

*Janie Herlak.*

**PENANG**  
**PAST and**  
**PRESENT**  
**1786 - 1963**

**A HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE**  
**CITY OF GEORGE TOWN**  
**SINCE 1786**

*Penang '68.*

FIRST PUBLISHED 1966

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9. Mr. R. R. Robless, P.J.K.
10. Mr. Sonni Pillai
11. Enche Abdullah Majid
12. Asst. City Secretary (Mr. Khoo Keat Theam) —  
in attendance
13. Asst. City Secretary (Mr. Soh Eng Lim) —  
in attendance

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9. Mr. R. R. Robless, P.J.K.
10. Mr. Sonni Pillai
11. Mr. Lee Kok Liang
12. Enche Abdullah Majid
13. Asst. City Secretary 'A' (Mr. Khoo Keat Theam) —  
in attendance
14. Asst. City Secretary 'B' (Mr. Khoo Heng Choon) —  
in attendance
15. Town Planning Officer (Mr. Lam Thin Fook) —  
in attendance

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4. Mr. Loo Choo Kheam, B.A.
5. Mr. Khoo Keat Theam in attendance
6. Enche Abdullah Majid - do -
7. Mr. Khoo Heng Choon - do -

## Acknowledgment

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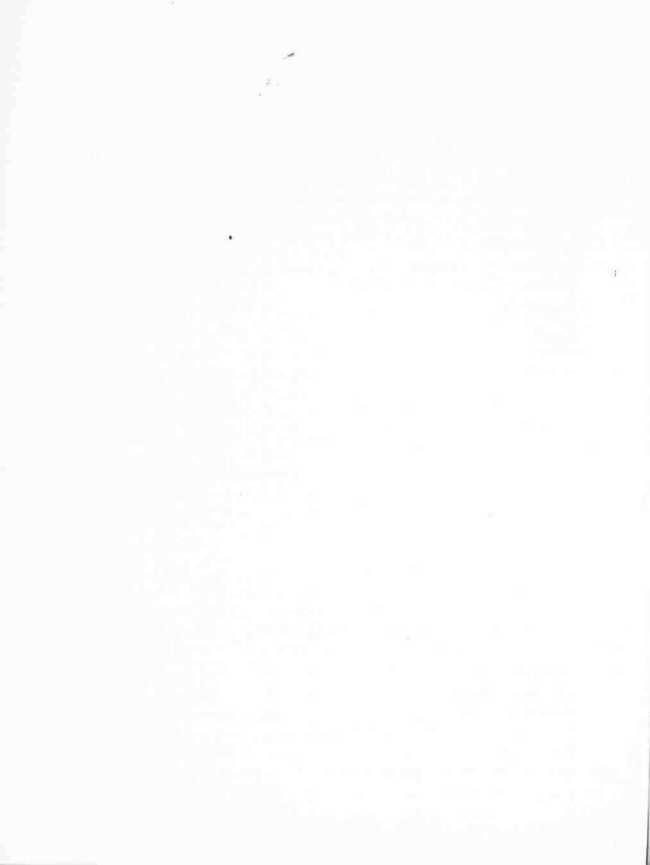
The Committee, on behalf of the City Council, thanks the following persons for their cooperation and assistance in one way or another.

1. Juru Ukor Negara, Kuala Lumpur.
2. Pengarah, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur.
3. Director of Archives — Government of India, New Delhi.
4. The former Deputy High Commissioner for United Kingdom, Penang.
5. Photographic Librarian, Imperial War Museum, London.
6. The Times, London.
7. Mr. D. W. Holden, MacAlister & Co., Ltd., Penang.
8. Mr. Koh Sin Hock, Penang.
9. Mr. Cheah Tat Jin, Penang.
10. Mr. Lim Cheng Teik, Penang.
11. Mr. Donald Davies, Kuala Lumpur.
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13. Mr. Jeyaraj C. Rajarao, Penang.
14. Chief Fire Officer, Penang.
15. City Registrar of Vehicles, Penang.
16. City Engineer, Penang.

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# PENANG - PAST AND PRESENT

## CHAPTER I

### FLOUNDERING FORWARD

George Town was so named by Francis Light on August 10th 1786, and is thus as old as the Settlement itself. Light had occupied the island on July 17th, clearing the jungle on Penaga Point and going on to mark out what are still the central thoroughfares viz. Light Street, Beach Street, Chulia Street and Pitt Street, the first two converging on the stockade which was to be named Fort Cornwallis. Having named the island after the Prince of Wales, Light evidently made amends by naming the town after George III, quickly adding names to commemorate and conciliate the Prime Minister,\* and the Governor-General.† The naming was more regular than the layout and the arrival of the settlers prevented any second thoughts on the subject. Some were already there on the day of proclamation and by October Light was also to report that :

Our inhabitants increase very fast, Choolias,‡Chinese and Christians. They are already disputing the ground, everyone building as fast as he can.

The disputes might have been fewer had there been anyone to survey the site, but Light's staff numbered only five all told. Apart from these, European civilians numbered only fourteen; two merchants, a tavern-keeper, a ship's carpenter, a caulker, a cooper, a planter, a dealer, a blacksmith, a builder, a shopkeeper, a beach-master, a mariner and a ship-builder. There was neither physician nor engineer among them.

The occupation of the almost uninhabited island attracted settlers to seek their fortune under the new protection. This rapid increase in population brought to the fore the question of administration. Even before the formal annexation of Penang, Light, anticipating a continuous flow of mixed settlers, wrote to Bengal expressing the need to allot them land and the importance of providing a police to preserve the peace. With so small a group of compatriots, Light could draw no distinction between governmental, judicial and municipal functions. He had to do everything himself and did so without even ceasing to trade as a merchant. His first municipal act was to sink a well at the head of Light Street. With no other amenity provided, the settlers had built some two hundred houses by January, 1788. The attap-roofed shop houses created problems of their own as witness for example the fire in Malabar Street on April 23rd, 1789. This danger from fire was constantly imminent until the use of attap in the town was made illegal. As for the inhabitants, they were said to number ten thousand in 1792, mostly crowded in an ill-drained and swampy area round the harbour where many died of fever. Among the victims was Light himself, who succumbed to what was probably malaria on October 21st, 1794.

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\* William Pitt

† Cornwallis

‡ South Indians

He was succeeded by Philip Manington. It was during Manington's time, in 1795, that municipal activities began with the appointment of Mr. John McIntyre as Clerk of the Market and Scavenger. In sanctioning this appointment the Supreme Government asked :

..... whether any ground rent or other tax is paid by the inhabitants of Prince of Wales' Island, and how far, in your opinion, the imposition of a moderate tax on houses and grounds within the town for the purpose exclusively of obtaining a Fund for clearing and draining it, and keeping the streets in repair is practicable.

Manington had already concluded that something of the kind was needed. He proposed to tax :

..... houses and shops in the bazaar belonging to natives, according to the extent of the ground, for the support of the Police and for cleaning, making proper drains, and keeping the town in order and free from nuisance.

The assessment was evidently to be left to a single official, a proposal which proved very unpopular. For the first time a civic sense united the 'gentlemen and other inhabitants, owners of houses and grounds' of George Town and they petitioned to Manington that the arbitrary decision of one man was unacceptable. They remarked that :

..... the most equitable mode to adopt would be that a Committee of Gentlemen be appointed to fix a valuation on every particular house and that so much per cent on that valuation be levied.

This first claim for representation saw fulfilment with the formation of the Committee of Assessors in 1800 and from this evolved the present fully elected Municipal (later City) Council.

There was no immediate result and nothing further had been done when Manington resigned because of illness, to be succeeded in turn by Major Forbes Ross Macdonald. This officer had good reason to think the town unhealthy and actually proposed moving it to another site. On a higher level people had been discussing whether to retain the island at all.

One thing we owe to Macdonald is a description of the local services as they existed in his time, and of which he had no very high opinion. The public buildings comprised the Custom House, Hospital and Jail. The last named structure was unventilated and ruinous, which mattered the less in that the prisoners were usually to be seen chatting with their guards on the verandah. The hospital was in the town but should have been outside it. As for the roads, there was only one, which led from the fort to the interior of the island "with various degrees of excellence for four miles". Macdonald remarks that "the rest are but miserable foot-paths". As for the town itself, he admits that the streets had been marked out with a width of sixty-five feet and as nearly at right angles to each other as the shape of the site would allow. But the built-up area now extended beyond that originally planned, so that :

..... a mixed, a little estimable population, live huddled together in a manner little superior to their favourite animal, the buffalo; every species of villainy of depravity and of disease here finds an asylum.

Macdonald attempted but achieved very little towards remedying the state of affairs he deplored\*. One reason for that was afforded by the outbreak of war in 1793, or rather by the extension of that war to the East. Macdonald had to look to the town's defences, and as the French came near to attacking the place in 1796, his efforts were at least reasonable. They failed nevertheless to impress the future Duke of Wellington who paid a visit in 1797. He was one of the officers ordered to take part in an expedition against Manila which was actually cancelled and never took place. While at Penang, Colonel Wellesley, as he was then called, wrote a report in which he stated his opinion that Penang should be retained.

If the place is to be kept, means must be taken for its defence, otherwise the intention to keep it will be doubted.....

As the fort and town stands now, it is impossible to defend them..... the only remedy then is to construct the fortress or other defence in a part of the island where it can be defended, to build it so that it may be a safe depot, and leave it to the good sense and the convenience of the inhabitants, present and future, either to remain where they are now, or to move into the neighbourhood of the new position .....

There are many positions upon the island which would answer this purpose, but I shall particularly recommend one to the southward, directly opposite to the small island. There are fine situations for docking ships, and for watering; the channel is difficult and narrow; and if a battery were constructed upon the north-west end of the small island, no ship could enter it .....

It is evident from this report that a scheme for abandoning George Town and for making a new settlement opposite Pulau Jerejak was already under discussion. The tactical advantages were to be matched by advantages in terms of hygiene and health. When Macdonald went home in 1799 the days of George Town seemed to be numbered.

While, however, there might be a case for abandoning George Town, it was closely linked with the policy of retaining Penang. Whether as a result of Colonel Wellesley's memorandum or not, the East India Company had made its decision. The further development of Penang was approved. Macdonald's successor in 1800 was Sir George Leith, Bart., whose title of Lieutenant-Governor indicated with certainty, and for the first time, that Penang had a definite future. With him, as Secretary, came Mr. W. E. Phillips, who was destined to hold one important office after another until he himself became Governor in 1819. Sir George Leith's first and most important achievement was the acquisition of Province Wellesley from the Sultan of Kedah. For a base as strategically important as Penang was thought to be, it was essential to control both sides of the harbour. This was the vital preliminary to any further development, whether at George Town or at Pulau Jerejak. That done, Sir George could turn to local affairs of Penang. He brought to them a new sense of permanence. With the rank of Lieutenant-Governor added to the social status of Baronet, with the military command added to the civil, and with a salary of 2,000 rupees over and above his "accommodation, table-servants and such other necessary expenses as may be incurred in the discharge of office duties", he was in a strong position. He began to find solutions to problems which his predecessors had merely shelved.

\*See Appendix for Macdonald's attempted reforms.

Among the first of these problems was that of local government. This had existed in India since 1793 when an Act had been passed with a preamble which read as follows :

AND WHEREAS it is essentially necessary for the health, as well as for the security, comfort and conveniences of the inhabitants of the town and factories of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, in the East Indies, that the streets therein should be regularly and effectually cleansed, watered and repaired; Be it therefore enacted, that it shall and may be lawful to and for the Justices of the Peace within or for the Presidencies of Fort William, Fort St. George and Bombay to appoint scavengers for cleansing the streets ..... and also order (their) repairing ..... and to nominate and appoint such persons as they shall think fit in that behalf and for the purposes of defraying the expenses thereof from time to time make an equal assessment of the owners or occupiers of houses, buildings and grounds in the said towns according to the true and real annual values thereof.

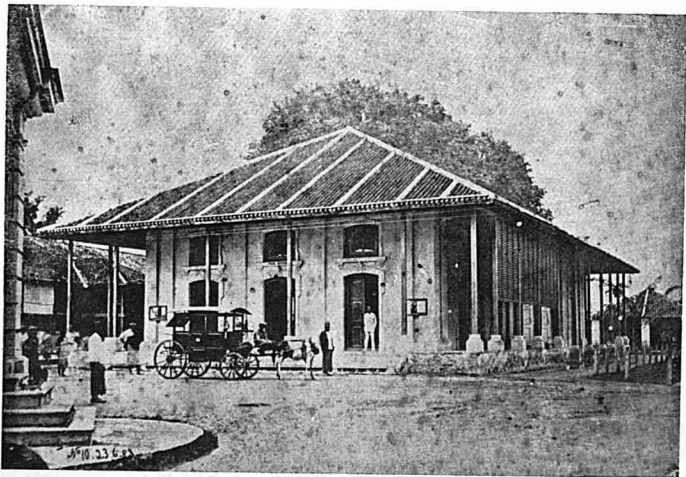
This Act did not apply to George Town, nor would it have been immediately helpful even if it had for there were no Justices of the Peace there to take the action which the Act authorised. There was soon to be a magistrate, as we shall see, but Sir George Leith established a measure of local government before the magistrate arrived. In doing so, he virtually carried out the suggestions made by the principal landowners in 1795.\* The procedure adopted was for the Lieutenant-Governor to call a public meeting at which the leading inhabitants elected a Committee from among themselves. This was in 1800 and the body so formed, to meet under the presidency of a government office, was called the Committee of Assessors. Its main purpose, as its name implies, was to fix individual assessment.\* It is to be doubted whether any collection of rates was at this stage even legal. The Committee was also, however, to supervise road-making and drainage. Looking around for a permanent official to act as Secretary to the Committee, the Lieutenant-Governor's glance fell on the luckless Mr. John Brown, who was already Provost, Sheriff, Gaoler, Coroner, Bailiff, Constable and Police Officer. To him were now allocated additional duties as "a kind of maid-of-all-work to the Committee of Assessors". Conspicuous among the members of the Committee were Mr. James Scott, Light's former partner and friend, and Mr. David Brown, another wealthy landowner.

At a meeting of the Committee held on the 4th January, 1801, estimates were proposed for making streets and drains in the "quangmire" which was the George Town of that day. It is of interest to see that on the 30th August 1801, the Committee resolved: "that the East India Company's convicts be ordered to finish Bishop Street and Church Street." Light had, before his death, actually laid out the commercial town in the area bounded by Light Street, Beach Street, Chulia Street and Pitt Street, and within this area the Committee made a network of roads which survives to this day almost without change from their original names.

The convicts employed at this time on road-making and maintenance numbered 130. Others were employed in building and they proved so useful that Leith asked for a further supply of between 250 and 300. Penang had become a penal station in 1795-1806, taking the place of Port Blair in the Andamans. Leith's request led to an increase in numbers,

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\*See Appendix



*First Government Building—East India Company Headquarters  
(Corner of Downing Street & Beach Street — c. 1850)*



*Bangunan Tuanku Syed Putra (seat of the State Government)*

so that there were 772 convicts by 1805. They represented a cheap form of labour, costing little more than their keep, which had to be provided in any case. All the convicts actually received in wages was a monthly allowance of 40 pice or 3 annas 4 pice "to furnish themselves with bazaar articles; this indulgence is absolutely necessary." With this economical labour force, the Assessors did a great deal of useful work and performed many of the duties of local government. It must be noted, however, that the functions of the Committee were not confined to George Town, the boundaries of which may not even have been defined. Nor did the Committee's powers extend to the police or the water supply.

Leith had emphasised the need for a regular administration of justice and the result was the arrival of Mr. John Dickens on August 7th, 1801. His appointment was as Judge and Magistrate and he considered that the police should come under his control and that they were insufficient to keep law and order.

I consider it as part of my duty as Magistrate to superintend the Police, and when I state that I am assisted only by the Acting Provost..... that I have only two peons, ignorant and illiterate men, and that the Provost..... has under him only 1 Jemadar and 5 Peons, that the prisoners in gaol and upwards of one hundred persons, and that the state of society among the mixed population of the island requires a vigorous superintendence by day and a strict watch and guard by night, it will be self-evident that no means of preventing offences can be taken with any hope of success under such an inefficient Police. The Captains of the Choolias and the Chinese have, it is true, each 5 peons to go their rounds, but it does not appear to me that this force can in any respect be relied on for the security of the town, its harbours and environs.

All this might be true but Leith denied that it was any concern of the judge. He kept the police, such as they were, under his own control. Dickens was a difficult character and Leith was not the only man to complain about him. It is clear, on the other hand, that Dickens was in an awkward position, with too little guidance as to what law he was supposed to be administering\*. These disagreements apart, Leith's other and better claim to fame is for having the town area and vicinity surveyed. The work was entrusted to Philip Manington, who reported its completion in 1802. Leith Street also dates, no doubt, from Sir George's period of office.

The difficulties of supplying water to men-of-war and merchant vessels were apparent to Leith. The system of transporting water by boats depended on the flow of the tide for the boats collected their supply up the rivers and this frequently delayed the process. However the boatmen were often careless and polluted the water so that complaints were frequent from the purchasers. Leith suggested that

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\*"As the inhabitants consist of people of different nations and of different Provinces of those nations, it is advisable to leave them under the direction of the headman of each Province, and to interfere as little as possible in the regulations which may be established by each for the government of his own countryman. It may, however, be necessary in order to insure the general tranquility to have one European Magistrate, who might be at the head of the magistracy of the Island. He should inform himself of the methods of proceeding and of the laws which bind the Chinese and the Malays, and in cases where either or both are parties, according to the laws of universal and natural justice".

the government take over this task and proposed that one of the streams be brought down to town, either by pipes or an aqueduct to form a large reservoir. From this reservoir water was to be supplied to the residents in the town and to the ships by means of pipes.

Leith was succeeded by Mr. R. T. Farquhar, who arrived on 2nd January, 1804. Farquhar was a man of unusual gifts, who was later destined to end as Governor of Mauritius. He accomplished a great deal in a short period of office but was blamed for extravagance. His first aim was to improve the town's defences, constructing batteries and recruiting a volunteer militia of nearly two hundred men. More to the purpose of this present study, he went on to give George Town its first running water supply. It was none too soon, for the population was becoming larger than could safely depend for its water on shallow wells. Captain John Elliott was the engineer and his supply was taken from the Waterfall Stream. His aqueduct, completed in 1805, covered a distance of six miles because of the windings necessary to preserve the level. The channel was a brick-built duct, only 9 to 10 inches wide and 7 to 9 inches high, the top being semi-circular. It led to a small reservoir near the site of the present E. & O. Hotel, placed there on the North Beach for the convenience of shipping. A drawing made at the time reveals a wooden jetty made for the convenience of filling and shipping the casks. From the same reservoir water is said to have been conveyed by earthenware pipes through the streets and led thence through tin pipes to the individual houses. Farquhar was blamed by the East India Company's Court of Directors for spending (Sp.) \$27,971 on this project, their argument being that clay should have been used instead of bricks. The Directors also forbade him to charge for the supply of water, which had hitherto been free.

From water-supply Farquhar turned to roads. Before 1804 the roads in existence were those now named Waterfall Road, Burmah Road, Cantonment Road, St. Andrews Road\*, and Gottlieb Road, this last being incomplete. In April, 1804, Farquhar informed the Directors of his intention to make roads through the interior of the island so as to assist the planters. He was in office for too short a time to do this but he did improve the existing roads, adding more permanent bridges as needed. Not unconnected with the road problem was the scheme for constructing a dockyard on Pulau Jerejak. This was not a new idea, as we have seen, but it was Farquhar who took active steps to carry it out. He reported that "Prince of Wales Island can never rise to any high pitch of celebrity" without facilities for docking men-of-war and Indiamen. The construction of ships at Penang had been proved possible by Captain John Elliot, who built a ship of 800 tons called *Prince of Wales*, with timber from Pulau Jerejak and Kedah. But if this vessel were to be the first of many, if Pulau Jerejak were to become a regular dockyard, there would soon be need of a road between Fort Cornwallis and a point opposite the smaller island. Foreseeing a great future for Penang, Farquhar was full of schemes for its development.

Farquhar might have thought that he was pleading a lost cause. In point of fact, however, the Directors of the East India Company had suddenly come to value Penang at far above its real worth. They were

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\*The present York Road.



assisted in this by the publications in which present or former residents had expressed their enthusiasm. These works included the *Historical Memoir relative to Prince of Wales Island.....and its importance, Political and Commercial by Captain Norman Macalister, London, 1803 ; A Short Account of Prince of Wales Island, by Sir George Leith, London, 1804 ; and A Description of Prince of Wales Island.....with its Real and Probable Advantages.....to recommend it as a Marine Establishment by Captain Sir Home Popham, London, 1805.* Whether convinced by this spate of literature or by other considerations, the Cabinet had decided to develop Penang in a big way, urging the East India Company to spare no expense or efforts. From blaming Farquhar for his extravagance, the Company veered round abruptly and decided that Farquhar was not the man to control the far larger expenditure now in contemplation. It was decided to supersede him by someone more suitable — the nephew, as it happened, of the Minister who was chiefly concerned. At the same time, the Directors were instructed to make Penang a Presidency, on a level with Madras and Bombay and subject only to the Governor-General. As part of the same plan, Penang was to become a naval base with a dockyard, headquarters for an Admiral whose station was to extend from Ceylon to China.

The chosen Flag Officer was Sir Thomas Troubridge, who sailed from England on April 24th, 1805. With him sailed the Scotch invasion of officials appointed to the new Presidency. These were headed by the Governor, Mr. Philip Dundas, formerly Master Attendant at Bombay, and included Messrs. J. P. Oliphant, A. Gray, H. S. Pearson, T. S. Raffles, W. Robinson and J. Erskine together with a chaplain, surgeon and other more junior officers. Awaiting them they would find Mr. W. E. Phillips together with Captain (now Brevet Colonel) Norman Macalister, Commandant of the Garrison. The squadron and convoy reached Penang on September 20-23, 1805, and Dundas assumed the governorship on landing. There then began a brief period of ambitious activity, all plans being based on the assumption that Penang was soon to be a place of great importance. One reason among others why the schemes were to fail was that the Battle of Trafalgar, fought within a month of Dundas's arrival, materially lessened the naval threat against which the Penang base was supposed to guard.

