) LXII, 89; Penang to Bengal 24 November 1817, SSR (SNL) DG, 43; Cowan (1950), 72; Phillips (1961), 335.
119. Penang Consultations 24 November, 29 November 1817 SSR (IOL) LXII, 89, 106.
120. Penang Consultations 4 December 1817, SSR (IOL) LXII, 167-9.
121. Penang Consultations 13 December 1817, SSR (IOL) LXII, 182-91, 216.

of the island. Certain changes made after the death of J.L. Phipps in July 1819 showed that the theme of economy was not always uppermost even in Bannerman's actions.

W. Sartorius the Deputy Accountant was promoted to Accountant and his salary increased from \$500 to \$666, W.S. Cracroft the Assistant Secretary was appointed Deputy Accountant with a salary increase from \$300 to \$500, and J. Anderson the Sub-Treasurer and Assistant to the Warehousekeeper became the Deputy Warehousekeeper and Malay Translator, his salary being increased from \$300 to \$450. At the same time the Deputy Secretary K. Murchison salary rose from \$300 to \$450, and that of the Sub-Treasurer and Deputy Collector of Customs A.D. Maingy from \$300 to \$500. The total increase of the amount of salaries paid to these civil servants taking into account the \$666 formerly allotted to J.L. Phipps, amounted to \$150 per month.

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Bannerman's active policy in both local and external matters did not last long, however, as he died in August 1819, after less than two years in office. The Government again devolved on W.E. Phillips. Since Erskine was on leave and Macalister (who had been appointed

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122. Penang Consultations 27 July 1819, SSR (IOL) LXXI 309-14.

123. Penang to Bengal 11 August 1819, SSR (SNL) D6, 222; Cowan (1950), 101.

member of Council by the Directors) was still absent,

A. Clubleby was installed as Provisional member of

Council and Collector while Murchison became Acting

Secretary. ¹²⁴ On his return to the Presidency in October

1819, Macalister took his seat on Council and assumed the

office of Collector which he had coveted two years

previously. ¹²⁵ Phillips was similarly fortunate as this

time, after having acted as Governor at frequent inter-

vals for fifteen years, he was confirmed in his position

by the Directors. ¹²⁶

4. Penang Consultations 11 August 1819, SSR (IOL) LXXI, 359-66; Penang to London 11 August 1819, SSR (IOL) LXXI, 373-6.

5. Penang Consultations 9 October 1819, SSR (IOL) LXXII, 1409.

6. Penang Consultations 28 December 1820, SSR (IOL) LXXVI, See Appendix II K.

(iv) The Reduction of the Establishment 1816

The continued dissatisfaction of the Court of Directors over the failure of the Penang government to reduce its yearly deficits resulted in the issuing of orders for a second reduction of its establishment. In 1815 the Penang government had been warned against the tendency to increase its expenses, which appeared to arise from "a very erroneous idea of approximating [The Penang] Presidency more closely with those of our other Indian Governments." The Directors did not wait to hear the results of this warning, and in February 1816 outlined a definite policy of retrenchment for all government departments.² As in 1810 the lack of progress of the island was stressed. The expectations under which Penang had been raised to Presidency status in 1805 had not been fulfilled, so that the necessity of reducing expenses was paramount. The collapse of the naval base and shipbuilding scheme was emphasized, along with the failure of the production of pepper, coffee and spices to meet the expenses of government, which had been the original aim in 1805.³

1. London to Penang 25 May 1815, SSR (SNL) C2, 217-19; Cowan (1950), 28.
2. London to Penang 7 February 1816, SSR (SNL) 354-83; Para. 1-7, 10-11, 56; Cowan (1950), 59-61.
3. Ibid., para. 1-7; Cowan (1950), 59-60.

Enlarging on their proposed changes the Directors dealt first with the members of Council. Because of the long service of Petrie and the length of time Phillips and Erskine had held their positions in Penang, no reductions of their salaries were to be made. However when Petrie ceased to be Governor, the salary of that office was to be reduced from \$32,000 to \$30,000 per annum (or £7,500). Similarly when Phillips and Erskine no longer held their positions, the salaries of second and third members of Council were to be reduced from \$16,000 (or £4,000) to \$8,000 (or £2,000) each.⁴ The salaries of the other covenanted servants on the establishment were retained, since they were similar to the usual rates attached to the various levels of the Indian civil service. Attention was therefore concentrated on the reduction of uncovenanted civil servants on the establishment within each department.

Governor Petrie had to a certain extent anticipated the Directors' orders when he ordered a slight revision of the establishments in December 1815.⁵ These reductions, mainly in the Military, but also in the Civil, Marine, Commercial and Judicial Departments, totalled only \$1,356 per month (or \$16,272 per annum),⁶ an insignificant amount compared with the total deficits of revenue. However they

4. *Ibid.*, para. 10-11; Cowan (1950), 61.