Mr. Thomas Stamford Raffles, then a relatively junior official, was rather impressed than otherwise by the progress already made.

We found the Island in a much higher state of improvement than we expected. The Government of Mr. Farquhar was very expensive and although he may be condemned, as I have no doubt he will be, for extravagance and lavish expenditure of the public money, yet the new Government has no cause to complain as far as their individual, and personal comforts are concerned. Our roads, houses, and the comforts of life have improved to twice what they were when he took charge of this Government, and the State of Society and more general resort are both improved and encouraged. You will observe by our consultations, correspondence that took place before his departure which may probably be the cause demanding a public inquiry into his conduct. We find him very much beloved by the inhabitants who have no doubt improved their fortunes under his administrators, but who have also improved the Island by following the instructions of a man of such superior abilities as the late Lieutenant-Governor .....

The establishment of the new regime had several important results. On the one hand, the European population of George Town rose to the total of a hundred and twenty. On the other hand there seemed at least a possibility that the entire official settlement might move to a point opposite the proposed dockyard at Pulau Jerejak. If that was to be the new harbour, a fort would be needed for its protection and the government would probably go where the garrison went. Unless George Town were to disappear altogether, Penang would have two townships with a separate local government, perhaps, in each. Mr. James Scott had considered this possibility in Farquhar's time, his reaction being to acquire a tract of land at Sungai Kluang, opposite Pulau Jerejak. There is mention of an expedition to "Soongy Cluan" in William Scott's diary. It took place in February, 1796, the party comprising of Scott himself with Young, Sealy, Lindsay, Nason and the Company's botanist, Mr. Smith. Pepper planting had already begun and the situation must have seemed promising. When his expectations were apparently being fulfilled, James Scott finally announced the foundation of Jamestown\* and attracted other speculators to the area. Mr. David Brown already had property in that direction, his main estate being at Glugor.

Mr. Philip Dundas began to reorganise Penang soon after he landed, his attention being called at an early date to the deficient state of the police. Among his first reforms was the division of George Town into four wards or districts, each under the eye of a Head Constable. The rest of the island was divided into three districts, each with a constable. The importance of this arrangement from the present point of view, is that the boundaries of George Town were defined, probably for the first time. Bounded by the sea to the North and East, George Town lay within the Prangan Creek (Prangin Ditch) to the South and the New Canal to the West. A census was ordered and the houses numbered as part of the same reorganisation. It was also agreed in November, 1805, to appoint a Police Magistrate empowered to determine :

..... all disputes respecting the payment of the Tax or Assessment upon houses, in George Town and Prince of Wales Island, for the repairing of the streets, highways and other purposes of police .....

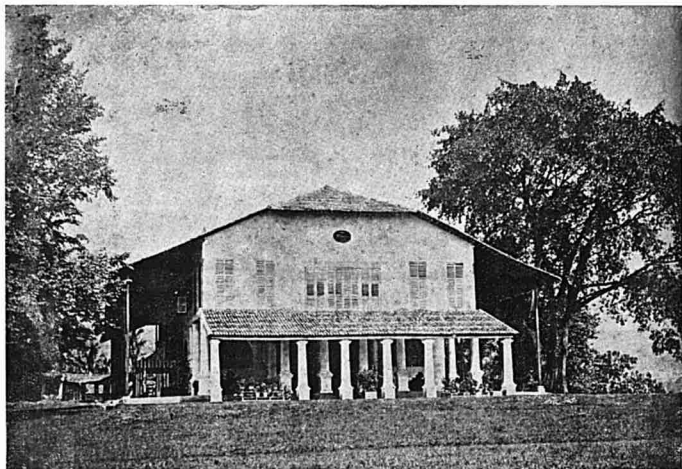
He was also to take charge of the fire engines, to cause covered wells to be sunk in each street in George Town which are to be opened in case of fire, to confine the common prostitutes to one quarter in the outskirts of the Town, to appoint proper places for carts and carriages to stand for hire and to receive all strangers on their arrival on the island.

The Police Magistrate was also empowered to control the prices of articles at the market to prevent 'monopoly and forestalling'. It may thus be said of the Police Magistrate that there was nothing he did not have a hand in.

Mr. P. Kellner was appointed to this onerous office but later dismissed for corruption and replaced by Mr. Thomas McQuoid in October 1806.

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\*The present township of Bayan Lepas.



*Glugor House — Home of the Brown family*

Dundas further required that all the houses in George Town be numbered 'in English and Malay characters on a board to be hung over the principal entrance of each'. These boards were provided free in the first instance but were to be replaced at the owner's expense if destroyed or damaged. A complete census of the population was to be taken and kept up to date.

In March, 1807, there was issued a Charter for a new Court of Judicature to be presided over by a Recorder but with the Governor and three Councillors also on the bench. The letters patent arrived at Penang with the first Recorder, Sir Edmund Stanley, on May 28th, 1808. One effect of this Charter was to establish Quarter Sessions and a Grand Jury. The Grand Jury could make presentments on any subject it chose—roads and drains included. The Court was empowered to give orders concerning :

..... the making, repairing and cleaning of the Roads, Streets, Bridges and Ferries and for the removal and abatement of public nuisances and for such other purposes of police and for the appointment of Peace Officers.

One effect of this Charter, proclaimed on 31st May, 1808, was to remove Mr. John Dickens. In January 1807, Raffles had written to his friend, Ramsay "We are miserably off in our present Judge and Magistrate, Mr. Dickens . . . You will see . . . in the Consultations what trouble his impertinence has given me . . ." When he left, however, the inhabitants gave him a medal as testimony of their esteem for his public services and social qualities.

The inscribed medal carried these words :

"To John Dickens Esq. From the European inhabitants of Prince of Wales Island, a testimony of the high sense they entertain of the upright, firm and honourable manner in which he has discharged the important duties of Judge and Magistrate of the Island for seven years — as well as of the respect and regard they have for his private virtues and social qualities".

James Scott,  
Chairman.

From all this it might be concluded that a place formerly without any local government had now an excess of independent authorities ; a Committee of Assessors, a Police Magistrate, a Court of Record, and a Grand Jury, all concerned with much the same things. The rather unexpected remedy was to form yet another Committee, specifically to deal with the problem of country roads. Dundas proposed in March 1807, that a meeting of the European and Asian planters should be called so that they might consider this question "so important to their interests." By this time, however, Dundas was a sick man. He went on board H.M. Ship *Bellepueux*, hoping to recover on a sea voyage. He died, instead, on April 8th, and it became a question whether his acting successor should be Colonel N. Macalister or Mr. H. S. Pearson. The former allowed Pearson to act until the Governor-General's decision came in his, the soldier's favour. This came about because Mr. Oliphant had fallen sick and gone to Bengal (where he died) and Mr. Gray for the same reason had gone to Madras; these being both senior to Macalister. It was during Pearson's brief acting-governorship that the public meeting, as proposed by Dundas, was actually held.

The advertisement ran as follows :

The European and native landholders in the different Districts of the island, with the exception of George Town, are requested to assemble at the Custom House on Thursday next the 23rd instant at 12 o'clock at noon for the purpose of electing a committee to devise the necessary funds for repairing and keeping the roads and bridges already made in the island and of suggesting to Government the utility of such new roads as their local knowledge may enable them to point out, as likely to the Community.

By Order of the Hon'ble the Governor  
and Council

(Signed) THOMAS RAFFLES.  
Sec. to Government.

Fort Cornwallis  
16th July, 1807

Chairman of the meeting was Mr. W. E. Phillips, who explained that a Committee was to be elected and that it would be answerable for the management of the fund that was to be raised. It would be responsible for the construction and maintenance of roads and bridges. The Superintending Engineer would give technical advice and government would supply the Committee with a free supply of bricks and thirty convicts to act as labourers. With this directive, the following Roads Committee was elected :—

Chairman :	James Scott
European Members :	James Carnegy, David Brown, James P. Hobson, Thomas McQuoid, and John Dunbar.
Native Members :	Chu Wan, Chee Iman, Amie, Haji Mohamed Sallie, Chee Jumahl and Aasoo.

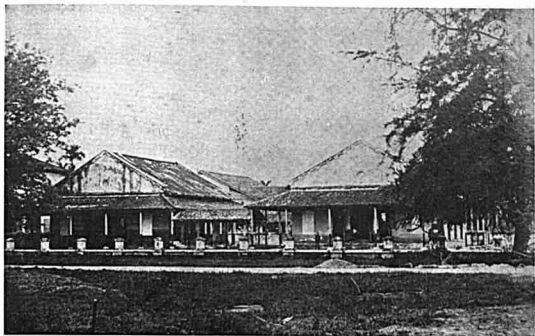
It will be seen that the Committee included only one official (Hobson) and that Scottish and Asian representation were almost equal.

The Roads Committee held its first meeting on August 13th, 1807. At its second meeting, on August 17th, the Committee recommended a tax on land, on "carriages driven for pleasure" and on carts and horses. There were already thirty or more carriages, a hundred carts and four hundred horses, but government did not approve the plan of taxing them. The land tax was accepted and the Committee appointed Gillis Phoon as overseer from 1st September 1807, at a monthly salary of \$25.00.

The Committee also drew Regulations to remedy the inconveniences experienced from the conduct of servants and coolies, and introduced the registration of vehicles and a tax on carts. It also recommended that a lottery be organised and the proceeds from it be used to upkeep the road and bridges. The Committee felt that this would lessen the financial strain of the Company and also pointed out that more money would be readily available for the construction of new roads.

With a Committee so formed and in view of existing circumstances it is not surprising to learn that priority was given to the roads leading southward. The road to Sungei Kluang, now called Green Lane was developed in 1807, only to be superseded in interest by Perak Road. There was also talk of bridging the Sungei Pinang at its mouth and so opening a new road to Jelutong (and also, a cynic would observe, to Glugor). But the development of these roads depended in the first instance on the dockyard scheme and, in the second place, on the prosperity of the planters. Neither was to last for long. Plans for the dockyard were shelved in December 1807, and the ship-building programme ended with the launching of the frigate *Penang* in August, 1809, and the Indiaman *Inglis* in June 1811. On November 22nd, the Master Builder sailed for England, and the whole naval base project came to an end. Jamestown was therefore stillborn. As for the spice plantations, there was a slump in pepper in 1808. So serious was the situation by December of that year that the planters, headed by David Brown, N. Bacon, G. Caunter and Thomas McQuoid, petitioned the government to buy up the pepper crop at a cheap rate rather than leave it unsold. For the moment the demand for better roads was diminished. While it lasted, much good had been done even apart from the roads to Jamestown—the Ayer Itam and Northam roads being among those to show signs of improvement.

One result of forming the Roads Committee was to limit the sphere of the Committee of Assessors, and so draw a sharper distinction between town and country. When the Roads Committee proposed to levy a tax on the town dwellers, their proposals were not approved. They were asked, in effect, why residents of George Town should pay for bridges round Sungei Kluang? As against that, the townsmen had special expenses of their own. There was thus a proposal in 1806 to organise a lottery to pay for the George Town roads—a scheme the government saw fit to reject. Then the Committee of Assessors drew up regulation for the George Town markets in 1806 and advised the appointment of a Superintendent. This was a strictly municipal expense and so was the expense of providing some safeguard against fire. That fire was an ever-present risk was made apparent in March 1808, when a large area of George Town was destroyed. The crowded shop-houses were built of timber and roofed with attap and a fire once started was difficult to extinguish. This particular fire was eventually brought under control but not before damage had been done to the amount, as reported, of \$300,000. This catastrophe drew attention to the need for building regulations and precautions against fire. Captain Elliott, the Superintending Engineer, wanted to forbid the use of attap but it was soon realised that this would be impracticable. Little was done at that time and it was not until 1813 that two serious fires led to more vigorous action. The first of these was at Chooliah Pagoda and resulted in the destruction of seventy-nine buildings at Penang Road. The Committee of Assessors was instructed to break the rows of attap-roofed houses by a fifty-foot gap every two hundred feet, to widen the main roads and sink new wells. This was some mitigation of the danger but the only final answer was to forbid the use of attap roofing, as Elliott had proposed; and this was not done until 1887, and then only in the central area of the town.



*Penang Free School — then and now*





*Old Hutching's School (now State Museum)*



From 1805 to 1816 education was available only for European children. It was Reverend R. S. Hutchings, Chaplain of the Presidency, who first petitioned for a 'free school'. His aim was to provide a school for the orphans and poor children. They were to be educated, fed and clothed. And since they were to be so completely taken care of, he suggested that it be a boarding school, but with room for day pupils. The day pupils were to be taught their own language by native teachers, and English was to be taught to them only if they desired it. A plan for a girls' school too was included on the same basis.

The Government was very receptive to the idea and nominated Messrs. R. Ibbetson, J. M. Coombe, J. MacInnes, D. Brown, J. Carnegie, and R. Caunter, as members of a Committee to examine the proposal. The Committee, meeting on 10th January 1816, approved Rev. Hutchings' general plan but differed with his provision for the boarders. They said that the difficulty of finding a proper building and the problems of catering would not make it practical to have a boarding institution. The Committee's recommendations were accepted by the Government and full consent for the establishment of the school was given on 9th February 1816. The advertisement for donations brought within the first month a sum of 5,601 Spanish dollars and by 30th April 1816, it had increased to Spanish \$11,936.61cents. The Government donated its share and promised the school a monthly subsidy of two hundred dollars. The difficulty of obtaining a suitable teacher delayed the founding of the school till the 21st October 1816. On this date, the Committee admitted twenty five boys alone, since they were unable to enlist a lady teacher. Mr. W. Cox was the teacher in charge and was paid eighty dollars a month for his services. The girls' school came into being on 1st July 1817, when Mr. Cox's wife took charge of it, after being specially called for from Madras. She received a sum of fifty dollars as her monthly salary. The Committee resigned its care of the school to a Board of Directors who were elected on 18th October 1817. This change in management was to imbue in the inhabitants a desire to be actively concerned with the progress of the school. Begun so humbly the Penang Free School has now grown to be a foremost institution of learning.

Colonel N. Macalister was succeeded as Governor by the Hon. Charles Andrew Bruce, a brother of Lord Elgin, who died practically on arrival in December 1810. Mr. W. E. Phillips acted as Governor until 9th May 1811, when Mr. Archibald Seton took his place, being personally installed by the Governor-General, the Earl of Minto, then on his way to Java. Seton was presently appointed, however, to a vacancy on the Supreme Council of India, being replaced at Penang by Mr. William Petrie, who took office in December 1812. By this time the Directors of the East India Company had resolved on a policy of retrenchment as far as Penang was concerned, and they chose as Petrie's successor one of their own number to implement it. This was Colonel John Alexander Bannerman, who arrived in 1817. During all these vicissitudes, with governors coming and going, Penang was ruled in practice by Mr. W. E. Phillips, who had built himself a magnificent mansion called Suffolk House. Phillips consolidated his position by lending his home to the new Governor, and also by marrying his daughter. There was in fact

a double wedding on 30th June 1817, when Phillips married Janet Bannerman and Henry Burney (brother of the famous Fanny Burney) married another Janet Bannerman, the Governor's niece.

The chief event of Bannerman's period of office was the foundation of Singapore in 1819, entirely against all the advice from Penang. In the meanwhile, and before the Singapore settlement existed, Penang was far from declining in importance. It had a population of 36,000 in 1816-17 and great hopes, from 1813 onwards, of a successful future in the cultivation of spices. Governor Bannerman was impressed by this possibility and urged that roads should be extended round the island. On this project Bannerman reported in 1818 that:

..... When the roads which are at present forming shall have been established, and the protection of an adequate police can secure the quiet and industrious individuals in their own plantations, we may reasonably look to the greatest degree of public advantage, which an increasing population and a corresponding energy cannot fail to secure for this valuable possession.

Little seems to have come of this project\* and the year 1819 was clouded, not merely by the foundation of Singapore but by a cholera epidemic as a result of which two thousand people died, Bannerman being one of them. His death left Mr. W. E. Phillips to act as Governor for the fifth time. On this occasion, however, the appointment remained his and he held the substantive office until his retirement in 1823.

In 1821, during Phillips' governorship, the Siamese invaded Kedah. The Sultan fled to Penang and many of his subjects took refuge either there or in Province Wellesley. Altogether, some 11,000 were settled on the island and nearly 9,000 on the mainland territory. The effect of the migration was to add considerably to the Malay population of George Town while also perhaps hastening the development of the countryside. All too little is known of the work done at this time by the Committee of Assessors. Later research may throw light on the subject. It can, however, be inferred from the sequel that their position came to be more widely recognised as time went on and that the amenities of George Town continued to improve. One such improvement was an addition to the water supply in 1823. A six-inch cast-iron pipe was laid from a brick tank near the Pulau Tikus Church down Burmah Road to a second tank near the present Hutton Lane Police Station. This scheme was not complete until 1830, Farquhar's brick aqueduct having to suffice until then.

Phillips was succeeded by Governor Fullerton in 1824. This was the year in which final agreement was reached with the Dutch over Singapore, Malacca and other problems. Malacca had changed hands several times but now became British territory, the Dutch accepting Bencoolen in exchange. The immediate result was the Charter of Incorporation of 1826 by which Penang, Malacca and Singapore became the Incorporated Settlements placed under a single government. The sequel to this was the process by which the Committee of Assessors came for the first time to be officially recognised. With this a new chapter in Municipal history can be said to have begun.

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\*Bannerman also suggested a new procedure for taxation (See Appendix)

## THE BIRTH OF MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION

Until 1827 the Committee of Assessors seems to have had no legal recognition but in that year a Regulation passed by the Governor in Council, Prince of Wales Island, mentioned the Committee for the first time. Background to all that followed was the history of Municipal government in England. The first Reform Bill of 1832 led to a spate of other reforms, one of which was the Municipal Corporation Act of 1835. Until then, local government in England had been subject to many local variations in pattern but had given little scope, in general, to the principles of democracy. As from 1835 local government began to assume more of the pattern that has now become familiar, with regular elections and published accounts. To seek anything resembling modern local government in Penang before 1835 would be to suppose a more democratic atmosphere than one could reasonably expect to find.

Background again to all that followed was the process by which Penang lost its Governor and Council; a process which necessarily gave greater importance to its embryo Municipality. The first step in Penang's political decline was its incorporation with Malacca and Singapore in 1826. The next step was the arrival of the Governor-General early in 1829. Comparing the expenses and the revenue, Lord Bentinck concluded that these three settlements together were no equivalent of an Indian Presidency. He considered that all three might be ruled by a single Resident and issued orders to reduce the establishment accordingly. This order took effect in February, 1831, and was followed by a further order transferring the seat of government to Singapore, not to Malacca as Fullerton had suggested. This change took place in 1832 but Fullerton, although given only a Resident's establishment, was allowed the title of Governor, mainly because any change in title would have necessitated a new Charter of Justice. Under the Governor, each settlement would have a Resident Councillor; the Governor and the three Residents, with others constituting the Council. All the government Penang would normally see would be a Resident Councillor executing the decisions reached at Singapore. He would have two assistants, one for the island and one for Province Wellesley. These with an Assistant Surgeon, an Engineer and a Chaplain, constituted the administration. The only consolation for this change lay in the fact that Penang's trade, which had reached its lowest ebb in 1831, began thenceforward to revive. With population and business again on the increase, the problems of local government arose continually, and yet there was no legal system of levying the taxes which would be needed to pay for the work. Exactly the same problems were arising in Singapore and leading to just the same complaints as were to be heard in Penang.

The British Municipal Corporations Act of 1835 had no counterpart in the Straits Settlements until Act No. XII was passed on 29th April 1839. Repealing Regulation of 1827, this Act, applying to George Town, Singapore and Malacca, within Municipal limits, can be summarised as follows :—

1. It provided for all dwelling houses to be assessed and a tax to be levied not exceeding 10% of the annual value. Certain buildings to be exempt.

2. It imposed a tax on all carriages, carts and draught animals, providing that vehicles should also be numbered and registered.
3. It provided (Section XIII) :

That out of the funds collected from the Assessment and Taxes leviable under this Act, provision shall be made, in conformity with such instructions as may from time to time be issued by the Governor of Bengal for the efficient watching, lighting and repairing of the streets and thoroughfares in the Towns of Georgetown, Singapore and Malacca, and for the making of roads, bridges, and the effecting of other purposes necessary for the comfort and protection of the inhabitants of the incorporated Settlements aforesaid.

What this Act did was probably to legalise what was already being done. It provided a source of income and defined the objects of expenditure. What it did not do was to establish a Municipal Council. Far from that, it vested all appointments in the Chief Civil Officer and placed all the business of collection under his superintendence. As compared with the Regulations of 1827, it might almost be described as retrogressive. Its effect was further to leave all direction, not merely to the Governor of the Settlements but to the more distant (and far less interested) Governor of Bengal.

Dissatisfaction with the Act of 1839 was expressed by Governor Bonham, by the Chambers of Commerce and Grand Jury, and by Governor Butterworth in 1846. The result of much agitation was the Draft Municipal Act of 1846, which was not markedly different save in Section XIII which empowered the Civil Authority of the Settlement to appoint a Municipal Committee to consist of five resident ratepayers, two of them to be government officers, and charged this Committee with responsibility for enforcing the Act. At much the same time the principle of popular election was being introduced in India by Act XVI of 1847, which established "Municipal Commissioners" in Calcutta, three of them to be nominated and four elected. Act II of the following year empowered the Calcutta Commissioners to appoint a Surveyor, a Clerk and other officers, and also to manage, pave, water and repair the public thoroughfares and improve sewerage, conservancy and drains. The Draft Act of 1846 was to do for Penang what was being done for Calcutta, and with rather similar limitations. For while it established a Municipal Fund, from which police expenses would be paid, it left the Committee without the power to limit expenditure under that heading. *The Straits Times* voiced the popular discontent in an editorial which reads :—

Far more honest would it have been if the Legislative Council of India had said in plain English:—

Whereas it is desirable to perpetuate the same system of misapplication and wasteful expenditure of Assessment Funds that the Rate-payers have been deprecating for many years past.