5. Penang Consultations 13 December 1815, Minute by Governor, SSR (IOL) L1, 198-222.

6. *Ibid.*, 198, 208.

formed a basis of the further reductions that were made on the receipt of the Directors' instructions.

In the various offices in the Civil Department, the orders of the Directors were on the whole implemented. The establishment of the Secretary's office was considered to be too large and highly paid. One of the covenanted assistants was moved to another office, the salary of the registrar was reduced from \$150 to \$400, and one \$100 clerk was removed altogether. With other small measures, such as the reduction of peons from four to two, the total reduction was \$180. The number of clerks in the Accountant's office was considered to be too many, and reductions totalling \$250 were ordered. Council however felt it expedient to reduce the establishment merely by two clerks and one peon, thereby saving only \$145. So far as the Treasury was concerned, the Penang Council did not agree with the Directors orders to reduce the salary of the Assistant to the Treasurer by \$50, (as it was held by Maingy, also Assistant to the Paymaster at \$250 in all), so that the only reduction made was \$5 for one peon. As a covenanted assistant had assumed office in the Paymaster and Storekeeper's office, a head clerk was deemed unnecessary, so that the reductions of \$100 for the head clerk, \$50 from the assistant's salary and \$5 for one peon, totalled \$155. The Penang Council did not agree with the Directors' stipulation that the

salary of Malay Translator held with another appointment should be reduced from \$150 to \$100 since there was still a possibility that J.C. Lawrence might return to the Presidency. Council therefore decided to reduce the \$50 for office rent and leave the Translator's salary untouched. Other small reductions of a Malabar assistant and a peon from the office brought the total to \$64. The Clerical establishment, though not mentioned by the Directors, was reduced by \$11, the peons being cut down from two to one and the salaries of the convict assistants to the sexton being reduced. The Medical Department was subjected to the most extensive reductions. The salary of the Superintending Surgeon exceeded any appointment below Council and was felt to be unnecessarily high and was reduced from \$10,000 per annum (or \$833 per month) to \$7,200 per annum (or \$600 per month). The number of Assistant Surgeons was reduced from three to two, and the salaries of the remaining two reduced by \$50. The reductions within the Medical establishment therefore totalled \$633.33.⁷

Unlike the 1810 reductions, certain economies were⁸ ordered in the Judicial Department. The Directors ordered

7. London to Penang 7 February 1816, para. 12-27, SSR (SNL) C2, 361-8; Penang Consultations 21 August 1816, Minute by Governor, SSR (IOL) LVI; See Appendix IIM & IIN for amount of reductions and reduced establishment.

8. See Chapter III.

a revision and a reduction of at least £150 per annum in the Revenue Department. By making slight reductions in the salaries of the registrar, clerk and writers, a saving of \$110 per month was effected, well over the amount⁹ ordered.

The number of reductions that took place in the Commercial Department between 1813 and 1818 reflected the decreased volume of business in both the civil and marine sections of the warehouse, owing to the economic depression which affected Penang during those years. In September 1813, the limited demand for goods in the Warehouse, especially from passing ships, led to the Warehousekeeper's suggestion that two marine stores clerks could be removed from the establishment, thereby saving \$180.¹⁰ Then the Directors in 1816 ordered the salary of the assistant to be reduced from \$300 to \$200, even though they had recently approved it, and the number of clerks was to be reduced from four to three. These orders were carried out, and a writer and two peons were removed, making a total reduction of \$230.¹¹ Two years later, when the Directors did not send an assignment of goods to the Warehouse for the year 1817-8,

9. London to Penang 7 February 1816, para. 33, SSR (SML) C2, 371; Penang Consultations 21 August 1816, Minute by Governor, SSR (IOL) LVI, See Appendix IIM & IIN.
10. Penang Consultations 23 September 1813, SSR (IOL) XL, 1643-5.
11. London to Penang 7 February 1816, para. 34-5, SSR (SML) C2, 372; Penang Consultations 21 August 1816, Minute by Governor, SSR (IOL) LVI; see Appendix IIM & IIN.

the duties of the Commercial Department were so diminished that a further revision of the establishment was ordered.