It is hereby enacted that it shall be lawful for the Chief Civil Authority of the said Settlement for the time being, in conjunction with the convicts, out the provisions of this Act in any way best suited to defeat the several local and foreign, and any one or more dependent underlings, to carry objects and purposes specified and contained in Section XII of the same — for due performance of which, nevertheless, the Municipal Fund is expressly raised.

Despite these and other protests, the Draft Act of 1846 became law as Act IX passed on March 25th, 1848. It was far from popular and there are indications that the local government as thus established in Penang may not have been particularly efficient. Of a fire, for example, in 1848, the *Pinang Gazette* recorded that :

Four fire-engines were on the ground, but two only would act and the very inadequate supply of water materially interfered with their usefulness.

One feature of this Act was apparently to extend the powers of the Municipal Committee to the rest of the island. They may not, of necessity, have shown much interest in the more remote districts; or so the following advertisement in the *Pinang Gazette* might seem to suggest :—

#### INVITATION

The landed proprietors, farmers and other residents of the Southern Districts, present their compliments to the members of the "Municipal Committee" and the Superintendent of roads, and request the pleasure of their company at dinner, at James Town, on Monday the 21st instant at 7 o'clock. The guests will be provided with accommodation for the night; and on the following day they are solicited to accompany a deputation of the proprietors etc. on foot (all other means of travelling being impracticable) on a survey of the roads and bridges in those parts. It is hoped that this will be considered a sufficient intimation and dispense with the necessity of issuing a private invitation to each individual.

A. B.

Secretary to the Deputation

Penang  
11th May, 1849.

Dissatisfaction with the Act of 1848 was part of a wider resentment against the East India Company's rule as such. The Company's monopoly had been attacked in Britain in the name of free trade. It had been demolished by successive stages and all that remained of the Company was a government, with civil service and armed forces, remote from its original commercial purpose but still retaining its 17th century form. It could be safely attacked as an anachronism, as something opposed to the spirit of the age, and attacked it was. At Penang there was an absurdity in regarding the settlement as an outlying part of India, for it was clearly nothing of the sort. Typical of this current irritation was the Bengal insistence on having all public accounts and salaries stated in rupees and annas, a daily nuisance among people whose actual currency was in dollars and cents. This grievance became still more vocal when the Indian Government tried to introduce its own coin. It was felt that the legislation framed in Calcutta was the work of officials who knew nothing and cared nothing about the distant communities in which their laws were to apply. Much of this criticism was unfair. It was effective, nevertheless, in the circumstances of the day. In so far as local government was concerned, it ended, after much agitation, in the arrival of three draft Acts in July, 1853. This was the occasion of further discontent, but the Acts nevertheless became law on December 20th, 1856.

First in importance of these enactments was Act No. XXVII of 1856, which was entitled :—

An Act for appointing Municipal Commissioners and for levying rates and taxes in the several stations of the Settlement of Prince of Wales Island, Singapore and Malacca.

Under this Act, the provisions of the previous Act, No. IX of 1848, were repealed, with certain exceptions. The gist of the new Act then followed in sections IV and V, which read as follows :—

4. At each of the stations of Prince of Wales Island, Singapore and Malacca, there shall be a Committee of not more than five persons who shall be called respectively "The Municipal Commissioners of Prince of Wales Island", "The Municipal Commissioners of Singapore" and "The Municipal Commissioners of Malacca" and who shall respectively be a body incorporated and have perpetual succession and common seal, and by such name shall sue and be sued.
5. At each of the said Stations, the Resident shall be one of the Municipal Commissioners, one shall be appointed by the Governor of the Settlement and three shall be elected by the ratepayers in the manner hereinafter provided. The Resident Councillor shall be the President of the Commissioners.

Other sections of the Act define the property qualification for Commissioners and voters, describe how the register of voters is to be prepared, prescribe when the elections are to take place, lay down the method of voting and say what is to be done if those elected refuse to serve.

The work of the Municipal Commission was to be financed by an annual rate on houses and buildings, not exceeding 10% of the annual value, and up to 5% on land within each station, the rate to be fixed by the Governor of the Settlement. There was also to be an annual tax on vehicles, in the following order :

	Rupees
For every four-wheeled carriage on springs ..	24
For every two-wheeled carriage on springs ..	18
For every waggon drawn by man or beast ..	16
For every cart drawn by any description of cattle ..	12
For every cart drawn by man .. .. .	8
For every horse pony or mule .. .. .	4
For every elephant .. .. .	20

Neither elephants nor rupees entered as largely into the life of Penang as the Calcutta legislators imagined, but the general intention of the Act was clear. There was a further and separate tax on vehicles kept for hire, which had to be registered; and certain vehicles (such as gun-carriages and perambulators) were exempt from tax. The whole Act was to become effective as from 1st January 1857. Almost similar Acts were passed to introduce Municipal Government in Madras and Bombay.

Two other Acts came into force on the same date. These were known respectively as the Conservancy Act No. XXV and the Police Act No. XIII of 1856. The Conservancy Act had originally appeared as Act. No. XIV of 1856, which applied equally to Calcutta, Madras, Bombay and the Straits Settlements. This was a portentous Act of 142 sections, defining the Commissioners' duties and powers. Much of it was absorbed in Act XXV. The effect of the Police Act was to provide for the appointment of a Commissioner of Police, whose powers would supersede those previously vested in Quarter Sessions and Police Magistrates; he and his deputies being Justices of the Peace, at least for certain purposes. As hitherto, the local government would have only financial responsibility where the police were concerned.

As from 1st January 1857, the old Committee of Assessors, or rather its successor, the Municipal Committee, theoretically passed out of existence. In theory the rule of the Municipal Commissioners began. The year 1857 has been regarded, therefore, and with some justice, as making the foundation of Penang local government as it existed until quite recently. It was therefore proper to celebrate the centenary in 1957 and it will be seen that there was much past work upon which people could look back with satisfaction and local pride.

It would be wrong, nevertheless, to assume that the new regime was acclaimed at the outset. A local newspaper gave guarded approval to the Conservancy Act as likely to be beneficial if administered "with caution and discretion" but Act XXVII was greeted with suspicion. This is clear from the *Free Press* "Annual Retrospect" for 1856:—

In March the new Recorder, Sir P. B. Maxwell, arrived in Penang...

The Indian Currency is no less distasteful in Pinang than in other parts of the Straits. In the beginning of the year 1856 a large number of the leading Asiatic inhabitants of Pinang presented a petition to the Resident Councillor, setting forth the great inconvenience and positive injury caused by the attempt of the Government to force the Indian copper coins into circulation....

The draft Municipal Acts were discussed at the public meeting above alluded to. The Meeting considered that the number of Municipal Commissioners ought to be seven, five elected by the ratepayers and two named by Government — that the period of service of the elected Commissioners should not exceed one year unless vacancies were filled up by the rate-payers and that the meetings of the Commissioners should be open to the public or at least to the rate-payers.

The Municipal Committee of Pinang appear to have been active in the discharge of their functions during 1856. The roads generally throughout the Island were greatly improved and measures were taken to secure an additional supply of water to the inhabitants of George Town. Resolutions were also recorded recognising the importance of providing a complete system of town drainage.

The number of convicts stationed at Pinang in 1856 amounted to 1,358. The state of discipline amongst this body continued defective.

The Conservancy Act was explained by the new Recorder to the Grand Jury as assembled for the first Criminal Sessions in March, 1857. Mr. W. T. Lewis was the Resident Councillor who first assumed office as President of the Municipal Commissioners. As for the convicts, their House, Penang, in September 1857, at the moderate cost of £15,318

A curious feature of Act XXVII was that it momentarily defeated its own purpose. Section IX read as follows :—

Elections under the Act shall be made on one of the first seven days of December under the superintendence of the Sheriff of the Settlement or one of his Deputies, who shall appoint the day and place of election within each station, and shall give public notice of the same fifteen days at least before the day appointed.

The trouble about this beautifully precise arrangement was that the Act itself was not signed by the Governor-General until December 20th, 1856, and could not therefore be implemented before December, 1857. Despite Governor Blundell's protests, the only remedy was to ask the Municipal Committee to act for another year, basing their authority on an Act which had been repealed. The first elections were held in December, 1857, allowing the Sheriff ample time to draw up the register of those entitled to vote.

The elections when held were not an unqualified success. Few voters troubled to register and fewer had any notion of what they were doing. The Governor had to report afterwards that the whole idea of an election was little understood. In Penang the Chinese were induced to vote for their 'friends' who announced their opposition to government. In Singapore only the Europeans voted. At Malacca the election was void owing to the "paucity of votes and the utter indifference of the community". It was far from obvious what remedy could be applied. All that was finally achieved was an amending Act in 1863 which gave the elected Commissioners a three-year term of office with retirement in rotation. There was merit in this, ensuring some continuity and experience but there was nothing in that reform to arouse public interest. The elections became a perfunctory affair, often conducted without regard to the provisions of the Act, more especially as affecting secrecy. They were often described as a farce and that in effect was what they were. Nor was it likely that any remedy would be sought, for the long process had begun by which the Straits Settlements were transferred from the Government of India to the control of the Colonial Office. Only after the transfer was completed in 1867 would any further reforms be even considered.

Such was the excitement over the transfer and such the interest in previous and subsequent events—the Penang Riots of 1867 and the Chinese conflicts in Perak—that Municipal affairs attracted little attention between 1863 and 1872. In July of the latter year, however, the Legislative Council appointed a Sub-Committee to inquire into the working of the Municipal Acts of 1856. It is perhaps significant that the members of the Sub-Committee, Mr. J. W. Birch (Colonial Secretary), Mr. T.



Shelford, Captain W. Innes, R.E. and Dr. Robert Little, confined their researches to Singapore. They took the views of two former Commissioners, Mr. W. H. Read and Mr. R. C. Woods. They finally reported to the Legislative Council in May 1873, to the following effect :—

Much of the evidence tends to show that there is not so much interest taken in the affairs of the Municipality as formerly; and this would appear to be attributable very much to the increased trade of the place, the influx of steamers, the constant changes among the heads of houses few of whom remain any time, and the fact that very few of the able men in the place have any spare time whatever....

The Committee, after careful enquiry, are inclined to report that they do not think it desirable to do away with the present elective body of Commissioners, but they are of opinion that there should be one paid professional officer who should receive \$5000 to \$6000 a year, and nominate two more, and the ratepayers elect four, thus constituting a board of seven. The Board should always consist of five, and not exceed seven, but three should at present constitute a quorum.

With such an officer, there would be no reason, probably, why the Colonial Secretary should not be a member, and in a community like this there are of course many reasons why it is desirable to have such a body presided over by an official of high rank and position. They are of the opinion that it is very desirable that the Inspector-General of Police should be a member of the Board....

The Governor in 1873 was Sir Harry Ord, always at drawn daggers with most of the merchants, so that Birch would not err in the direction of popular control. But his Committee failed to reach unanimity on this paid appointment; the Hon. Mr. Shelford adding a minute of his own to the effect that the whole-time Commissioner should not be appointed but elected, without which he would be merely a government nominee :

.... neither do I think it would be reasonable to expect unofficial gentlemen to sit upon the Board, the principal officer of which would not hold himself responsible to them, and possibly not to carry out their directions — even when a majority — if such happened to seem counter to the wishes of the Government nominee.

The Hon'ble Captain W. Innes submitted a minute of his own, not of dissent but as additional comment:

I think some notice should be taken of the almost entire ignorance and apathy on the subject said to exist among the bulk of the Asiatic population, a section of the community who really are more directly interested than any other, and from amongst whom upwards of two-thirds of the constituency are drawn. I do not think that any local government which is entirely beyond their ken can be a good one, and I consider that some means should be tried to interest them in Municipal affairs, such as the publication of proceedings, notices of election, and some epitome of the powers and constitution of the Commission in the native languages, and the attempt to bring the machinery more home to them by the division of the town into wards for elections and other Municipal purposes.

In all this, the argument runs in a vicious circle. The remedy for a lack of public interest is to load a supposedly elected body with a Colonial Secretary and an Inspector-General of Police and then wonder why the public interest should be less even than before.

The Governor added his own minute to the Sub-Committee's Report, noting that rumours about the Commissioners' past ineffectiveness had proved to be baseless. He then went on to observe that:

A difference of opinion appears to prevail as to the Constitution of the Commission but it is very evident that the good work which it has performed was almost if not entirely the result of the exertion of the Official Members and of two Unofficial Members, Messrs. W. H. Read and R. C. Woods, who have for years past devoted themselves to this gratuitous labour in a manner which has not received that acknowledgment from the public which it justly deserved.

It is also clear that the service rendered by the Official members has been at the sacrifice of other and more important duties, and that a continuance of this assistance must no longer be relied upon. Great doubt is also expressed whether, in the event of the withdrawal from the Commission of the two Unofficial members in question, it would be possible to find others willing to render the assistance they have always afforded, and the conclusion arrived at is that there should be a paid professional officer who would devote his whole time to the work of the Municipality .....

Concurring as I do in these conclusions ..... I am prepared to submit for the consideration of the Council a measure for amending the Municipal Act in the following manner:

The Municipality shall consist of a President who shall be a competent Civil Engineer, who shall be appointed by the Government, and have the same claim to pension, etc. as other Government officials, but that his duties shall be strictly limited to the performance of Municipal service, respecting which he will receive instructions only from the Commissioners; there will be no objection to the appointment to this Board of another Government official, probably the Colonial Secretary or the Inspector-General of Police. The remaining members of the Board shall be three or five as may be thought best, elected under the present arrangements or such modification of them as may be considered most likely to secure the services of persons well qualified for the office.

This minute is quoted in full because it foreshadowed what eventually became the government policy, and applied to Penang as well as to Singapore. It did not lead to immediate implementation, however, or not so far as the paid President was concerned. By the time a Bill was finally presented there was a different Governor with different views. Sir Andrew Clarke was more of a liberal and the Act passed on 4th January 1875, merely repealed the Sections (IV and V) of the Indian Act under which the Colonial Secretary (as successor to the Resident Councillor, Singapore) was President of the Municipal Commissioners. It

consoled the Governor with the right to appoint two Municipal Commissioners instead of one. At the same time the Singapore Commissioners were empowered to elect their own President, who might henceforth be an unofficial member, but who in practice never was. There were no further reforms of importance until 1887, and even that of 1875 did not immediately affect Penang.

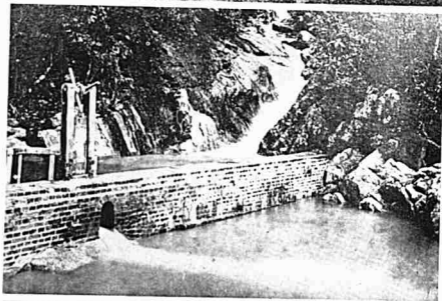
What did affect Penang was the new constitution which accompanied the transfer of power in 1867. For while the Indian legislation generally remained in force, the new Charter issued under the Great Seal provided Penang with a Lieutenant-Governor once more instead of a Resident Councillor. This was Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon. Archibald E. H. Anson. With him there served in the new Legislative Council, as an unofficial member, the Hon. Mr. F. T. Brown "head of one of the oldest and wealthiest firms at Penang" and "perhaps the largest landholders in the Straits". The new Lieutenant-Governor inherited the Resident Councillor's position as President of the Municipal Commissioners. It was under his leadership, therefore, that the Municipality developed during the period which ended with the Act of 1887. It was a period of activity in improving the Penang water supply and Anson's arrival actually coincided with the completion of the new nine-inch cast iron pipe which replaced the old earthenware pipe, itself the successor to the brick aqueduct. It was Anson who then ordered a temporary connection to be made from the new pipe to the existing six-inch cast iron and nine-inch fire clay town supply mains. He later put in hand the replacement of these two pipes by a nine-inch cast iron pipe, and as this work proceeded the old six-inch pipes, put down in about 1823, were taken up and relaid in Beach Street and Carnarvon Street. The latter pipes were replaced in 1910 but those in Beach Street lasted until recently when they were taken up after over 120 years of service.

In 1877, on the advice of Mr. Carrington, the nine-inch Waterfall main was replaced by a 16-inch pipe from the intake reservoir to the Chettiar Temple and thence by a 14-inch pipe via Waterfall Road and Dato Kramat Road to Magazine Junction. These pipes are still in use today. Construction of the Waterfall reservoir was deferred for lack of funds but land was taken up for that purpose. Nothing was done about purchasing the catchment area, although the need to prevent pollution was already recognised. The last major improvement before the Act of 1887 was made on the recommendation of Mr. C. W. Barnett in 1884. This involved bringing in a new source of supply from Ayer Itam. This was done by laying a 12-inch pipe from Ammie's Flour Mill on the Halfway House Stream, down Ayer Itam Road and Dato Kramat to Magazine. By 1887 all the principal streets were served and there were about 2000 private services and 80 standpipes, providing water for some 70,000 people.

*Waterfall (1880)  
Entrance*



*Old Intake  
Reservoir*



*Contemporary  
Scene*



An interesting description of George Town of that day appears in "*Kesah Pelayaran Md. Ibrahim Munshi, 1871 - 1872*", when Enche Ibrahim visited Penang in 1871. An extract is given below :—

"We then hired a carriage and we invited two Penang men who were there to accompany us to the Waterfall. When we were passing through Pulau Tikus (the village) we saw many Burmese women in a plantation where there were two or three Siamese temples, because that day happened to be one of their festival days. I noticed the temple made of stone, resembling a Hindu temple. There were many priests too, who led the prayers. They wore neither head-dress nor coat; their loin cloths were yellow in colour, since their religion was Buddhist. The Burmese were cross-breeds of Siamese or Burmese and Chinese. Their descendants increased from time to time in Penang; they took to Chinese way of life, their dress being of the same pattern as the Chinese in Singapore, Penang and Malacca. Because of their mixed blood, they were very pretty, with soft and fair skin, black hair, oval faces, high and sharp noses; their dress was neater and better than those of the pure Chinese. Across the road there were Burmese temples of the same architecture as the Siamese temples.

We stopped there for a short while. We were surprised to see the priests and the women praying to their gods with such reverence; in the compound there were graves. Then we left for the Waterfall Garden, and when we were approaching the place, we saw many Tamils, male and female, old and young, congregating in a temple, praying and bathing, observing their festival. When we reached the foot of the hill, and after wandering about, we stopped at a hotel which is a resting place for people who come to bathe in the pool at the foot of the hill. There were people all over the place; the bathing place was divided into three classes and the charges were according to the classes; other amenities were also available there, e.g. food, drink and game of billiards; charges were reasonable. There were also changing rooms.

The water springs from the hill, clear and cool, it flows down in torrents in the same volume between rocks and boulders. The ponds are constructed with stones. The hill which is about three thousand feet high, is studded with rocks. Around the hill and up to the top there are plantations and useful trees. On the hill-top there is the flagstaff. A Government bungalow is also built there and very heavily furnished; people say it is very cold at the top of the hill. The flagstaff is not visible from the sea or from George Town from morning till noon because of mists. This explains the reason why that flagstaff is not of much use, and another one is put near the shore close to the jetty. There is also a road constructed by the Government, leading to the top of the hill and around it, but because of the steep gradient, it cannot be used by any carriage; transport up the road is by horseback or a doolie. On the other side of the bathing place, the waterfall rushes down in torrents from a height. This feature gives the popular name "Waterfall" to the place. After sight-seeing in this area we returned by a different route to see as much as possible of the people and the villages; they were thickly populated by different races."

While there was undoubted progress during the period 1867-87, it cannot be said that the Municipality was very distinct from the government. Apart from that, however, there was a curious anomaly in the way the Municipality drew part of its revenue from the country and spent it mostly on the town. Governor Weld was the first, apparently, to see the absurdity of the situation. He appointed a committee in August

1886, to prepare a Draft Bill consolidating and amending the laws relating to Municipalities while also providing for the separate administration of the countryside. The Draft Bill was ready in January, 1887. Its first object was to confine Municipal government to the town, leaving the country districts to be administered separately. Its second object was to simplify the system of collecting the Municipal revenue. Its third object was to allow the Commissioners to devolve the greater part of their duties upon a full-time President to be appointed by the Governor. With meetings held only monthly and duties less onerous, it was hoped more people might be willing to serve. The provision, however for a full-time President applied only to Singapore; Penang and Malacca would still have their Resident Councillors in the Chair.

The Bill met a certain amount of opposition but was finally passed on 18th August 1887. Even after that there was a query from the Secretary of State. When this had been dealt with, the royal sanction was given to Ordinance IX, which became effective as from 1st January 1888. Before that date it was necessary to do much preparatory work, more especially in defining the Municipal boundaries, adjusting the establishment and electing the new Commissioners. In considering this important reform we must give Sir Frederick Weld the credit for his foresight and commonsense. He saw at once the absurdity of making the Municipality co-extensive with the island. As against that, there is a sense in which the reform was retrograde. To entrust much of the administration to a paid President — a system begun in Singapore but later extended to Penang — was a confession of failure. As the attempt to associate the rate-payers with their representatives had failed, it was at least logical to entrust more of the business to a paid official. It cannot be said, however, that this was a step towards local government as it existed in England. Nor can it be said that the composition of the new board was more democratic than that of the old. Under the Act of 1856, the Municipal Commissioners numbered five; one ex-officio, one appointed by the Governor, and three elected by the ratepayers. Under the Act of 1888 there would be six Commissioners, one ex-officio, two nominated, and three elected. The elected majority had been lost, becoming indeed a minority when confronted by the President's casting vote. It might not be as simple as that in practice, but the fact remained that the weight of officialdom had if anything increased. The Commissioners' financial autonomy was now more of a reality, it is true, but in every other sense their power might seem to have declined. It remained to be seen however, what use they would make of the powers they still had.

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## CHAPTER III

### MUNICIPAL COMMISSIONER'S PROBE

Effect was given to Ordinance No. IX of 1887 by the announcement which appeared on 3rd January 1888, and which read as follows :

Notice is hereby given that ..... the election of three Municipal Commissioners for the Municipality of George Town, Penang, for the year 1883, will take place at the Sheriff's Office, Court House, in George Town, Penang, on Monday the 16th day of January next.

The voting will commence at the hour of ten in the morning and will close at the hour of five in the afternoon of the same day. Voting tickets will be supplied to each voter, on the day of election, at the Sheriff's office.

**James B. D. Rodyk,**  
Sheriff of Penang.

A list of the householders eligible to vote was open for inspection and was published, indeed, in the Government Gazette of 3rd January.

The result of this announcement was that three Commissioners were duly elected, the process being described thus in the *Pinang Gazette and Straits Chronicle* of 17th January :

#### OUR ELECTION

The Election of Municipal Commissioners took place yesterday. It was a very successful affair, the poll being unusually heavy ..... The Sheriff's Office was the polling place, and was not too convenient, the free and independent electors having to pass through the Second Court to reach it. The number of candidates for the three vacancies was a comparatively large proportion of those qualified, there being ten. Dr. Brown, the first European nominee, had the Chamber of Commerce and not a few Chinese behind him; his nearest antagonists, Mr. Cheah Chen Eok and Mr. Koh Seang Tat were also popular among their people, but both expressed their indifference in the matter. Mr. Foo Tye Sin did not find so many adherents, possibly on account of his illness and subsequent unwillingness to re-enter into public life. Mr. Martin Thomas was fifth; he had stood on "I don't seek greatness, but I'm willing to have it thrust upon me" principle ..... Hadji Kathersah fell at the first fence ..... and Mr. E. F. Thomas, being consistently "agin" the Government" fared even worse .....

..... At six o'clock a vast assembly of three persons made the welkin ring when the Sheriff announced the results. They were as follows:—

Mr. Cheah Chen Eok	..	..	145
Dr. Brown	..	..	141
Mr. Koh Seang Tat	..	..	136
Mr. Foo Tye Sin	..	..	85
Mr. Martin Thomas	..	..	54
Shaik Eusoof	..	..	46
Hadji Kathersah	..	..	11
Mr. E. F. Thomas	..	..	7
Mr. Neubronner	..	..	1
Mr. J. A. Brown	..	..	1

Someone had nominated the last candidate as a joke, he being in fact ineligible. The first three were declared elected, and the Municipal Council which assembled in its new form on 27th January should have comprised the following official and elected members.

Hon. W. E. Maxwell, C.M.G.	President
J. H. Calcott, Esq.	Acting Deputy Colonial Engineer
L. C. Brown, Esq.	Nominated
Cheah Chen Eok, Esq.	Elected
W. C. Brown, Esq., M.D.	Elected
Koh Seang Tat, Esq.	Elected

Certain weaknesses in this composition were manifest and others appeared almost at once. Mr. Maxwell, the President, was also the Resident Councillor; not an altogether happy arrangement. The Europeans tended to go on leave or disappear altogether. The Chinese civic 'indifference' revealed itself before the Council so much as met — Mr. Cheah Chen Eok resigning at once. Dr. Brown left for Europe in November, and Mr. E. F. Thomas, elected to Mr. Cheah Chen Eok's seat, himself left at the end of the year. To some extent, it might be added, the casual attitude of those elected was matched by a lack of sustained interest among the voters. At the election in March, for example, there were only 41 votes cast — 40 for Mr. E. F. Thomas and 1 for Shaik Eusoof. As against that, however, a Ratepayers Association was formed that month, 250 people meeting to decide this at the Chinese Town Hall on 1st March, with Mr. C. W. Barnett in the chair. It was supposed at the time this Association would meet regularly and air the ratepayers' grievances. It failed to do that but it soon developed into an organisation for securing the election of its representatives, of whom Mr. Barnett was to be at one time the most conspicuous.

What sort of organisation did this new Council take over, and in what sort of a town? As regards the organisation, this appears most clearly in the estimates which can be summarised as follows:—

#### Income

Rates on property	\$95,500
Taxes on private carriages	5,000
Taxes on licensed carriages	5,500
Carts	5,000
Rickshas	1,500
Rents, Town Hall, Markets	19,042
Petty Receipts	4,600
Water Rates (Domestic, Shipping, etc.)	41,750

There were arrears of unpaid rates (\$46,000 in Penang, \$28,000 in Province Wellesley). There was \$10,566 from the sale of land acquired for a cemetery but used eventually for building the Resident Commissioner's House. There was finally, a surplus of \$15,474 from the previous year. On the supposition that the arrears could in fact be collected — which is a doubtful point — the grand total would come to \$293,432.



The estimated expenditure for the year was as follows :—

Police contribution	\$20,000
Sinking Fund and interest on loan	10,410
Province Wellesley charges	6,492
Municipal Engineers Department	53,000
Roads (repairs by contract)	34,000
New Fish Market	12,000
Campbell Street Market	6,000
Land for slaughter houses	9,000
Land for storage of plant	6,000
Repairs to Anson Bridge	3,500
Repairs to Town Hall	8,700

The Police, it should be noted, came under Government, not Municipal control. The rates and taxes in Province Wellesley had previously been collected by the Municipality but these were henceforward to be collected separately — the Province Wellesley items, both under expenditure and income, being no more than a final settlement of liabilities.

In addition to these items of expenditure, the Municipality had to maintain its own establishment, the details of which are as follows :—

Secretary	..	\$3,600.00	Clerk	..	\$ 420.00
Valuator	..	2,400.00	Do.	..	360.00
Chief Clerk	..	1,440.00	Overseer of Roads	..	840.00
Second Clerk	..	780.00	Do. of Suburban		
Third do.	..	600.00	Roads	..	300.00
Fourth do.	..	600.00	Building & Nuisances		
Fifth do.	..	540.00	Inspector	..	1,140.00
Sixth do.	..	300.00	Market and do. Inspector	..	720.00
Seventh do.	..	240.00	Assistant do. do.	..	600.00
Eighth do.	..	120.00	Overseer of Scavengers	..	660.00
Shroff	..	360.00	Asst. do. do.	..	480.00
Pressman	..	120.00	Engine Driver	..	480.00
Peons, two @ 84	..	168.00	Head Fitter	..	420.00
Office-keeper	..	84.00	2nd and 3rd Fitters @ \$360	..	720.00
Town Hall-keepers, two			4th, 5th, & 6th do.		
@ \$96 and \$72	..	168.00	@ \$300	..	900.00
Punkah Puller	..	60.00	Draughtsman	..	240.00
Bailiff	..	780.00	Meter-keeper at Jetty	..	144.00
Assistant Bailiff	..	480.00	Office Peon	..	84.00
Bailiffs Peons, two @ \$84	..	168.00	Process Servers, three		
			@ \$84	..	252.00

Peon at Waterfall Tank ..	84.00	Municipal Engineer ..	2,400.00
Do. Ayer Itam Tank ..	84.00	Clerk of Works ..	1,500.00
Inspector Hackney Carriages	480.00	Night Watchman at Central Market ..	84.00
Peons Hackney two @ \$84 ..	168.00	Day peons at do. two @ \$84	168.00
Town Collectors, four @ \$480	1,920.00	Night Watchman at Prangin Markets ..	84.00
Do. two @ \$360	720.00	Day Peons at Prangin Market two @ \$84 ..	168.00
Do. two @ \$300	600.00	Overseer of Hydrants ..	120.00
Do. one @ \$216	216.00	Blacksmith ..	180.00
Do. two @ \$180	360.00	Supdt. Fire Department ..	600.00
Tax Collector ..	300.00	Engine Driver ..	480.00
Collector of carriages returns	84.00	Do. ..	240.00
Do. T. A. Rajah ..	420.00	Assistant Fireman ..	48.00
Do. Jelutong ..	300.00	Syces, two @ \$96 ..	192.00

From all this it will be apparent that the Municipal staff was largely engaged in collecting revenue and spending most of it on buildings and roads. The Chief Clerk headed the staff which collected the rates, the Municipal Engineer headed the staff which spent the money. The scope of Municipal activity was thus narrowly restricted. Even the Fire Brigade, the equipment of which belonged to the Municipality, was actually controlled by the Superintendent of Police. And if there were to be new responsibilities, they extended over an area which had actually been reduced. The key men in the Municipal administration were Mr. J. W. Hallifax, the Secretary and Mr. A. E. Kimberley, the Engineer. The Municipal Offices were inconveniently situated in the Town Hall at some distance from the business part of the town, and altogether removed from the superintendence of the President. The Town Hall was primarily intended for dramatic and musical entertainment ; its office accommodation was incidental and inadequate.

In what sort of a town was this Municipal administration to work ? The census taken in April, 1890, gave a total population of 86,900. It would have been a little less in 1888, for the death rate (at 41.57 per thousand) was higher than the birth rate (13.93 per thousand) and what increase there was derived from immigration. It was a far smaller place than it is now. In character, moreover, it was nearer the George Town of Raffles' time than the City of today. Something of its character appeared in the newspapers of 1888. The year began with festivity for the visit of His Excellency the Governor, Sir Cecil Clementi Smith, in the Colonial Yacht *Sea Belle* coincided with the Penang Races and the presence of H.M.S. *Orion*. There was a dance given on board the warship for a hundred and fifty guests, who included such local characters as Mr. & Mrs. J. A. Brown, the Misses Caunter, Dr. Dennys, Mr. Gottlieb, Mr., Mrs. and Miss Hogan, Mr. Huttenbach, the Hon. W. E. Maxwell, Mr. R. W. Maxwell, Mr., Mrs. and the Misses Neubronner, Mrs. and Miss Scott, Major Walker and Mr. & Mrs. Wray. Quite a number of these guests had some connection with the Municipality ; W. E. Maxwell as President, J. A. Brown and Neubronner as candidates, Mr. Hogan a future

*the past  
(c 1880)*

*Supreme  
Court*



*Beach  
Street*



*Bandstand at  
Dato Kramat  
Gardens*



Commissioner and Mr. R. W. Maxwell, the Superintendent of Police who (for \$50 extra) looked after the Fire Brigade as well. As for Mr. Huttenbach, his was the firm which provided the street lighting by contract for \$2.48 per oil lamp per month.

Commercial and social life revolved to some extent around the arrival and departure of the mail steamships. The P. & O. Line had Brown & Co. as agents and ran a fortnightly service. First class fare to London was \$340, return fare to Hongkong with one native servant, was \$110. Holt's Ocean Steam Ship Co. had Mansfield, Bogaart & Co. as agents and ran a weekly service. The Austro-Hungarian Lloyd Steam Navigation Co. ran a service to Trieste, Schmidt Kustermann & Co. being their agents; while the subsidised Negapatam Line, with Huttenbach, Liebert & Co. for agents, ran a frequent service to India. Advertisements shed some light on life as it was lived. Raffles Hotel had just opened in Singapore. H. J. Hartyn of 10, Beach Street had in stock Dutch Cigars, Dutch clarets and Dutch provisions. He was also agent for the Batavia Coach-Building, Saddlery and Horsedealing Company. Mr. L. Bozzo sold Italian tiles at 77A Bishop Street. Schlumpf and Kaulfuss had a photographic studio at 9 Farquhar Street. Dr. Lalor's "Phosphodyne, a vital Elixir" obtainable from Maynard & Co., would cure practically any ailment but some evidently preferred Apollinaris and Brandy, cooled no doubt with the aid of the Penang Ice Works. When thus restored they could resort to Everett & Co.'s shop, where the proprietors displayed, 'Just received, a supply of Novels and other books, American Editions, Dance Music, Sentimental and Comic Songs.' Dance Music was simpler then than now—the Valse, the Polka and the Lancers being the dance most commonly preferred. There was the *Pinang Gazette and Straits Chronicle*, printed and published by James Young Kennedy at Logans Building, Beach Street, with both local and overseas news. From this the anxious householder might learn with relief that Police Inspector Drum had returned from England after twelve months leave, with fifteen stalwart British constables, five of them for Penang. The gossip would note that James Symon's wife had left him. The politically-minded would see that the Honourable A. M. Skinner's appointment had been confirmed as Resident Councillor of Penang in succession to the Honourable W. E. Maxwell, C.M.G. They might go on to wonder where Maxwell was to be posted next — a vexing question, as we shall see.

Much of the Commissioner's time was actually spent on transport and roads and it would be appropriate now to see what their problems were. First, they were concerned, at least indirectly, with the steam tramway. The only regular public transport was that provided by the enterprising Mr. Gardner, whose trams ran on the Ayer Itam Road and who now wished to open a new route from the Prison to the Waterfall. The Commissioners had no objection to this provided his rails were not such as to make the road unusable by everyone else. This point secured, they next heard talk of his running a tramway up to the top of Penang Hill — a plan which at this period came to nothing. Trams apart, the other vehicles offered for public use were gharries, jinrikishas and bullock-carts. Under the new Municipal Ordinance all these had to be examined and licensed by the Commissioners, whose office was besieged by drivers

throughout January 1888. The gharry was a carriage drawn by a pony or ponies. The bullock-cart was a still earlier form of transport, both the bullocks and drivers coming from India. The jinrikishas were a Chinese invention. By 1901 the wealthier Straits residents were wanting to abolish them but were told by poorer residents that they were essential.

Life as it was then is aptly summed up in this popular jingle —

With "living" trending upwards and the dollar trending down  
 With fifty cents for a gharry if you're only a mile from town  
 With a torrid sun above you — with your monthly bills to pay  
 The Crack of Doom were nothing to take our risks away.

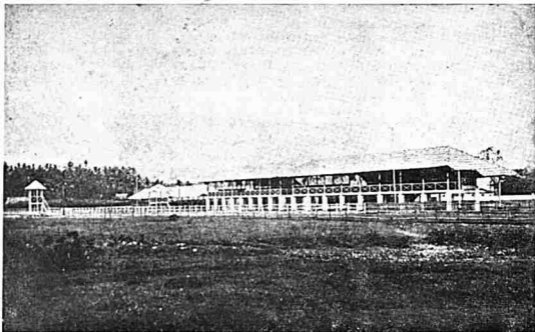
*(The Singapore Free Press)*

The wealthiest citizens all had their carriages and rarely used a jinrikisha or a gharry. The number of private carriages was first specified in the Annual Report of 1893, there being then 576 during the first half of the year and 564 during the last half. Relatively few carriages had more than one horse or pony. All the larger houses of the period had the carriage porch, an essential feature of Straits architecture, with stables well apart from the dwelling so as not to attract flies there, and servants' quarters almost equally detached so as to minimise cooking smells. Horses were ridden as well as driven, a paper chase on horseback being the local equivalent of hunting. The gharries, known to the law as hackney carriages, numbered 344 in 1890, the jinrikishas then numbering 1984. All these forms of transport were relatively slow, demanding a drained and metalled road but creating no great problem of traffic or noise. The one department under the Municipal Engineer could take care of the roads and still have time for the water supply, sanitation, and the maintenance of the Town Hall. Dust was kicked up by passing vehicles, to which the only answer was to water the roads, which was done at any rate from 1891, using sea water, at least in time of drought. To deal with matters of hygiene, a local practitioner was made Municipal Health Officer but this was only a part-time appointment, tenable for example by an army surgeon whose advice might be asked when a particular problem arose.

Routine work occupied the year 1888, with talks of a new reservoir needed and complaints about land-jobbers and speculative builders. But the year was chiefly notable for the bitter hostility which arose between Mr. Maxwell and Mr. Koh Seang Tat. Things came to a head at the meeting of 29th October. Discussion about the 12-inch water main from Ayer Itam to Jelutong was fairly amicable, but :

..... The discussion over the proposed vote of \$10,000 for Jelutong Hill road deviation was, we regret to say, conducted in a spirit of acrimony  
 ..... accusations of bad taste being bandied about between the President and the Commissioners. Such accusations ought to be avoided. They do no good: they only lead to further recriminations and bad feeling .....

*(Pinang Gazette 2nd November)*



*Race Course — then (present site of St. Georges' Girls School)  
and now (at Batu Gantong Road)*



On this occasion, Thomas being absent and Brown abstaining — his property being affected — Maxwell and Calcott (Acting Deputy Colonial Engineer) voted for the motion, Dr. Brown and Mr. Tat against. The President then carried it with his casting vote, to the indignation of the ratepayers. The immediate sequel was a libel action in which Maxwell sued the *Penang Herald*, the paper Mr. Tat was believed to own. Tat was acquitted but Prins, his editor, was sentenced to a year's imprisonment and a \$500 fine. The eventual sequel may have been Frank Swettenham's appointment to succeed Sir Hugh Low as Resident of Perak. The choice lay between him and Maxwell. As the *Free Press* supported Swettenham, the *Pinang Gazette* was careful to point out that Maxwell was the senior, 'the last of the old Indian officials' and transferred to the Straits service before the first cadets entered it. Talk of this friction within the Penang Municipal Commission may well have decided the matter. Maxwell, who left Penang in May, 1889, was probably glad enough to go. He succeeded Swettenham as Resident of Selangor but this was regarded as the junior post of the two. He was followed at Penang by the Honourable C. W. S. Kynnersley, who acted for rather less than a year. It was during this year that Messrs. R. A. P. Hogan, F. M. McLarty and C. W. Barnett were elected to the Commission. These represented the Ratepayers' Association and came into early conflict with the President. Resigning together in November as a gesture of protest, they were re-elected at the end of the year and returned to the fray with renewed confidence.

The year 1890 saw plenty of friction between official and unofficial Commissioners but was otherwise notable because the Municipal Commissioners floated a loan of \$250,000 at 5% Debenture stock, all taken up by government. Apart from metalling roads, the Commissioner's main effort was to build a new reservoir near the Waterfall as advised by Mr. MacRitchie from Singapore.

Culture, however, was not forgotten this year. To begin with, the Town Hall was improved, its entrance hall enlarged and four more rooms added. Used by the Municipal clerks in the daytime, these were to be supper rooms when a Ball was held. The stage was improved at the same time. Nor was this all, for a Town Band was formed, partly by subscription and partly at the Commissioners' expense. A grand piano was ordered but did not arrive until 1892. However enlightened this policy might have been, there were Penang residents who felt that more should have been achieved and that the principal obstacle to progress lay in the constitution of the Board itself. This view was moderately expressed in the *Pinang Gazette* of 18th February, 1890, the new Municipal constitution having then been in operation for over two years. The editor deplored the fact so little had been done.

..... The blame for these delays does not rest personally with the Commissioners — the constitution of the Board is unwieldy and itself militates against the active and expeditious despatch of business. No member of it, so far as we are aware, can possibly give any large proportion of his time to Municipal matters, and there seems now to be but little doubt that the appointment of a paid President, and the separation of his duties from those of the Resident Councillor, would be a distinct public gain .....

As regards the actual work of the Municipal executive during the last two years, it cannot be considered other than satisfactory. A scheme for the supply of a service of water to the district on the other side of the Penang river has, at last, we are glad to see, been carried to a successful issue. New streets that have more regard for regularity than we are accustomed to see in the native part of the town have been laid out in what will soon be a most populous district, — that lying on the other side of the Prangin ditch. Our roads, if they have occasionally been the subject of adverse criticism, were probably never in better condition than they are at present, and any proposal to dismiss servants in this department on vague charges of neglect of duty seems to us to be absolutely uncalled for. With the exception of the fact that the Government has been allowed without protest to utilise considerable portions of our street area as sites for fire-engine stations and other erections, which ought to be built on the equally convenient sites that can be got in any number by paying for them, the Municipal Commissioners deserve much credit for the general administration of the road department..... As to sanitation and sanitary progress, we will have more to say at a future date, but in the meantime would ask why nothing is done and what is the meaning of the delay?

True to his word, the editor resumed the attack on 28th February in a leader which read :

..... Penang is growing rapidly; houses are springing up in all directions, the suburbs are becoming part of the town, and the town is more densely crowded than formerly. This means a great liability to endemic disease unless extra precautions are taken to secure the cleanliness of the town, and a wider and more fruitful field for epidemics; for pure air is as essential to health as pure water ..... And if what we are informed be true, the effect is already beginning to be felt. The town is not so healthy as it was. Typhoid fever and other diseases, that can usually be traced to bad drains, are more common than they were ..... Closely as the Commissioners watch expenditure, and devise every means for guarding against extravagance, they are careless of public health — at least they do not pay that attention to it in the matter of sanitation and drainage which we, in common with many others, think it deserves.....

The Honourable Mr. A. M. Skinner took over the office of President in March with the result that meetings became even more acrimonious. There were disagreements at his very first meeting on 19th March and louder disagreements at his second on 31st March. Mr. Comrie's success in passing a vote of thanks to Kynnersley 'for his uniform courtesy and marked sense of fairness' may have been due to a feeling that the recent change was not for the better. Where there is friction, there is nothing like a royal visit to make it worse. It only needed the arrival of Their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of Connaught to turn smouldering grievance into open conflict. Whereas all went well in Singapore, the arrangement made for the visit in Penang went completely wrong, leaving everyone in hot dispute about questions of precedence. Both local newspapers—the *Penang Herald* had been succeeded by the *Straits Independent*—were emphatic about this.

..... Mr. Skinner is at present the most unpopular man in Penang. He has rubbed everybody the wrong way, it would appear, and the *Independent* in a mild way, takes up the cry against him .....

(*Pinang Gazette, 1st April*)

The very vehemence of feeling created opposition to itself. A few moderates began to think that Skinner might prove relatively blameless, while others thought that the unofficial Commissioners



had made themselves slightly ridiculous. One of these expressed himself in verse and in the Scottish dialect, as follows :

### The Three Commissioners

(Tune:— Willie Siew'd Peck o'Maut)

O' Farquhar wrote an angry note,  
Which Dave and Charlie cam' to see  
Three angrier men than he that wrote  
And they that read there could na' be.

*We are na daft, we're no' that daft  
But three Comissioners are we,  
At whom the President has laughed  
And, certes, that we'll no'forgie.*

Here are we met, three injured men.  
Three injured men, I trow, are we;  
The President — we'll let him ken —  
Can't shunt us with impunity.