A second clerk at \$80, a shroff and a weighman at \$10, were removed, and the salary of a writer reduced, making a total reduction of \$116, the monthly expense of the establishment then being \$178 instead of \$294.¹²

In the Marine Department, the boats establishment, including the brig Penang, the cutter Sylph and the cruiser Phetis, was reduced from \$738 to \$673, the establishment of the Penang being reduced by \$65. The Master Attendant's Department was subjected to a smaller reduction of \$27, from the boarding boat establishment, the establishment of lascars, and \$5 from the salary of a writer.¹³

Among the reductions ordered in the Military Department, the only sections relevant to the civil administration were the Military Committee, and the Superintending Engineer and Civil Architect. The expense of the Military Committee had come under the notice of both the Directors and the Penang Council in 1815. In December 1815 Governor Petrie stressed the value of the Committee in supervising public¹⁴⁴

12. Minute to Governor 1 September 1818, Penang Consultations 5 September 1818, SSR (IOL) LXVII, 95.
13. Penang Consultations 21 August 1816, Minute by Governor, SSR (IOL) LVI; see Appendix IIM & IIN.
14. London to Penang 7 February 1816, para. 37-49, SSR (SNL) C2, 373-8.

works and the supply and expenditure of stores, but added that since the amount of work was lessening (because of the completion of much of its duties in the previous two years), a reduction in expenses should take place. The salary of the Secretary, Captain Coombs, was therefore reduced from \$250 to \$150, and those of the clerks and other members of the establishment were reduced from \$200 to \$120, making the total reduction \$180.¹⁵ In 1816 the

Directors repeated their order of 25 May 1815 that the office and allowances of Secretary to the Military Committee were to be abolished. Council however decided that the Committee should not be disbanded altogether but that its allowances and work be cut down. The lengthy reports made to Council were to be reduced and simplified, and all estimates and indents were to be revised. The Secretary's salary was to be reduced again, from \$150 to \$75.¹⁶ The Directors' orders concerning the Military

Committee were reconsidered in February 1818 by the new Governor, Bannerman. After reviewing the duties of the Committee, he decided that it should be abolished from 1 March 1818 and that its duties should be performed by the Governor himself with the aid of a Military Secretary.

15. Penang Consultations 13 December 1815, Minute by Governor, SSR (IOL) L1, 200-5, 218.
16. London to Penang 7 February 1816, para. 39, SSR (SNL) C2, 373; Penang Consultations 21 August 1816, Minute by Governor, SSR (IOL) LVI; see Appendix IIM.

Lieutenant Burney was appointed without salary until the approval of the Directors was received.¹⁷ The Directors made a similar criticism of the Superintending Engineer and Civil Architect, whose salary of \$150 per month of each position was considered as merely a reason for gaining an increased allowance. However the Council decided to delay such a reduction, since Lieutenant Smith had come to Penang from a well paid position in Bengal, and his work in building the Church was most valuable to the island.¹⁸ Today he is also remembered by his paintings of many scenes of early Penang.¹⁹

The total reductions that took place from 1 October 1816 were as follows:²⁰

Department	Cost of Former Establishment	Reduced Establishment	Saving
Civil Department	13,448.55	12,163.22	1,225.33
Judicial Department	3,905.00	3,659.00	246.00
Revenue Department	710.00	610.00	100.00
Land Measurer under Collector's Orders	12.00	12.00	-
Commercial Department	724.00	694.00	230.00
Marine Department	1,403.00	1,311.00	92.00
Military Department	<u>2,075.09</u>	<u>1,706.81</u>	<u>2,129.28</u>
Total ...	22,277.64 *****	19,956.03 *****	2,322.61 *****

17. Penang Consultations 19 February 1818, Minute by Governor, SSR (IOL) LIV, 336-43.
18. London to Penang 7 February 1816, para. 40-2, SSR (SNL) C2, 373-4; Penang Consultations 21 August 1816, Minute by Governor, SSR (IOL) LVI.
19. See prints in the Singapore National Library, the Penang Library and reproductions in various books.
20. Penang Consultations 21 August 1816, Minute by Governor, SSR (IOL) LVI; see Appendix IIM.

The Directors were duly informed of the various measures adopted, and the government took the opportunity of expressing concern over the situation of the Company's civil servants at Penang. The recent orders from the Directors had rendered the prospects of the Penang civil servants, especially those of junior rank, most precarious, especially in comparison with the opportunities of their counterparts in the other Indian Presidencies. The likely restoration of the Dutch at Malacca would also leave two²¹ senior civil servants unemployed.

The second reduction of the Penang establishment not only threatened the prospects and security of the Penang civil servants, but also gave rise to further concern to the Court of Directors, since the expected reductions of expenditure and of the island's deficits were not forthcoming. Even the presence of Bannerman, who had been sent to Penang expressly to implement effective economies, did not have the desired effect. But it took the Directors thirteen years after their 1816 orders to execute the drastic measures which finally reduced the establishment at Penang to the size it could actually afford.

21. Penang to London 23 September 1816, SSR (SML) B4, 272-81.