It is his style — I ken it weel;  
He hauds his head sae mighty hie  
He thinks we're neathing but he'll feel  
He's wrang, Sirs, if we all agree.

Who first will up and at him screech  
A gallant citizen is he  
But he that maks the langest speech  
Will be the leader of us three.

We'll make him toe the line and show  
How little real power has he,  
That he's but ane of us and no'  
The whole Municipality.

*We are na daft, we're no' that daft  
But three Commissioners are we,  
At whom the President has laughed  
And, certes, that we'll no'forgie.*

(Pinang Gazette, 4th April 1890)

Relationship within the Council deteriorated, if anything, during the year and led to a crisis over the Municipal Pension Scheme. It was on the same issue that the elected Commissioners had resigned in 1889 - the Governor had refused sanction on the ground that other Municipalities made no such provision for their staff. The same scheme was put forward in July 1890, and opposed by the President as it was bound to be.

The Municipal Commissioners had a grand field day on Friday, the battle-ground being the Municipal Pension Scheme . . . . . (which the President opposed) . . . . . Under the circumstances it is not surprising that he was defeated both in argument and by votes. Mr. Barnett attacked the memorandum and took it to pieces bit by bit. Mr. McLarty, who followed Mr. Barnett, devoted himself to the arguments used in the President's speech and tore them in tatters. The result on one acquainted with the question could doubt. The President was out-argued and out-voted; his alternative suggestions were unheeded; and the Commissioners decided that their original scheme, which had been in abeyance since October last should be forwarded again to the Governor for approval . . . . .

(Pinang Gazette, 15th July)

The editor of the *Pinang Gazette* thought that the arguments for and against the scheme were very evenly balanced.

..... and but for the manner in which sanction was refused to the scheme nine months ago, we should not have cared had Mr. Skinner's views found favour with his colleagues. We should have been quite happy indeed had the question been relegated to oblivion; but having been raised again, and in the manner in which it was raised we should have looked upon it as little less than a calamity had the President carried his point. It will be remembered that the sanction of the Governor to the scheme last year was refused on the ground that other municipalities were opposed to pension schemes. In other words the municipality of Penang was to be subservient to other municipalities .....

For 'other Municipalities' we can safely read 'Singapore' and understand, in doing so, what the local resentment was about. A feature of this year was the close interest in Municipal affairs taken by the *Pinang Gazette*. Nor was its interest confined to the debates in Council. The editor's views were also heard on the scarcity of dustbins and the confusion of accounts. Above all, he sniffed and commented forthwith.

#### STINKS

..... We are led into making these remarks by the fact that Penang not only stinks, but in spite of all the efforts of our City Father, it stinks worse and worse every day ..... we should like to see some better arrangements in regard to the scavenging of the town. We cannot see the necessity of heaps of decaying refuse lying out in the streets all day, stinking and sweltering in the sun, or rotting in the rain, waiting for the scavengers carts to be brought round. We do not see the utility of coolies being employed to sweep and clean the streets when they don't do it .....

At the end of 1890 the elected Commissioners were loud in their complaints that the revenue of the Straits Settlements was all being spent on Singapore. McLarty moved on 19th December that Government be asked to contribute \$30,000 towards the expense of the waterworks - the reservoir alone was to cost \$40,000 with another \$120,000 for the first stages of a drainage scheme. This was carried unanimously. At the same time it was known that Mr. Barnett was to retire by rotation at the end of the month and would be seeking re-election. On the very day of the meeting the *Pinang Gazette* printed a letter from Mr. J. Y. Kennedy in which that gentleman - owner and until recently editor of the paper, the man interested in estimates and dustbins - expressed the hope that Mr. Barnett would not be re-elected. He complained that McLarty, Hogan and Barnett, all nominees of the Ratepayers' Association, had acted consistently together and always, and on principle, against the President. He hoped that electors would vote for Mr. Brown. Kennedy's main allegation was promptly substantiated by Messrs. McLarty and Hogan who said that they would both resign if Barnett were not re-elected. The stage was thus set for a Municipal election of more than ordinary interest. It would be untrue to say that the event attracted as much attention as the simultaneous Turf Club Meeting, but it came nearer to doing so than would now seem credible.

Preparation for the election took the form of placards urging the electorate to "Vote for Johnnie" and "Vote for Mr. C. W. Barnett". The sequel is best told in the words of the *Pinang Gazette* of 8th January 1891 :

#### The Election

The Municipal election held at the Town Hall on Tuesday was undoubtedly the most exciting that has ever taken place or been witnessed in Penang. In anticipation of a keen contest, Mr. Hallifax, the Municipal Secretary and the presiding officer at the election, had secured the assistance of the Municipal Engineer, the Health Officer, the Clerk of Works and some junior officers in comparing the votes with the register or list of voters, and it was well that he did so. From 10 a.m., the hour at which the voting commenced, until 5 p.m. when the poll closed, streams of electors poured in, or it would be more proper to say, were dragged in by the partisans of both the candidates, Messrs. J. A. Brown and C. W. Barnett. We noticed a Chinaman was so dragged about from one corner to the other, no respect being shown for his touchang, that Mr. Hallifax had to interfere, and when at length the poor fellow was released he made such a sorry appearance as occasioned considerable laughter. The result was that through sheer indignation at the treatment he received, the Celestial declined to vote at all. Another man, a squint-eyed short and rather stoutish Islamite, with Mr. Barnett's ticket under his topee, was literally carried in and in the struggle was tickled and punched most unmercifully till he was well nigh breathless. Subsequently, on being made aware that Mr. Brown was contesting the seat, he voted for that gentleman without hesitation. The excitement was very great indeed and the champagne, which was freely served at the Library corner of the Town Hall, served but to increase it, so much so that the two European constables on duty outside under the portico had frequently to be called in to restore order. But if there were ten men working for Mr. Brown there were double that number for Mr. Barnett, including two of the elected Commissioners who took the most conspicuous part in securing voters . . . . .

Two odd features about this election were the tickets and the use of the ballot box. The candidates printed their own tickets in different colours and voters flourished these on arrival at the Town Hall. It then lay with Hallifax and his colleagues to identify the person before them with the name on the list—no easy matter. In point of fact some of the latecoming voters found their names already ticked off as having voted, less from deliberate impersonation than from many people having similar names. Identity more or less established, the voter then dropping his pink or yellow card into the ballot box, which thus served no useful purpose at all. Secrecy there was none. As for the champagne, this seems to have been provided by Mr. Brown but drunk by his opponents as well as his supporters. Mumm & Co.'s champagne cost \$24.00 per case at this period but Brown may have economised by buying it from Perinet et Fils at \$15.00 per case. It served at least to add interest to the proceedings, which concluded when the result was announced, 361 for Barnett and 153 for Brown.

After cheers for both candidates, the Barnett party adjourned to the Esplanade Hotel and there drank to their candidate's health.

Finally, Mr. McLarty delivered a speech in which he remarked that it was not Mr. Brown who was defeated at that day's election but the official element that sought to sit through him. Mr. Brown, he said, was

no doubt one of the most esteemed and popular members of the community, and his family had been associated with Penang since it was founded. He knew, as a fact, Mr. Brown did not care for a seat on the Board, but had simply out of good nature condescended to be a nominee of a most unpopular official, and he was sure that those Europeans who had voted for him did so out of friendship and not from political motives. He concluded by calling for three cheers for Mr. Brown, and three groans for the confusion of the official element, which were enthusiastically given. Thus ended this memorable election.

*(Pinang Gazette 8th Jan. 1891)*

The paper's leader on 10th January ended sagely :

We congratulate Mr. Barnett on his re-election and trust that he will, by his action at the Board, shew that the honest doubts of his opponents as to the desirability of his return on the score of obstructive tactics, have no foundation in fact, and that he will devote his energies to advancing the interests of the ratepayers in the same intelligent way in which he has been lately doing. To Mr. Brown we offer our sympathy in his defeat in a well-fought battle.

Whether by coincidence or not, the Honourable Mr. A. M. Skinner was consoled at this time by the award of the C.M.G. announced on 13th January, the citation mentioning his twenty-two years of service, his part in founding the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and his success in publishing the first respectable map of the Malay Peninsula. Within a few days there were fresh disagreements within the Commission. Traffic passing the Court House had been diverted by the Police on instructions, apparently, from the Chief Justice. Mr. McLarty moved that the Commissioners should instruct their solicitors to give notice that any further interference with traffic would result in prosecution by the Commissioners. This was carried against Mr. Skinner's opposition and there were fresh complaints about "Dual Control."

We do not care about any quibbles as to what is to be considered "the people". Consider them the European residents and the pick of the natives alone if you like. But rule on those principles is the only right rule; anything else is absolutism. And it is this that we suffer from — Absolutism on the part of the Governor (felt chiefly in Municipal affairs) and absolutism on the part of the Secretary of State (felt chiefly in Legislative Council affairs).

*(Pinang Gazette, 20th Jan. 1891)*

The immediate problem of traffic noise outside the Court House was solved by spreading 'tan' - a mixture of sawdust and sand - on the roadway, but further friction could be foreseen and the editor of the *Pinang Gazette* suggested a remedy.

We think that a further moral of the matter is that the President of the Municipal Commissioners should not be the executive authority of the Settlement but some private individual as in Singapore .....

*(Pinang Gazette, 22nd Jan. 1891)*



*The Municipal Fountain — Glory & Fall*



This solution had evidently occurred to the Governor, who knew that Mr. Skinner was to leave for Europe before the end of the year. In August he nominated a new Commissioner with appointment as President for one year with effect from October. And the man nominated was none other than Mr. J. Y. Kennedy, proprietor of the *Pinang Gazette*. This astute move provided George Town with a President chosen from among the residents, one who had for long shown an interest in local government, one not associated with the McLarty group, and one likely to be supported by the principal local newspaper. The man whose newspaper had complained of "stinks" would now have the chance to do something about it. The man who had urged that 'some private individual' should be President, and not the Resident Councillor, was now to show how right he had been. However, it was evidently felt that the work would involve far more than spare-time attention. It was understood that Mr. Kennedy should give up much of his normal business, accept an official salary and devote all his mornings to the Municipality. The experiment was to last, in the first instance, for one year.

Details of this new experiment were settled at a meeting of the Commissioners held on 1st September 1891. McLarty wanted a full-time President at a salary of \$600 per month, but it was finally agreed that Kennedy should be offered \$300 per month with a house allowance of \$20. With this decision made, tension eased and interest in local politics began to dwindle. There was a Ladies' "At Home" on 17th September at the Town Hall, with dancing until late.

The Band (officially known as The Town Band) came into being in 1890.

The Governor having sanctioned a contribution from the Municipal funds towards the maintenance of a Town Band, the Commissioners appointed a committee to collect subscriptions from the public, and asked Mr. Harper, the Manager in Manila of the Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China, to engage a number of Manila men as bandsmen. Mr. Harper kindly agreed to do this, and the men arrived in April. They have proved a great acquisition to the place. They are good musicians, orderly, sober, and civil and their performances are much appreciated by the public. It has been found necessary, however, to increase the annual Municipal contribution from \$2,400 to \$3,600.

Contemporary reports had this to say about them—

..... on the whole, the music was excellent and did great credit to Penang's most valuable acquisition, the Manila Band. (*Pinang Gazette*, 19th September)

The Town Band normally played on the Esplanade, at the Dato Kramat Gardens and at the Golf Club, as also sometimes at the Eastern and Oriental Hotel, the usual time being 5.30 p.m. and the usual repertoire including items like *William Tell* and Puccini's *La Boheme*. On this occasion the revels must have kept the musicians up till the small hours, with results perceptible on the following day.

## THE MUNICIPALITY

An ordinary meeting of the Municipal Commissioners was held on Friday the 18th instant, at which the Hon. Mr. A. M. Skinner, C.M.G. (President), Capt. Cameron, R. E. and Mr. A. G. Wright were present. Mr. J. Y. Kennedy, the future President, was also present at the request of Mr. Skinner.

The Secretary said that the Hon. D. Comrie had given notice that he might not be able to attend the meeting that day, while Mr. Hogan had not been seen in his office at all. Capt. Cameron supposed it to be the result of the previous night's ball, at which remark the President merely nodded and then business was proceeded with in the usual way .....

*(Pinang Gazette, 22nd Sept.)*

But business was no longer quite as usual. The tendency was to defer decisions now until Mr. Kennedy should take over. This was done in the instance of Mr. Hallifax's request for an increase in salary after eight years in a still non-pensionable office, a request which reminded some members of the Commission that their Chief Clerk had served for thirty-five years, equally without prospect of pension. Here was material for debate but the mood of the Council had changed. Mr. McLarty resigned in September on the plea that he was going on leave and would be too busy in the meanwhile to have leisure for local affairs. Mr. Hogan resigned in October on the eve of sailing for Europe. These two were succeeded by Mr. A. R. Adams and, in December, by Dr. Brown. Soon after the vote of thanks to Mr. Skinner on 30th September, there were none of the old antagonists left. Future policy would rest with the new President.

As Mr. J. Y. Kennedy has now taken over charge of the Municipal affairs of George Town, it will be as well to reassert ..... that the gentleman entrusts the entire editorial management of the *Pinang Gazette* to the present editor absolutely .....

This was a very proper decision to make but it had, for the historian, one unfortunate result. The new editor, Mr. Egbert Ebenezer Ford, avoiding obvious eulogy of the Municipal President and equally avoiding any appearance of disloyalty, ended by saying practically nothing. Beyond publishing the minutes of meetings, the *Gazette* does little for the Municipal historian during the next few years. And indeed there was nothing very dramatic to report. The year 1892 marks the beginning of a period of quiet progress. In noting, however, that the conflict was over, we might do well to ask what the conflict had been about. The temptation here is to conclude that Maxwell, Kynnersley and Skinner were needlessly overbearing and that McLarty, Hogan and Barnett were needlessly obstructive. The real truth is that the conflict had been made inevitable by making the Resident Councillor preside over a partly elected Council. That this was wrong in principle was the chief lesson to emerge from the disagreements of 1888-91. The trouble was that Skinner was a

member of a more or less disciplined Service. For advancement, for reward, for praise or blame, he looked to the Governor. More than that, he was a member of a government with its headquarters in Singapore. On hearing of any new proposal his first reaction would be to wonder whether the Governor would approve. If in doubt about this, he would attempt to discover informally how it was likely to be received. If assured that the Governor disliked the idea, all his instinct and all his training would lead him to oppose its formal presentation. Why bother to submit what could certainly be negated? Would not such a submission reflect, indeed, on the President who forwarded it? Why give the Governor the trouble of explaining his reasons for rejecting the scheme? Such an attitude is natural enough but the resulting debate may be acrimonious if only because the disputants are not talking about the same subject. On the one side there will be elected Commissioners discussing the merits of a proposal. On the other will be official Commissioners all but openly discussing its acceptability in another place — a totally different topic. The unofficials may be aware of the Governor's opposition but their responsibility is to the ratepayers. Having done their duty by taking the action they think right, they firmly saddle the Governor with the responsibility for rejecting the measure they have passed. They may be content for the moment to have their views thus publicly recorded.

If there is an inherent opposition between Commissioners who are answerable to the electorate and a President who is primarily responsible to the Governor, there was in this instance a further antagonism between Penang and Singapore. It was felt in Penang that the governments of the Straits Settlements acted mainly for the benefit of Singapore — the town, after all, where the Governor and his senior officials lived. The Resident Councillor of Penang might rise in the Legislative Council to put the case for the oldest settlement but he was also the Governor's representative in Penang. In moments of frustration he could be regarded as the advocate in Penang of policies framed for the advantage of Singapore. To make the same official President of the Municipality was to deepen suspicions which might be baseless but which were certainly not unnatural. It is to the credit of Sir Cecil Clementi-Smith that he perceived this. He was also fortunate, perhaps, in finding Mr. Kennedy ready at hand. Not all Governors would be so fortunate. While later Presidents were to be officials again, however, they were not to be Resident Councillor as well. This saved them from being closely identified with Singapore. They could profess, and usually feel, an undivided loyalty towards the town they were to serve.

It would be reasonable to ask at this point why no attempt was made to follow the English practice, appointing an elected Mayor for a limited term of office. The difficulty about this lay in the structure of local society. British local government at this period rested almost entirely



on a class of retired or semi-retired business men whose means and leisure allowed them to do public work and often little else. Penang had no such class. The British residents mostly spent their retirement in Britain and Indian merchants would often retire to India. As for the Chinese, they often preferred influence to office. Thus, the Ratepayers' Association had a mainly Chinese membership but was represented, at one time, by three Europeans, who were more outspoken in opposition than the Chinese would have thought safe or even civilised. Although there were soon to be Chinese Commissioners again, they were fewer than might have been expected. Their views were represented when their race was not. So it came about in Penang that the decision to appoint a paid President of the Municipal Commissioners was one generally approved. It might not be a further step towards local democracy but it was a means of ensuring that the necessary work was done.

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## THE COMMISSION ACTS

Mr. J. Y. Kennedy served Penang faithfully from 1892 to 1900. He was assisted throughout that period by Mr. J. W. Hallifax, Municipal Secretary, who had been on the staff since 1883. When Mr. Kennedy finally resigned, Mr. Hallifax was made President and held that office until 1906. Replaced as President by Mr. F. J. Hallifax, he reappeared as one of the Commissioners in 1908-1912. It will be more convenient, however, to treat 1892 - 1906 as a single period, and one clearly associated with J. W. Hallifax throughout. With these capable administrators, Kennedy and Hallifax, worked Mr. Pierce, the Municipal Engineer, who went to Singapore in 1901, and latterly Dr. G. W. Park who was to do so much for the health of Penang before he retired in 1917. That these men did a great deal of work for George Town is beyond question. Above all, they laid the basis of its health, an achievement for which the Health Officer and Municipal Engineer must share the credit with the Municipal President. In understanding what they did we must realise, first of all, that their difficulties did not arise from neglect in the past but from growth in the present. The town was presenting problems which differed in scale from those previously encountered. Left to progress in its own way, the town would have become more unhealthy each year. There had been Bubonic Plague in 1889. It recurred in 1895 and again in 1899. There was smallpox in 1891. All sorts of ills resulted from the drought in 1900-1901. The problems of health were becoming urgent.

From 1892 to 1899 there was a growing uneasiness about the unsanitary conditions of the town, as frankly described by the *Pinang Gazette* in 1890. Dr. Kerr, acting Chief Health Officer, was sent to inspect the drains and sewers of Rangoon in January, 1895. He returned with some ideas but it soon appeared that funds for drainage were lacking. The completion of the Ayer Itam Reservoir in August, 1892, was the main improvement of this period but it did not touch the main causes of the disease. The smallpox epidemic of 1892 illustrated, however, the ignorance and prejudice against which the health officers had to contend. There were 359 cases, the peak being in the month of October.

A house-to-house visitation was organised in November.

The house-to-house visitation caused dismay among the Chinese and Natives, and met with strong opposition; and deputations to protest against it, and to try to get the conditions modified, waited both on the Resident Councillor and on me. Great consideration was given to their views, and in every instance where it was possible, their requests were acceded to. The opposition appeared to me to be greater to the removal of patients to the Hospital than to the house-to-house visitation. The non-European inhabitants all showed a rooted objection to the Hospital; and the deputations asked that, when cases were reported, they should be treated in the houses in which they then were. This it was impossible to allow; but to meet their views and consult their feelings as much as possible, I agreed that every patient whose case was reported should be treated in his own house, if the house were suitable, or, if not suitable, in some other suitable house; it being understood that the word "suitable" should be most liberally interpreted. In consideration of this privilege a number of leading Chinese undertook to report all cases that should come within their knowledge. A notice was at once issued embodying this arrangement which I am told, completely satisfied the Chinese and Natives.

The principal reason for this strong measure was the difficulty put in the way of the Health Officer and his staff by the townfolk to keep them from discovering cases of small-pox. Few cases were reported: the ideas of the bulk of the people were primitive almost beyond belief as to the danger arising from contact with persons suffering from the disease: and, through taking no precautions (except against discovery) it spread rapidly.

(Annual Report for 1892)

Eventually the health authorities established a quarantine camp to which the known cases were removed. It cannot be said, however, that general conditions were improved. Various practitioners, Dr. Kerr and Dr. Smith, reported on disease and death but could do little about it. In 1896 some 480 children died before reaching the age of one, and mostly before they had lived three months. This represented a proportion of 319.78 per thousand registered births. There were 34 deaths from cholera that year. By 1898 the proportion of deaths in infancy had risen to 331.6 per thousand. In 1899 a resident was writing to the local paper to remark that :

..... Penang has in recent years acquired a certain bad reputation of having become a somewhat unhealthy and fever-stricken place .....

(*Pinang Gazette, 12th May, 1899*)

Before that month ended, came the Plague.

Bubonic Plague, reported as spreading both in Hongkong and India, reached Penang round about 20th May. Two strangers had it and died. Next, two inhabitants had it, one Malay and one Chinese ; and both died. There were 40 cases in all, 36 of them fatal. The people were urged not to panic. Pritchard & Co. promptly advertised Jeyes Purifier as the best Plague Preventive known. Meanwhile, the Municipal officials acted with vigour amidst general approval. It is interesting to note what the President did on his own responsibility, only reporting to the Commissioners on 10th June. Those at the meeting were Mr. J. Y. Kennedy, Dr. Avetoom, Mr. Cheah Chen Eok, Mr. Firmstone, Mr. Gilchrist and Mr. J. F. Wieford.

..... The President informed the Commissioners that he had engaged extra inspectors, extra coolies, and extra carts. The rubbish now cast into the streets would have to be burned instead of being thrown away .....

Thirty one extra sub-inspectors had been engaged .....

He, the President, had engaged a row of houses in Anson Road and another in Macalister Road, into which people can be removed whilst their houses are being disinfected. The Chinese, had said, had helped and were helping in every way .....

150 coolies had been taken off the town and suburban roads to help clean up the town and 76 extra Chinese and 12 Kling coolies had been engaged for that purpose; and more were being engaged. In addition to the usual scavenging carts, 77 more carts had been engaged and there would be another 25 carts available tomorrow, making then a total of 151 carts for the removal of refuse .....

(*Pinang Gazette, 10th June, 1899*)

Rats were known to be the carriers of the disease but their prevalence was due to the existence, undestroyed, of the refuse on which they fed. The remedy was to clean out the places where rats could breed.

The amount of rubbish and filth shot out on to the streets was enormous. It was quite impossible to deal with it in the ordinary way, and therefore fires were started, for the purpose of burning it . . . . . A large quantity of rags, feathers, bones, old shoes and old cotton were bought up from the dealers in such articles and burned . . . . . an offer of 2 cents per rat, for every rat brought in, led to the destruction of a large number of these animals . . . . .

(Annual Report 1903)

Where cases had occurred the healthy occupants were removed to temporary quarters while their houses were cleared, cleaned, disinfected and ventilated. It was this epidemic which led to the series of reforms which immediately followed and which began, evidently, with the appointment of Dr. George W. Park.

So far the Health Officer had been an army medical man or a local practitioner, employed in a part-time capacity. But Dr. G. W. Park was a specialist in preventive medicine, being not only M.B. but also B.Sc. (Public Health). He was employed on a full-time basis from 1898 or earlier, his salary rising from a substantial £650 per year to a generous £900 at the maximum. Among his first reforms in 1900 was the setting up of laboratories. He also induced the Commissioners to renew and improve their offers for rats, the reward being fixed at 4 cents per live rat and 2 cents per corpse. About 150,000 rats were destroyed up to the date when the offer was withdrawn. Following two more odd cases of the plague, the offer was then renewed, 51,500 more rats being accounted for before the year ended. Three more Sanitary Inspectors were appointed that year but with no immediate or startling results. The death rate, which had been rising since 1895, was higher in 1901 than it had been in 1893. This year may nevertheless have been the turning point. For one thing, it was the year of Census. For another, it was a year when Dr. G. W. Park acted for a time as President in the absence of Mr. J. W. Hallifax, who had been given eight month's sick leave. It was, lastly, the year in which the Health Officer's report was of particular significance.

There had been serious errors in the Census of 1891. That of 1901 gave a firmer basis for assessing population trends. The figure for that year was 94,409. Although the female population was proportionately greater (1 : 2.04) than it had been in 1891, the birth rate was only 15.21 per thousand as contrasted with the death rate of 37.63. Infantile mortality was high, 437 children dying under one year old out of 1,439 babies born. Deaths among the population at large were mainly due to phthisis, remittent fever, diarrhoea, dysentery and beri-beri. The cause of the last complaint was then unknown but Dr. Park thought that the other illnesses could be reduced by better scavenging, better sanitation and better water supply.

I think it should be our endeavour to get the people to look upon the Municipality as a paternal body working solely for their good and comfort. I fear there are many who look upon our Inspectors only as men to be propitiated, and the departments to which they belong as parts of a machine whose duty is to issue summonses and inflict fines.

Instead of working on their minds by fear of the Inspector, let us rather assist them by making sanitation as easy as possible. For this purpose the regular removal of rubbish by the Municipality from private premises would be of immense value.

(Health Officer's Report 1901)

In 1902 Dr. Park was still preaching his enlightened and human doctrines, with insistence on ventilation, cleanliness, pure water and sanitation.

All this was the prelude to a general reorganisation of the Health Department in 1903. This was described as follows :—

The Municipal Health Officer's department was entirely rearranged during the year. A certificated Sanitary Inspector, Mr. W. D. Swinney, was obtained from England as Chief Inspector. Mr. Ward became Second Inspector. The town was divided into two districts, one under each of these gentlemen. Under them were five Sub-Inspectors. Prosecutions are conducted only by the two Chief Inspectors. The duties of Sub-Inspectors were reduced to systematic visiting of houses, serving notices, watching the carrying out of work and reporting to the Chief Inspector as to whether it is satisfactory or not. The new system is a great improvement on the old. The work done during the year was much more satisfactory than hitherto and great improvements were effected in a number of most insanitary houses. The prosecutions were more satisfactorily carried out and abatement orders were obtained instead of fines.

(Annual Report 1903)

Further reforms were to follow. A Deputy Health Officer was appointed in 1905. The attempt to deal with mosquitoes began in 1907, and by 1913 the labour force amounted to 91. As for Dr. Park, he was to work on faithfully for nearly twenty years, retiring in December, 1917. The value of his achievement is best shown by the statistical results. These did not come at once. The average crude death rate for 1904-8 stood at 41.14 per thousand. It was still 36.17 in 1910, by which year the birth rate had reached 16.16 per thousand. Infant mortality fell from 337 per thousand in 1909 to as low as 261 in 1912. Still better results were to follow from the opening of the King Edward VII Maternity Hospital, opened in September, 1915, with a Matron, two nurses and two pupil midwives. The death rate was not so easy to reduce, however ; partly because the opening of rubber estates on the mainland caused malaria among the coolies, especially in 1908-9, and some of these died in Penang while trying to return to India. Within the Municipal limits the war against mosquitoes was waged unceasingly. So was the war against rats, in which the known casualties were numbered thus :—

1901	..	93,426
1902	..	131,395
1903	..	139,079

By then the suspicion had begun to dawn that rats were being bred for the purposes of claiming 2 cents each, which was the reward offered. So resort was had to a poison called "The Common Sense Rat Exterminator," which gave less impressive statistics but may have had greater effect. The corpses found numbered :—

1904	..	10,546
1906	..	11,406
1907	..	10,000
1908	..	8,696

It was hopefully assumed that these represented only a small proportion of those poisoned. When there was plague again, however, the older method was revived, giving results like these :—

1915	..	51,110
1916	..	56,811

Rats were thus far from extinct. It could be claimed, however, that they were fewer than they had been in 1903.

The other two great achievements of the Halifax period had to do with water and electricity. The water problem was brought into prominence by the drought which lasted from November 1900 to May 1901. With only eleven inches of rainfall in five months, rationing was inevitable, although itself undesirable from the sanitary point of view. In 1903 Mr. Tomlinson, a Civil Engineer from Singapore, was called in and produced a careful survey from which it appeared that 100,000 people were using (or wasting) ten million gallons a day or in other words a daily hundred gallons per inhabitant. He pointed out that to continue the supply on this scale would mean one of two things. There would either have to be an impounding reservoir or the universal metering of domestic supplies.

Mr. Tomlinson's remarks on the subject of metering are worthy of record :

To prevent waste, two remedies are generally proposed: those who are opposed to meters propose inspectors living, but not necessarily active nor faithful nor judicious; in any case only capable of being in attendance for a short time during the twenty-four hours. Those who favour meters recommend them as inspectors in constant attendance night and day at every tap; silent; watchful; judicious; insulting nobody and taking no bribes.

The Commissioners wisely adopted the metering system as best. It was some years, of course, before it had become universal. By 1914, 5,337 meters had been installed out of 8,297 services. By 1914 all water supplies were metered except to Municipal undertakings. The result was that a growing population was using less water, not more, as the following figures show :—

#### Water Consumption

1905	..	..	10,461,970 gallons per day
1906	..	..	7,555,440
1907	..	..	8,219,900
1910	..	..	6,854,680
1914	..	..	5,917,560
1918	..	..	5,145,005
1919	..	..	5,494,620

Meters apart, the water situation was that the town of 110,000 persons was supplied, first, by an 18-inch main direct from the Sungei Ayer Itam and Tatt's Stream No. 1\* and second, by a 16-inch main from the Waterfall with a service reservoir interposed.

A scheme for lighting the town with electricity was first submitted to the Municipal Commission in 1901 and referred to a London Consulting Electrical Engineer, Sir W. H. Preece. A scheme was agreed upon and the Governor sanctioned the raising of a loan of £24,000 to cover the estimated capital cost. It was decided to build the power station on the old Conservancy ground at Sungei Pinang, first removing from the site the existing Night-Soil Depot. There was much indignation about the allocation of the contract to a British firm without previously inviting local tenders. The principle of always inviting local tenders had been established in MacLarteian days but was ignored in this instance on the advice of Messrs. Preece and Cardew. Work on the foundations began in December, 1902 and most of the machinery had been installed by the end of the following year. Mr. O. V. Thomas, who supervised the work, was appointed Penang's first Municipal Electrical Engineer. On 14th July 1904, the current was switched on for the first time, initially supplying 41 arc lamps in public streets and also 15 private households. 'The equivalent of 407 lamps of 8 candle power.' There were 97 private installations by the end of the year. At first the current was available only at night but the supply was made continuous as from 1st January 1905, and by the end of that year the number of private consumers had risen to 188 ; and so on to 336 in 1908.

Electricity was to revolutionise life in many ways. Its success was immediate with a trading profit as from 1906, but the oil lamps in the back streets died hard. There were still 286 of them in 1914 despite the policy of replacement announced in 1909. They even increased in 1919 to 302, and it was 1922 before they were as few as 148 and 1926 before the last one was removed. Ceiling fans were first used in 1907 (113 of them) and multiplied only slowly until 1924, thereafter appearing everywhere in 1925-28. Table fans are first mentioned in 1928 but these were provided by the Municipality, other types having existed, no doubt, at an earlier date. The days of the punkah and the punkah-puller (see page 27) were over by about 1925. The pity is that no record seems to exist of the invasion of refrigerators, followed eventually by air-conditioners, which came to transform life in the tropics. Electricity was also used, however, for industrial purposes, the dozen motors of 1908 including the one that was used in printing the *Pinang Gazette*. The other major use for electricity was in propelling trams but this enterprise did not begin until 1906 and will be dealt with in another Chapter.

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\* Name derived from one-time Commissioner, the late Mr. Koh Seang Tatt, owner of the plantation in Ayer Itam where the stream has its source. The stream is still being used as an intake for the water supply to town.

A last reform of this period was the belated provision of the Municipal building. The decision to build such a headquarters was taken in 1900, the plans being approved in May and the main contract, with Mr. Lee Ah Cheang, signed in September for \$75,400. The total cost, including ironwork from Europe, would amount to \$100,000 and the work was to be finished by September 1902. By the end of 1901 the brickwork of the main block and sidewings had risen to twelve feet above the first floor level. By the end of 1902 the building was practically completed, apart from decoration and furniture. In March 1903, the Municipal officials moved into their new home, which has been in use ever since. A by-product of this migration was a consequent improvement of the Town Hall used as the Municipal offices since about 1880 but now freed of desks and files and restricted henceforth to its proper purpose. Soon afterwards the opportunity was taken to renovate this building which was described in July 1906 as 'really handsome' and the more so for being fitted with electric light and fans. It began a new lease of life with an amateur concert. As for the Town Band, sometimes heard there, it continued its subsidised existence and could be hired at the rates laid down, thus :

Dances	..	\$60
Chinese Funerals	..	\$60
Dinners	..	\$30
Garden Parties	..	\$30

Even collecting these sums, the Band had a deficit of \$700 in 1904, \$2,500 in 1905, and nearly \$10,000 in 1907.

Another landmark of the period was Mr. Cheah Chen Eok's offer in 1897 to present the Municipality with a Clock Tower to commemorate the sixtieth year of the Queen's reign. The offer was gratefully accepted but no contract was signed until 1900. When the Clock Tower was completed and handed over at a ceremony on 23rd 1902, the Queen had passed away. One way and another, it must be agreed that the period 1892 — 1906 was one of notable progress — in hygiene, in water supply, in electricity and in improved administration. During the early years the credit for all that was done went to Mr. J. Y. Kennedy. There was concern when he was absent in 1900 :

Nobody who has lived in Penang during the last ten years can be ignorant of the President's indefatigable energy, exercised at all times and in every necessary direction . . . . . We have, it is true, hard-working and astute Commissioners on the Board at the present time, yet Penang will feel all the safer when Mr. Kennedy returns and resumes his duties . . . . .

*(Pinang Gazette, 12th May 1900)*

Later it began to be realised that Mr. J. W. Hallifax was just as efficient and that Kennedy had owed much all along to Hallifax's help. Finally Hallifax came to be regarded (by some at least) as the town's guiding spirit, without whose direction all would have been "chaos and old night." This was the feeling which underlay the Municipal crisis of 1906.

When the year 1906 began the Municipal Commission comprised three nominated members: J. W. Hallifax, L. H. Clayton and A. R. Adams; and three elected members, Lo Beng Quang, Dr. P. V. Locke and Lim Eu Toh. Mr. Clayton left the Colony in June and was replaced by Mr. W.



Peacock. Mr. Hallifax this year finished his term of office as President and expected to be nominated by the Governor for another five years. This, however, Sir John Anderson declined to do. As a protest against the Governor's decision, made known to them before the meeting of 13th July, four of the Commissioners resigned their seats. These were the three elected Commissioners and Mr. A. R. Adams. In a letter to Mr. J. W. Hallifax dated 7th July, 1906, the elected Commissioners wrote:

Sir .....

..... We formally place on record that our reasons for doing so are the fact that the Government has refused to accede to either of the unanimous recommendations of the whole board, namely first that your salary should be increased to £1,200 per annum and secondly that your tenure of office should be increased from three years to six years, and that the Government has so refused without vouchsafing to us any reason for such refusal .....

Percival V. Locke

Lim Eu Toh

Lo Beng Quang

There would seem to be more than one opinion on this issue, for the *Pinang Gazette* studiously refrained from supporting Dr. Locke and his colleagues. The Governor, Sir John Anderson, arrived in the Colonial Yacht *Sea Mew* on July 29th, merely to attend his son's wedding — and that of the quietest, as the Governor was in mourning — but the leader of the 31st July makes no mention of the Municipal crisis. It was rather the editor's purpose to urge that Penang should be a separate Crown Colony. The burning question of the day, in the editor's opinion, was whether Penang was to be taxed in order to provide new harbour facilities at Singapore. That the elected Commissioners were not universally supported became apparent again at a meeting of ratepayers held on 8th August, itself the prelude to another meeting on the 16th. At this second meeting Mr. Leong Lok Heng took the chair with Mr. Gan Teong Tat as interpreter. There were present otherwise Dr. Locke, nine Chinese members of the Association, and the press.

A meeting of the ratepayers of the Municipality of George Town was held in the Chinese Town Hall yesterday afternoon to consider what action should be taken with reference to a minute recorded in the minute book of the Chinese Town Hall at the meeting held on the 8th instant when it was noted that the three elected Municipal Commissioners had resigned their seat on the Municipal Commission without having previously consulted the ratepayers who had elected them.

(*Pinang Gazette* 17th August)

In the discussion which took place Dr. Locke explained that several leading ratepayers had been consulted. His explanations brought the Commissioners a vote of thanks but the point to observe was that it was they, not the Governor, whose conduct was called in question. There may have been people who thought that Hallifax had reigned long enough. If there were, they evidently conceded the value of his work in the past. The resignation of the Commissioners led to an election on 21st August

at which Mr. Gan Teong Tat, Mr. R. A. P. Hogan and Mr. Quah Beng Kee were elected. Mr. G. H. Lees was nominated by the Governor, but only after the Board had met again on 24th August, with Adams serving until his successor should have been appointed. A Sub-Committee of the whole Board minus the President then decided to vote Mr. J. W. Hallifax a gratuity of \$20,000 explaining their decisions as follows :--

In making this recommendation we have taken the following facts into consideration. When he joined the Municipal service in 1883 as Secretary, the whole office had to be reorganised. Rates were found to be in arrears and had to be collected; and in many cases the arrears were for six, eight and ten years and the account books had consequently to be put in order. The fact that the system of working and the working of the office is now in a high state of efficiency is undoubtedly due to him and his many years of faithful service. The Resident Councillor was President from 1888 to 1891. Mr Kennedy succeeded him in 1891 and acted as such until 1900 when Mr. Hallifax was appointed President. The Resident Councillor naturally had to leave the management to Mr. Hallifax, subject to direction from and consultations with him. Mr. Kennedy had business of his own and consequently could only give a small part of his time to Municipal matters. There was not even an Assistant Secretary until 1895 and by that time the whole office and its working had been thoroughly and efficiently organized and the duties of the officers mapped out for them.

The Commissioners also observed that Mr. J. W. Hallifax had no pension (a sore point, this) and had forgone his leave so often that his absences totalled only two years out of the twenty-three years he had served. Mr. J. W. Hallifax retired as from 31st August and the local newspaper of the following day was loud in his praise.

To the retiring President, Mr. J. W. Hallifax, every inhabitant of Penang owes a debt of gratitude. He has done more for the progress of the town than anyone has ever done in the past or is likely to do in the future. His work has been a labour of love, and although we have occasionally differed from him on questions of administration, we have gladly recognised that he has always been actuated by a sincere desire to do the very best thing for Penang. Mr. J. W. Hallifax has rendered great and unique services to his fellow townsmen; he has given the best and most fruitful years of his life to the Municipality; he has for a quarter of a century set an example of devotion to work with single mindedness of purposes which has reacted happily through all the Municipal departments. It is only right that these services and this devotion should receive public, official and substantial recognition . . . . . Mr. Hallifax takes with him into private life the respect and esteem of all who have come into contact with him either officially or unofficially, and the knowledge that the work he has done during the long period of his service in the Municipality has earned him the gratitude and appreciation of many of his fellow-citizens with whom he is not personally acquainted.

The honorarium of \$20,000 was reduced to \$10,000 by the Governor's decision. As for Mr. Hallifax he remained in Penang and entered business. The nature of his enterprise (or some part of it) became public on the day following his retirement when the following advertisement appeared :

**TO BE SOLD**  
By public auction  
by  
Mr. J. W. Hallifax

In the Courtyard of Logan's Buildings  
Beach Street, Penang  
On Saturday, 8th September, 1906  
commencing at 11 A.M.

All that piece of land and dwelling  
house bearing Municipal No. 11,  
Larut Road and known as  
"Ashburton" .....

Mr. J. W. Hallifax had this time a temporary office at 37 Beach Street. As a licensed auctioneer he had rivals in Mr. Koh Eng Hin and Mr. J. M. Percival Smith, so that his business cannot have been restricted to that. One would like to know more of his retirement. All we know for certain is that he remained in Penang until nominated as a Municipal Commissioner in 1908 and 1909. He might have gone to Britain in the following year. Later again, news of one of his activities comes from an advertisement :

**On Friday, 21st December, 1906**

Mr. J. W. Hallifax has been instructed by the Municipal Commissioners to sell at the Steam Tramway Offices, Western Road, certain Rolling Stock, Machinery, Plant and Material formerly the property of the Penang Steam Tramways Company, comprising Steam Locomotives, Work-Shop, Engine and Boiler ..... a quantity of Old Wheels and Axles ..... and a quantity of Scrap Iron.

This advertisement marks the end of a phase in the story of Penang's public transport, but the subject deserves a section to itself. It is part moreover, of the wider question of roads, jinrikishas, horses and cars — a question to which the chapter which follows will be devoted.

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## IMPROVING THE TRANSPORT SYSTEM

As if to console the Municipality for the loss of its old President, the Governor appointed a successor of the same name. Mr. F. J. Hallifax of the Straits Settlements Civil Service was appointed President for three years as from 1st September, 1906. The new Mr. Hallifax had been Acting Senior District Officer of Province Wellesley, and the *Pinang Gazette* of 1st September remarked that 'the appointment is an excellent one and will meet with general approval'. The Commissioners were less enthusiastic and passed a resolution to this effect on 31st August :

That while the Commissioners are prepared to accept Mr. F. J. Hallifax as Municipal President, at a salary of £850 per annum to be paid at 2/4 exchange, they desire to enter a formal protest against the appointment of a Government official, and it is only on the understanding that the appointment of a Government officer is a temporary arrangement that they are willing to concur in the present appointment

(*Pinang Gazette, 11th September*)

Protest as they might, the Commissioners could find no local candidate for the office, whether a business man or a Municipal official. Mr. L. A. C. Biggs, the Secretary, was evidently not of that calibre, nor would any other administrative official have been likely to develop much initiative under Mr. J. W. Hallifax's competent rule. A new Municipal Secretary had been imported quite recently but had eventually been given a gratuity and sent back to England. The former President himself had admitted 'that he had been unable to get anyone to take up his work during the leave which had been granted to him.' As for the local business men, many were representatives of large firms with a head office in Singapore, and so eligible to a higher salary, on promotion, than a Municipality could offer. Others belonged to firms which had business, as contractors, with the Municipality. So, alternative candidates were lacking. As for the Governor, he might not have been too eager to find a local man even had there been many to choose from. For Penang was restive enough as it was without appointing an official spokesman for the local grievances. The Penang Association, formed in September, 1906, was already giving voice to separatist demands.

..... the fact is that all classes of the population in Penang are convinced that the treatment accorded to this Settlement during the time which has elapsed since Penang has had a Resident Councillor in the place of a Lieutenant-Governor cannot be tolerated any longer. We have been regarded; for decades as a mere vassal dependency of our "sister" Settlement; wherever our desires have clashed with those of Singapore, we have had to go to the wall; and to perpetuate this scandalously unjust state of affairs has been for years the aim and object of many influential people who see in the growing prosperity of Penang a menace to their own private interests.

For reasons, then, both political and practical, an appointment was made from the ranks of the Civil Service. Nor was this to be the 'temporary arrangement' which the Commissioners envisaged. It became

the normal practice but with the office distinct from that of the Resident Councillor. As time went on there was also a tendency to make the Presidency the last post a certain officer would fill. When this happened, he was able to identify himself with the town in a way less possible for one who might be looking for further promotion elsewhere. In general the system was to work fairly well.

Mr. F. J. Hallifax, the new President, found himself provided with an efficient organisation in newly-built offices. He had Mr. L. B. Bell as Engineer, Dr. G. W. Park as Health Officer, Mr. O. V. Thomas as the Chief Electrical Engineer, with Mr. L. A. C. Biggs and Mr. H. H. Peterson\* in charge of the Administration. The Councillors were experienced and capable men, and there was Mr. J. W. Hallifax as elder statesman, ready to advise. The battle for health, the war against mosquitoes and rats, was being fought with vigour. What was beginning was the problem of transport, a problem symbolised by the opening of the electric tramways on 1st January, 1906 but also generally affecting the roads. The advent of the motor-car was to create problems new not only in scale but in kind.

To take the tramways first, the story goes back to the 1880's and the steam-tram run by Mr. Gardner on the Ayer Itam and Waterfall Roads. There were eleven cars on these routes in 1890 and the Penang Steam Tramways Company had its headquarters, as we have seen (p. 50) in Western Road. The business failed to prosper and passed into the hands of the New Oriental Banking Corporation, which offered it to the Municipal Commissioners in 1893. They decided against the purchase and the Tramways Company continued its not very prosperous career. In 1898 the Company laid a line of light rails for horse-drawn cars. This ran from Magazine Road along Penang Road and Chulia Street to Weld Quay. The horse trams did not supersede the others but were in simultaneous operation, and indeed (on one occasion) in collision.

A collision between the steam-tram and the horse-tram occurred at about 5 o'clock yesterday afternoon, at the end of Chulia Street Ghaut where the Penang Road line meets that from Weld Quay ..... The passengers of the horse-tram were squandered about the road. Three men were injured .....

*(Pinang Gazette, May 4th, 1899)*

Not the speediest vehicle at best, a horse-tram which is not even safe must soon become unpopular. Kerr Stuart's Penang Steam Tramways Ltd. was put up for sale by auction in May, 1900, but there were no bidders. Its assets were then bought by the Government (not by the Municipality) in 1901 and a service resumed, again at a loss. In July, 1903 Government gave notice of discontinuing the tram service and this almost compelled the Municipality to take responsibility for it as from April next year, a \$40,000 loan for the purpose being offered by the Government. As electricity would soon be available, the prospects of the tramway had rather improved. With the current turned on in 1904, work began on the electrification of the trams as from April 1st, not

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\*There is a descendant of Mr. H. H. Peterson in the City Council service at present.

finishing however until December, 1905. On the 23rd of that month the intrepid Commissioners made the first journey on the electric tram. On 1st January, 1906 the regular service began on a 2½ mile double track between the Prison and the Jetty, the Ayer Itam route being opened eight months later. There were eight cars in all, operating on an 11-minute frequency. The Tramway Offices were built in Dato Kramat and occupied on 27th October, 1907, remaining in use since. For long the Tramways were run as a sub-department of the Electricity Supply Department; the Transport Department being made separate only in 1953. Difficulties were encountered by this enterprise, with declining receipts in 1907-08 (a slump period) and the destruction of a bridge in 1909. By 1913, however, the trams were making a profit and continued to do so until the trade depression of 1922. Their gross profit reached 10.6% in 1917. It was in 1922 that the replacement of trams by trolley-buses was first discussed as an economy measure. Trolley buses were first put into service in 1925 but the last tram was not replaced until 1936. At their maximum the trams numbered 24, with over five miles of double and five miles of single track — about eleven miles in all.

Of other public conveyances the oldest was the bullock cart, the numbers of which might reasonably have diminished with the advance of civilisation. Instead, they increased for a time with the growth of prosperity, reaching their peak in 1903, as the following table (1) will serve to show :

1895	591	1917	397	1938	34
1896	638	1918	435	1939	29
1897	598	1919	484	1940	29
1898	638	1920	507	1946	27
1899	581	1921	447	1947	39
1900	587	1922	344	1948	24
1901	603	1923	384	1949	21
1902	609	1924	367	1950	20
1903	679	1925	365	1951	15
1904	673	1926	394	1952	16
1905	638	1927	337	1953	12
1906	624	1928	302	1954	9
1907	621	1929	218	1955	9
1908	602	1930	126	1956	13
1909	532	1931	75	1957	12
1911	499	1932	49	1958	9
1912	539	1933	57	1959	11
1913	485	1934	58	1960	6
1914	479	1936	55	1961	7
1916	409	1937	37	1962	5

They began to diminish from about 1905, dwindled rapidly during the slump of 1930 — and increased only slightly during the Japanese occupation. They seemed about to disappear altogether in 1953 — 54 and then their number suddenly increased in the following year. Although not exactly popular with traffic authorities or motorists, the bullock carts are still on the road.

Of respectable antiquity again was the jinrikisha, whether plying for hire or for private use.

(1) Statistics are lacking for 1910, for 1915 and also for 1941 — 45.

The public jinrikisha had a history best shown in the table (1) which follows :

1895	2,302	1918	2,352	1939	2,238
1896	2,533	1919	2,501	1940	2,121
1897	2,651	1920	2,612	1946	613
1898	2,637	1921	2,906	1947	316
1899	2,680	1922	2,820	1948	178
1900	2,772	1923	2,947	1949	116
1901	3,077	1924	3,186	1950	95
1902	3,304	1925	3,136	1951	73
1903	3,696	1926	3,046	1952	62
1904	(3,367)	1927	3,441	1953	52
1905	(3,357)	1928	3,095	1954	47
1906	(3,131)	1929	2,831	1955	38
1907	(3,074)	1930	2,992	1956	28
1908	(3,024)	1931	2,690	1957	27
1909	(2,914)	1932	2,263	1958	26
1911	3,171	1933	2,198	1959	22
1912	3,140	1934	2,317	1960	18
1913	2,872	1935	2,489	1961	12
1914	2,780	1936	2,548	1962	7
1916	2,631	1937	2,489		
1917	2,518	1938	2,378		

Public jinrikishas were most numerous, it will be seen in about 1903, declined in number from 1931 but were still over two thousand in number in 1940. They were owned mostly by tradesmen who hired them to the pullers. They represented at times a thinly disguised form of unemployment, as also a source of exasperation to other road-users. They were a continual source of trouble — so much so that an amendment to the Ordinance governing the registration of vehicles was passed in 1903, making the Registrar a magistrate for the purpose of the Ordinance. He henceforth held his own court for dealing with the traffic offences. In 1908, for example, a typical year, the Registrar dealt summarily with cases as follows :

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- (1) For the years 1895-1903 the highest figure for the year is given. For the years 1904-09 the figure is an average for the year. Statistics are lacking for 1910, 1915 and 1941-45.

## Offences by Pullers

Obstructing traffic	1,243 cases	977 convictions
Refusing to let rikisha for hire	58 "	33 "
Demanding more than authorised fare, disorderly behaviour etc.	94 "	70 "
Carrying bulky and other prohibited articles	92 "	69 "
Miscellaneous	171 "	130 "

Including the few cases under other headings the Registrar dealt that year with 1,677 cases. His fines ranged from 50 cents for loitering to \$100 for using a false under plate, with detention of the jinrikisha for up to a month. He also dealt with offences committed against pullers — refusing to pay legal fare, assaulting the puller or damaging the jinrikisha. The Registrar had much else to do, condemning jinrikishas as unfit for use, and refusing a licence to pullers judged to be infirm.

There is a marked improvement in the way pullers now observe the rule of the road. Perfection is still very far off and will I am afraid never be attained, when every Chinese coolie who is temporarily out of employment takes to pulling a jinrikisha in the meantime.

On the occasion of the visit of H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught to Penang, sixteen rubber tyred jinrikishas were provided with special pullers for the conveyance of the royal party at night from the Residency to Swettenham Wharf on their departure. The journey was completed in under seventeen minutes . . . . . (1907)

Alan W. B. Hamilton

Registrar of Jinrikishas & Hackney Carriages

The other objection to the jinrikisha was that some people found it embarrassing to travel in one. There was evidently little of that feeling in 1908. By 1929 or thereabouts people seemed to have felt differently. George Bilainkin\* describes his first landing on the quayside :

\*One time Editor of *Straits Echo*.



Suddenly I seemed to be a prisoner, surrounded by no fewer than a dozen little carriages, not unlike the bath chairs in the parks of Bath or Kensington Gardens. In front of the place for the passenger, who must sit high up, between two enormous wheels with rubber tyres, were the shafts. Inside there stood Chinese ..... They were jostling and pushing each other out of the way ..... I walked slowly through the smell of old shirts and shouting humanity to the oldest coolie who now stood away at the back of the group ..... The old man almost doubled himself up between the shafts, turned the carriage to the right and to the left, looked back to see whether there was any traffic behind, and was off.

The master was on the throne. The slave was in harness. \*

Jinrikishas and their fittings mostly came from Japan — some were smashed up during the anti-Japanese riots of 1919 — but it was the Japanese who actively discouraged them. They were actually banned in Singapore in 1947, nor were new licences issued in Penang from 1953. Their place was taken by the trisha, the passenger-carrying tricycle, first introduced in January, 1941. There were 1523 of these in 1946 and the number rose to 2131 in 1950 at which figure it was held, no more new licences being issued. In 1954, there were 2120.

Whatever squeamish visitors may have felt, the Chinese merchants and tradesmen had no objection to using a jinrikisha, and numbers of them had their own. These privately owned jinrikishas numbered only 14 early in 1895 but the total reached had passed 100 in 1898, and 150 in 1900. There were 389 in 1906, 498 in 1909 and 678 (the highest figure reached) in 1912. There were 400 - 600 of them for most of the period 1913 - 1925, the numbers then falling slowly thereafter until there were only 38 in 1940 and 19 in 1946. After that they disappeared, their place being taken by the private trisha. There were 112 of these in 1947, 186 in 1949, 91 in 1955.

Human propulsion was also used in the handcart, manufactured locally and used extensively between 1900 and 1948, and numbering over a thousand between 1904 and 1930. Their total reached 1,738 in 1926 but it began to diminish from 1931, there being only 649 when the war ended and only 427 in 1955. These handcarts are shown in local advertisements and were made by firms which also made perambulators. Their place was taken by the trade tricycle which first appeared in 1929, exceeded a thousand in number by 1936 and reached a maximum figure of 1,635 in 1939. The total had reached 1355 in 1955 and they are still extensively used. Bicycles needed no licence before 1950, by which year there were 49,614 of them, soon rising to 55,000 and more. They first appeared in the Straits Settlements in 1896 - 1900, being ridden at first by Europeans and even by the more intrepid of their wives and daughters. They soon came into common use and are often to be seen moving under a mountainous and seemingly impossible load. They would appear to have superseded not only the handcart but the bullock cart.

\*From "Hail! Penang" by G. Bilainkin published in London, 1932 (pages 10 and 11).

Last of the old-type vehicles to consider is the horse-drawn carriage. These were of two kinds, the private carriage and the Hackney carriage or gharry. The gharry was faced with fierce competition from before 1895. Gharries lessened steadily in number but the last of them proved difficult to eliminate. From 151 in 1895 they had dwindled to 20 in 1917 but then increased to 29 in 1920. There were six in 1931, four in 1932 and two in 1934. The last gharry disappeared in 1935. The private carriage took far longer to eliminate and there was still one registered in 1954. In the statistics which follow the horses are shown separately but these are nevertheless carriage horses, not horses for riding. A few carriages had two or more. It is interesting and suprising to note that carriages were at their most numerous in 1906 and far more common than they had been in 1895.

Year	Horses	Carriages	Year	Horses	Carriages
1895	488	452	1929	34	70
1896	526	542	1930	11	64
1897	731	644	1931	13	54
1898	691	548	1932	12	44
1899	745	657	1933	2	28
1900	735	657	1934	8	17
1901	769	744	1935	3	9
1902	316	749	1936	1	8
1903	801	783	1937	—	6
1904	839	807	1938	2	3
1905	856	815	1939	1	5
1906	882	872	1940	1	4
1907	801	781	1946	1	4
1908	777	688	1947	1	3
1909	668	653	1948	1	3
1911	566	401	1949	1	5
1912	488	486	1950	1	1
1913	457	431	1951	1	2
1914	436	407	1952	1	2
1916	328	316	1953	0	2
1917	293	277	1954	1	1
1918	271	247	1955	1	1
1919	259	228	1956	1	1
1920	211	192	1957	—	1
1921	175	161	1958	—	1
1922	150	129	1959	—	—
1923	130	105	1960	—	—
1924	96	82	1961	—	—
1925	76	—	1962	—	—
1926	77	—			
1927	73	—			
1928	51	—			

*\*The statistics given in the Annual Reports are arranged half-yearly until 1907. The figure taken in the table is that of the first half of each year.*

*Various Modes of  
Transportation*

(i) *donkey-cart*



(ii) *Trishaw and  
Jinrikisha*



(iii) *Bullock-carts  
line-up*



An odd thing about this table is the fact that from 1934 to 1949 there were, on the whole, more carriages than horses. It would seem that some people had alternative carriages for the one horse; or else some old person would absent-mindedly pay the licence for a carriage no longer in use. It is also surprising to learn that there were 44 private carriages to be seen in George Town as late as 1928. Of the total of 316 for 1916, 291 are specifically called 'Four-wheeled carriages' and 25 'Two-wheeled' but perhaps this should not be taken too literally.

From these statistics it is easy to see that the traffic of 1903, the year in which the Registrar of Vehicles set up his court, was not inconsiderable. By the end of the year there were 791 carriages, 73 gharries, 3185, public jinrikishas, 323 private jinrikishas, 679 bullock carts and 803 handcarts on the road; 5854 vehicles in all. These had to share some fifty miles of road with a few ridden horses and bicycles. Everything moved, however, at a sedate pace. Nor would there have seemed anything sinister in the Annual Report's casual remark. 'This is the first year that motor-cars have been used in Penang.' They were merely curiosities, after all, too novel even to be registered. They were first licensed in the following year, three of them in the first six months and a fourth before the year ended. The Municipality continued to license cars until 1940 but lost control of them after World War II to the Federal Government when vehicle registration was taken over by The Road Transport Department in 1948.

The following table covers the period between 1904 and 1940 :

Year	Cars	Year	Cars	Year	Cars
1904	4	1920	547	1934	1,846
1905	5	1921	573	1935	1,998
1906	5	1922	594	1936	2,217
1907	21	1923	619	1937	2,433
1908	44	1924	669	1938	2,460
1909	42	1925	881	1939	2,604
1911	85	1926	923	1940	2,615
1912	117	1927	1,373		
1913	151	1928	1,568		
1914	174	1929	1,676		
1916	211	1930	1,800		
1917	314	1931	1,889		
1918	331	1932	1,726		
1919	382	1933	1,719		

This table refers only to private cars, the number of which rose from 4,127 in 1947 to 11,858 in 1955. To complete the picture, one must note the statistics relating to omnibuses, hired cars, lorries and motor cycles. From 1917 to 1928 the hired cars and omnibuses are classed together, unfortunately. The first three buses appear in 1913, the hired cars (\*) then numbering 15 — and 30 by 1914. The combined figure rises to 395 in 1927 and then splits for the following year into 256 buses and 139 cars for hire. The first regular private bus service opened in

(\*) Fares for a hired car :

(a) If the distance does not exceed one mile ..... 15 cents per passenger. (b) Subsequent mileage for every mile or part thereof .... 10 cents per passenger. (c) Passengers' luggage exceeding  $\frac{1}{2}$  picul in weight, or five articles in number ..... 5 cents per mile.

1919, running to Tanjong Bungah. Buses fluctuated in number thereafter between 130 and 201 while the hired cars remained steady at a figure between 86 and 129 and averaging about 100. Motor lorries appear in 1912 but number only 25 in 1922. The rapid increase is from 45 in 1925 to 261 in 1930, and again from 246 in 1933 to 596 in 1940. Motor cycles multiplied from 1911, rising in number from 25 to the 1920 total of 155, and the 1926 total of 332. They reached their peak of popularity in 1928 when there were 462 of them, and then dwindled to the number of 208 in 1940.

The statistics given range far ahead of the period with which this chapter begins. The road and traffic problem was only just beginning to reveal itself in 1908. Nor would it be true to say that the future size of the problem was foreseen. Wrote the Registrar of Vehicles in his Report for 1913 :

..... Horse drawn vehicles and horses are steadily decreasing in numbers, while motor cycles and cars, notably the former, are increasing very rapidly. I do not anticipate a very large increase in cars in the immediate future, it will be some time before they exceed 200.

They exceeded 200 by 1916. Still more striking is the fact that periods of trade depression, 1922, for example, and 1930/1933, barely checked the rate of increase. The actual fall in the total (1909 and 1932) are only fluctuations in the upward curve. Asians took to motoring very readily, as witnessed by the disappearance of the private jinrikisha between 1925 and 1940. Where they were conservative was in continuing to prefer the jinrikisha or trisha to the taxi. The number of hire cars and taxis — a hundred or so — would about cater for visiting Europeans and strangers generally. To cater for the local population, they would have had to be far more numerous, and in fact they were little used by residents.

..... the better class Chinese community have a most unreasonable dislike of travelling in a car bearing any lettering upon it to show that it is for hire, though they do not object to hiring a jinrikisha .....

(Annual Report for 1922)

For the fast-moving motor traffic which was first seen in 1903, the roads of Penang were quite unsuitable. They consisted of water-bound macadam-stone broken by the convicts in the Jail and rolled by bull-rollers or by the steam-roller built in 1884 and bought in 1888. In 1894 a short length of Beach Street, from Union Street to Bishop Street, was surfaced with tarmacadam but "the initial outlay (is) very heavy and will prevent the adoption of this material to any great extent." It had to be adopted, however, for the motor car brought with it the problem of dust. A car moving at any speed creates a vacuum into which the surface dust is drawn. Its passing over the old sort of road left a cloud of dust in mid-air; which explains why the early motorist wore goggles.

With the advent of motor-cars and electric trams the dust nuisance has greatly increased. With all moving vehicles the air in front is necessarily displaced to make way for the vehicle while a partial vacuum is left behind. With a swiftly moving motor car or electric tram the air is displaced much more rapidly. Part of the displaced air goes over the top of the car, part on each side and part below. Very nearly as much air goes under the car as over. The space below modern motor cars with low bodies is very confined with the result that a large body of air is forced through the small space below the car at a high speed and stirs up the dust. As the air current rises behind to fill the partial vacuum it takes the dust with it and it becomes mixed with whirling air from the sides and top of the car and so causes the clouds of dust which motor-cars and electric-tram cars leave in their wake.

*(Municipal Engineer, 1908)*

The dust was not merely an inconvenience but a danger. It led directly to accidents. The remedy was to spray with water, even up to four times a day, and in 1908 no less than 47,704 gallons of water, were used daily for that purpose. Already however, in 1905 the experimental tarring on roads had begun. One reason why no more was done at the time is that other materials besides tar were being tried. Westrumite was used and then Calcium Chloride and Ermenite—all unsuccessfully — and so it was agreed to use tar after all. The costly process went on slowly and it was in 1915 that 25 (out of 55) miles of public road had been surfaced. The tar was brought from England and mixed with sand or granite dust. By 1913 there were five steam-rollers in use. There were 30 miles of tarred road by 1916, 46.5 by 1924 and 58.75 by 1929. By the last year there were only 7.35 miles of road not tarred or asphalted. In 1922 a tar heater and a sprayer were bought and also a tarmacadam drying and mixing plant. The use of bituminous macadam began in 1927. By then the dust problem had been solved but a new problem arose — the problem of traffic control, 1928 seeing the first painting of traffic lines and also the first traffic signals, one at the Simpang Lima junction and the other at the Burmah Road—Pangkor Road junction. At one time the task of control was supposed to fall on peons employed by the Registrar of Vehicles. This proved an ineffective system and responsibility was transferred to the police. But it remained the task of the Municipal Engineer to provide roads free of dust, and this was eventually done.

## THE EXPANSION OF THE FIRE BRIGADE

It must be confessed that Municipal administration lacks, as a rule, the stirring events which go to make up a colourful and dramatic history. But to this rule there is one major exception, and it is provided by the Fire Brigade. Once the alarm bells have sounded, Municipal history quickens and stirs. The engines tearing through the night towards the flickering glow above the rooftops bring with them the atmosphere of romance. In 1888 the Commissioners had taken over the equipment of the Fire Brigade but the fire fighting was done by the police — and these belonged not to the Municipality but to the Government. The weakness of this system was demonstrated by the fire which broke out in August 1906, at a pawnbrokers situated at 442 Chulia Street. After the alarm was given the first to arrive were Inspector Carrole and Sergeant Oxley with hose from Pitt Street Police Station. Then appeared the Superintendent of the Fire Brigade, who was Chief Detective Inspector Dickson, and soon afterward Chief Inspector Kirke. Finally the fire-engines arrived on the scene, both those which were horse-drawn and the new motor engine, used on this occasion for the first time. According to the *Pinang Gazette* great credit was due to everyone. 'Many of the European members of the Force had been in evening dress.....' in preparation for the Police smoking Concert. Mr. J. W. Hallifax was also present—a fortnight before he went out of office.

The devotion to duty shown was altogether admirable but there was something a little amateurish in the way things were handled.

At the request of the Commission, the Superintendent of the Singapore Fire Brigade (Mr. M. W. Pett) was sent to Penang in March 1907 to report fully on the state of Penang Fire Brigade with a view to its being taken over by the Commissioners. Mr. Pett made a thorough inspection and reported very unfavourably on the efficiency of the Brigade. It was decided to carry out all his recommendations, which involved a considerable increase in the annual cost to the Commissioners, but for the time being till the completion of the fire stations, the work remained in the hands of the Police. The pessimistic tone of Mr. Pett's Report caused some undue alarm to the Fire Insurance Companies, who, however, confined themselves to urging the Commissioners to re-organise the Brigade and not to mind the expense, but would have nothing to say to a suggestion that they should contribute towards the cost.

In the case of a fire at 71 Pitt Street on the 13th May, three "Kling"\* men (the occupiers of the house) were convicted at the July Assizes for arson and were sentenced to terms of imprisonment from 2 to 5 years each and the other to 6 months. This had a salutary effect (*Annual Report for 1907*). It was decided in 1908 to build new fire stations and appoint a new Superintendent, who would not be a police officer; all this as prelude to forming a regular Fire Brigade. Mr. A. W. B. Hamilton, Registrar of Jinrikishas, was made Superintendent. The Central Station was planned in Chulia Street Ghaut (where it still is) and a sub-station in Penang Road, the latter being completed for use as from 1st January, 1909, the

\*Indians who came from Kalinga District, India.

former in May of that year. Mr. Hamilton took over his new duties on 1st January and recruited 28 Firemen, including a Malay ex-Sergeant Major of Police. After four months training, the Brigade took over from the police on 1st May, 1909. The fire-fighting equipment comprised :—

- One fire engine, horse-drawn, built in 1881
- One fire engine, horse-drawn built in 1886
- One fire engine, horse-drawn, built in 1897
- One Motor Fire King (300 gallons) built in 1904
- One Merryweather 50 ft. sliding carriage escape

There were also scaling ladders, hose-pipes etc., but Hamilton reported that 'most of the gear . . . was in a very bad state when I took over from the police.' He soon persuaded the Commissioners to order another motor-engine, partly because horses of the right kind were difficult to procure. By end of 1909 the Brigade comprised :—

- 1 Superintendent (European)
- 1 Superintendent Engineer (European)
- 1 Clerk (Chinese)
- 1 Head-Foreman (Malay)
- 3 Sub-Foremen (Chinese)
- 24 Firemen (19 Chinese 5 Malays)
- 4 Engine Drivers (1 Bengali, 3 Malays)
- 4 Assistants and Greasers (Tamil)
- 3 Syces\* (Boyanesse)

The organisation was excellent. All that was wrong was the water pressure. As Mr. Hamilton pointed out "except during wet weather, there is no practical working pressure during the twelve hours of daylight within a radius of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles from Penang Road Fire Station." There was no likelihood that all fires would break out during periods of heavy rainfall! Nor did it seem to Hamilton that long immunity from fires was to be expected —

considering the enormous risks run every minute of the day and night from cheap kerosene lamps, open fire places, the burning of sacrificial papers and a general lack of the most ordinary precautions.

There was a serious fire at 11 and 13 Campbell Street in 1913, the building being full of spirits, silks and embroideries. There might have been serious damage during the First World War when the German cruiser *Emden* raided the harbour, but no shell hit the town. In point of fact however, a frequent cause of fire was arson. Thus an interesting and suspicious fire broke out in Beach Street on 24th May, 1914, a day after an accident had put both motor fire-engines out of commission. What more or less ended this type of fire was the system of street alarm and the knowledge that the fire engines might be expected to arrive before evidence of the fire's origin could have been destroyed. By 1921, when the Brigade reached one fire  $2\frac{1}{2}$  minutes after receiving the alarm by telephone, 'doubtful' fires had become rare. Shopkeepers had discovered the advantages of the "Cheap Sale" as a more legitimate means of clearing old stock. But incendiarism still continued in a different form. Old scores could be paid off by arson and this was evidently the origin of the big fire of February 16th, 1981.

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\*Motor-car drivers.



The fire at Khie Heng Bee Mill (which took 22 hours to get under control) was I believe, the most disastrous in the annals of Penang and strained the resources of the Brigade to the utmost. It is, I think, satisfactory that under the circumstance any of the property involved was saved at all. There is not the slightest doubt that one whole hour elapsed before the Brigade was notified, and that had there been a stronger N.E. wind, in all probability the premises on the other side of the river would have been burnt as well. It is a matter for great regret that the incendiaries were not discovered.

(Report for 1918)

The factories in Bridge Street were for rice-milling but the godown contained copra, rubber, oil-cake and oil. A claim for \$124,047 was paid but the damage was estimated at \$696,000, the place being under-insured.

Less dramatic than fire-fighting, but perhaps more important, is the Fire Brigade's function in preventing fires. The economic progress of a town brings with it additional fire risks. Malayan products like rubber and palm-oil are highly inflammable. Motor-cars bring with them the problem of petrol storage. Electric lights will fuse or spark and even the coal-tar for use on the roads has been known to burn. Penang was always a centre for the sale of arms and gunpowder and the storage of these was controlled by Ordinance. Government was slow to enact rules for the storage of rubber, spirits, charcoal, damar-oil and calcium carbide. As an illustration of these several risks one might quote the rubber smoke-houses fire of October 1925; another in 1937; and rubber factory fires in 1934 and 1951. A junk laden with petrol caught fire in 1927, and Wearne Brothers motor showroom was burnt in 1929. Fireworks caused a fire in 1953 and an Oil Mill burnt in 1953. The risk arising from aircraft crashing on the airfield was first provided against in 1949, and the first crash happened in 1951 (in Singapore).

Foremost among these various perils was the danger arising from the Chinese use of crackers at festivals and funerals. It was a Chinese funeral ceremony (Kong Teik)\*\* which almost led to the destruction of the Supreme Court and Public Library in December, 1916. So the officers of the Fire Brigade had to inspect premises where inflammable goods were stored, insisting on reasonable precautions and prosecuting those who broke the law. In his report for 1921 the acting Superintendent (Mr. Robert B. Newington) describes this work of fire prevention :—

It is not an uncommon experience to find quantities of kerosene, matches, damar-oil, crackers, candles, joss-sticks, cigarettes and papers, in a small Beach Street shop together with packing cases and straw piled ceiling high, a better combination for a big blaze cannot be conceived. It is by no means a rare occurrence to find tins of kerosene, and a fifty pound crate of matches stored under a bed, and perhaps the vacant space filled with crackers. During a surprise visit to a shop in Beach Street last December, I found 23 tins of kerosene under the only staircase (wooden) in the building ..... and at the top of the stairs I found about a hundred cattles of crackers and 24 cattles of bombs .....

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\*\*burning of paper houses.

The bombs were in this case of a relatively harmless kind, when exploded singly, but the owner was prosecuted and fined \$125.00. Slowly, people were made to realise that living in town implied respect for the safety of others. Among the places where routine precautions were most essential were the theatres and cinemas owing to the inflammable nature of films; and because of the danger of panic from fire in a crowded place. George Town was first reminded of this particular peril on October 26th, 1919, when 70,000 feet of celluloid film caught fire at 7 Cannon Street. These were merely stored there but the consequence—the death of two women and three children, and damage estimated at \$9,500—was serious enough. There were seven theatres and cinemas\* in 1920 - 21, but only two showing films during the slump of 1922. Next year all seven were open again. On 4th April, 1929, two rolls of film caught fire during a performance at the Drury Lane Theatre (now the Sun Cinema) with results which might have been serious. In 1937 some films caught fire in the projection box of a cinema, doing damage to the value of \$2,000. In 1954 there was a fire at the Majestic Cinema, 31 Phee Choon Road, resulting in damages estimated at \$377,000. There is good reason, therefore, for concluding that regular inspection of the places of entertainment is not the least important part of a fireman's work.

Despite all regulations and precautions, the number of calls and fires has risen with the growth of the town. There were only eight calls in 1909, and the average for 1914 - 1929 was only about 38. There were 52 calls in 1933, and 66 (with 51 fires) in 1938. From 1946 onwards the number of calls, averaging about 84 per year, never fell below 59. The year 1950 was a peak year with 128 calls — 20 of them malicious — and 128 fires. More recently, the figures are as follows:—

Year	Calls	Fires
1952	76	71
1953	109	97
1954	99	89
1955	142	130
1956	105	96
1957	190	176
1958	209	193
1959	215	178
1960	173	146
1961	209	145
1962	302	248

(\*) These were King Street Theatre; Kuala Kangsar Road Theatre; Drury Lane Theatre; Campbell Street Theatre; Royal Cinema, Penang Road; and Lyric Cinema, Argyll Road. They were described in 1921 as "neither sanitary nor safe".

It cannot be said, therefore, that the fire risk is diminishing. What can be claimed is that the modern progress which often causes the fire may also speed the arrival of the fire-fighters. A powerful motor engine, summoned by telephone and racing over tarmac roads, is soon in action and uses the latest appliances. The Penang Fire Brigade, first trained and made efficient by Mr. A. W. B. Hamilton, was complimented by the Fire Insurance Association at its twentieth annual meeting for its efficiency. When Mr. Hamilton resigned in 1925, after 22 years as Registrar of Vehicles and 16 years as Superintendent of the Fire Brigade, he was succeeded by Mr. L. E. Coleman, from the Glasgow Fire Brigade, who served until 1935. Mr. A. J. Brown, who has been Mr. Coleman's second in command, was Superintendent when World War II began and Captain A. E. M. Little succeeded him in 1946. It fell to him to organise the Auxiliary Fire Service in 1940. It is the measure of these officers' efficiency that it was possible to appoint \*Enche Zainal Abidin bin Abdul Rahman in November, 1948 as Chief Fire Officer. This was the first Municipal department to be placed under the charge of a locally appointed chief.

Among the more exciting episodes in the history of the George Town Fire Brigade we may include the fire of February 28, 1934, which was reported thus in the *Pinang Gazette* :—

**DISASTROUS FIRE IN CHURCH STREET RUBBER STORE**  
Over \$50,000 Damage — Whole Family burnt to death

House No. 13 Church Street, used by Bin Seng and Co. Ltd., the Penang Branch of the Singapore firm as a rubber store, was gutted by fire in the early hours of this morning involving a Chinese family of six persons, husband and wife and four children, being burnt to death in the inferno .....

The fire was one of the most spectacular blazes witnessed in Penang for a long time the flames rising to a height of nearly twenty feet above the building, and was witnessed by the whole neighbourhood who turned out in thousands many of them in their night attire.

A valiant attempt to rescue the unfortunates was made by one or two members of the Fire Brigade but although they penetrated as far as the air will allow, they were driven back by the flames and the fumes from the burning rubber .....

**The Alarm**

The blaze was first noticed by the watchman of Messrs. Diethelm & Co., whose premises are just opposite the gutted building.

The man was suddenly awakened a little after 2.30 a.m. and seeing tongues of fire leaping over the building opposite ran to the fire alarm in Beach Street, thus giving the first notice to the Fire Brigade.

The firemen were on the scene a minute later with all their equipment and fire — engines and started operations under the supervision of Mr. L. E. Coleman (Superintendent) and Mr. A. J. Brown (Assistant Superintendent.)

**An Initial Difficulty Centre House of a Block**

The firemen were presented with an initial difficulty, No. 13 being the centre house in a block of shop-houses. They entered the adjoining house and, forcing their way through its kitchen, which had also caught fire, set to work attacking the fire from all possible angles and at the same time taking precautions to prevent the spread of the fire to other buildings in the block .....

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\*Now Tuan Haji Zainal-Abidin; he was awarded the A.M.N. in 1962.

In the course of the operation Mr. Coleman received an electric shock and although rendered unconscious for nearly twenty minutes, he was afterwards none the worse for his experience and directed the later operations of the Brigade.

One can infer from this account that the firemen were lacking in neither determination, nor courage nor skill. The area covered today by the Brigade is 108 square miles, 9.15 square miles within Municipal limits and the rest in the rural area, its responsibility extending to ships in the harbour, as also to the Bayan Lepas airport. It was decided in 1953 to build a new Central Fire Station in Perak Road, and a new Sub-Station at Bagan Jermal. The latter has been completed, the latest refinement being to air-condition the hose store and provide billiard-tables for firemen to use during stand-by periods.

\*The strength and equipment of the Brigade are as follows:—

<b>Uniformed Staff:</b>	Chief Fire Officer	1
	Station Officers	2
	Sub-Officers	5
	Leading Firemen	6
	Firemen	50
	Drivers	13
	<b>Total</b>	<b>77</b>

<b>Appliances:</b>	Dual-purpose pumps	2
	Self-propelled pumps	2
	500-gallon motor tankers	3
	Turntable Ladder 125'	1
	Trailer pumps	5
	Portable pumps	3
	Water tank trailers	2
	Towing vehicles	7
	Emergency tender	1
	<b>Total</b>	<b>26</b>

<b>Equipment:</b>	V.H.F. radio network comprising:—
	1 Master Station at Western Hill.
	1 Fixed Station at Beach Street Fire Station.
	4 Mobile Stations and
	3 Walkie Phones.

Apart from the above there are oxy-cutting plants, breathing apparatus jumping sheets and other ancillary gear.

The reputation of the Fire Brigade stands high. When the public watched the parade and demonstration on the Esplanade ground in September, 1951,\* some present may have recalled how the Brigade had fought the blaze earlier that year at the Tai Hock Rubber Co.'s premises in Sungei Pinang Road. It had taken some 27 officers and men with five pumps over six hours to extinguish the fire; the Brigade suffering two casualties (injured) in the process. None perhaps remembered the fire in 1936 during which the engine driver collapsed and died. But fire-fighting is not without its risks, which is the reason why it is also not without its romance. In facing these risks, in working for long hours on end, as also in speed of turnout, the George Town Fire Brigade has never been found wanting when the alarm bells ring.

\*Another successful parade & demonstration was held in 1963.

## THE PROBLEM OF HEALTH

During World War I the Municipal President was Mr. W. Peel whose Council in 1913 included Mr. W. T. Chapman, Mr. R. Duxbury, Mr. Quah Beng Kee, Mr. Yeoh Guan Seok and Mr. Lim Eow Hong. This was the result of Ordinance VIII of 1913 which abolished the Ward Election system and empowered the Governor to appoint not less than five and not more than fifteen Commissioners, who were to be rate-payers holding no office of emolument under either Government or Municipality. So little interest had been shown latterly in Municipal elections that a Municipal Inquiry Commission appointed in 1910, had recommended this new system, which might seem retrograde but was apparently workable. It was to remain in force when Mr. Peel had a difficult period of office during which five of fifteen European officers on the Municipal staff were on active service.\* One of these, Mr. H. A. T. Hewlett, Assistant Secretary, was killed in action. Most of the remainder were very active as Volunteers. Mr. Peel carried on with his depleted staff, managing to bring Dr. J. S. Rose back when Dr. G. W. Park retired, but he himself left in July, 1918, in order to become President of Singapore Municipality. Mr. A. B. Voules acted as President for a time, followed by Mr. G. A. Hereford, and it was in 1921 before the reign began of Mr. S. Codrington who held office until his retirement in 1925. Mr. Codrington succeeded, after a short interregnum, by Mr. G. L. Ham, who remained until 1930. There was much significant progress during this period, one important step being the establishment of a separate Water Department in 1919. Mr. J. D. Fettes was the first Municipal Water Engineer. It was on his insistence that the town began to draw its water from the Batu Feringgi valley, bringing 2.3 million gallons a day over a  $4\frac{1}{2}$  mile aqueduct and tunnel. From Telok Tikus, where the aqueduct ends, the water is taken by a 25" pipe line to the service reservoir (Guillemard Reservoir) on Mt. Erskine. This raised the supply from  $4\frac{1}{4}$  million gallons a day to  $7\frac{1}{4}$  million gallons, an increase of 75%.

The position then at the end of this period was that all the main sources of supply by gravity on the east and north of the island had been taken in, Ayer Itam Side Stream and Tats being discarded; catchment areas were better controlled, waste had been reduced and the reticulation system expended and improved. Population served was 150,000 with 11,000 services and  $78\frac{1}{2}$  miles of main.

The Guillemard Reservoir was opened in 1929 and in common with the rest of the work completed in the period just reviewed, is of that sound and durable construction which is essential for waterworks undertakings in addition to being carried out with a regard for artistic effect. (Mr. Loo Choo Kheam — History of Penang Water Supply).

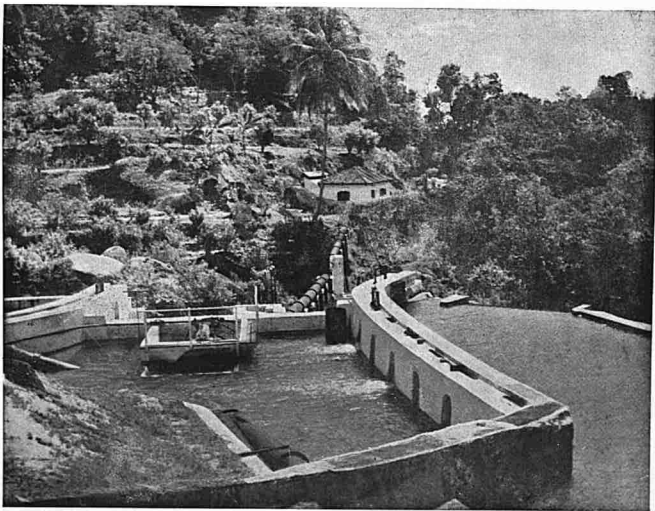
The new reservoir was officially opened by H.E. the Governor, Sir Hugh Clifford on 16th July, 1929, from which date until very recently the Penang water supply has been ample. The occasion marked the end of a great effort but the sequel was sad. Mr. J. D. Fettes had been the

\*Hamilton, Haslam, Fettes, Wright Irwin and Hewlett.

engineer for this great work of construction, combining that with the routine work of the Department. He had foregone his leave in order to do the work with direct labour. He succumbed, tired and worn out, in February, 1931. He was a great servant of the community.

The provision of a plentiful and clean water supply, its sources free from pollution, was but one aspect of a major campaign against disease. Water is important in other ways, no doubt, but the health aspect would seem to be the most vital. It is supremely important for this reason that the main achievement of the Municipal Commissioners was to increase the local-born population, creating the community which exists today. That the people of George Town are as numerous as they are today and with the present balance between the races, as also between men and women, is plainly due to the favourable balance between the birth rate, death rate and infant mortality rate. The chief effect of the Municipal administration was to bring about a population increase from about 100,000 in 1919 to nearly 150,000 in 1931 and roughly 200,000 in 1952. To double the population in 33 years without vast immigration is an achievement which creates, as we shall see, problems of its own. It was, nevertheless, the most important contribution of a benevolent colonial rule. It was the work of Dr. Park and Dr. Brodie, Mr. Thorpe and Mr. Miller. It was the cause for which Mr. Fettes died.

It was Dr. G. W. Park who organised a Health Department capable of dealing with the problems of the future. His Maternity Hospital opened in 1915 and he retired two years later. His successor, Dr. Rose, continued the work until 1927. To begin with, he was on the defensive, coping with the epidemics of 1918-19. The aftermath of war was influenza, smallpox and plague. The first cases of influenza were reported in July, 1918, and there was a fresh outbreak in October. No cure or preventive was known; the deaths in October numbering 1013 as compared with 283, the average for the previous five years. Theatres, cinemas and schools were closed and the deaths in November numbered only 493. Bubonic plague appeared only momentarily, with 28 cases and 26 deaths. Of the victims, one was Mr. C. C. Rogers, Mains Superintendent in the Electricity Supply Department. In 1919 the worst was over with only 35 cases of influenza, 22 of them fatal. In January, however, there was an outbreak of smallpox, there being 369 cases and 142 deaths in the course of the year. Of those who fell sick with smallpox, 249 had never been vaccinated. Of those who died, 122 (86%) had never been vaccinated, 20 (14%) having been vaccinated at some time or other. There was a rush of people to be vaccinated, amidst which crisis came reports of malaria among the police quartered at Fort Cornwallis. The answer to the last menace was to fill up the moat, spoiling appearances for the sake of health. In 1920 the Infectious Diseases Hospital was taken over by the Municipality and the cinema was being used to publicise an anti-mosquito campaign. By then the epidemics were over and the past work was beginning to show results. The death rate in 1921 was the lowest on record, the infant mortality rate the lowest in ten years. The average crude death rate for 1904-1908 had been 41.14. At this rate the deaths in 1923 should have numbered 5278: they actually numbered only 3801.



*Old Ayer Itam Intake (1889)*

With a Maternity Hospital, and two whole-time and eight part-time district nurses, the infant mortality of 367 in 1904 had fallen to 155 in 1923\*, and that among a population far more numerous. To-day with a population of 234, 903 the infant mortality is 307.

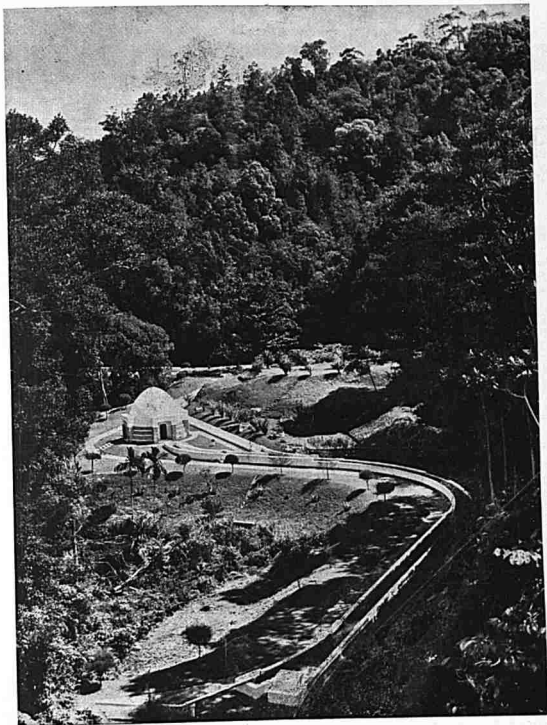
The scourge of Penang in the early days had been malaria. It was not always correctly diagnosed, nor was it recognised, until after 1900, that the mosquitoes (or, to be exact, certain kinds of mosquitoes) were responsible. When this became known then war against mosquitoes began. By 1908, the Municipal Commissioners had recruited a 'Mosquito Brigade' of labourers whose task it was to eliminate the possible breeding grounds. There were 91 labourers employed in 1913 and they used 4,120 gallons of petroleum. By then it was justly claimed that there were no malarial mosquitoes within the Municipal limits. In 1920 it came to be recognised that the breeding places included not only expanses of stagnant water but any receptacle — coconut shell, empty tin, broken jar — in which water might collect. It was also realised that boys were actually more efficient at this work than men. The 20 Tamil boys or 'chokras' recruited in 1920 became 45 in 1930 and 60 in 1931, allowing some reduction in the number of adult labourers (from 100 to 64 and eventually to 55). It was reckoned by 1936 that mosquitoes had been almost exterminated. By 1938 mosquito nets were largely disused and the Health Officer could report that 'it is encouraging and pleasing to hear people boast of not having used their mosquito nets for so many years.' As for malaria, the following figures, showing the number of deaths each year, are significant :—

1929	103	1934	25	1939	25
1930	89	1935	37		
1931	72	1936	32		
1932	57	1937	28		
1933	51	1938	31		

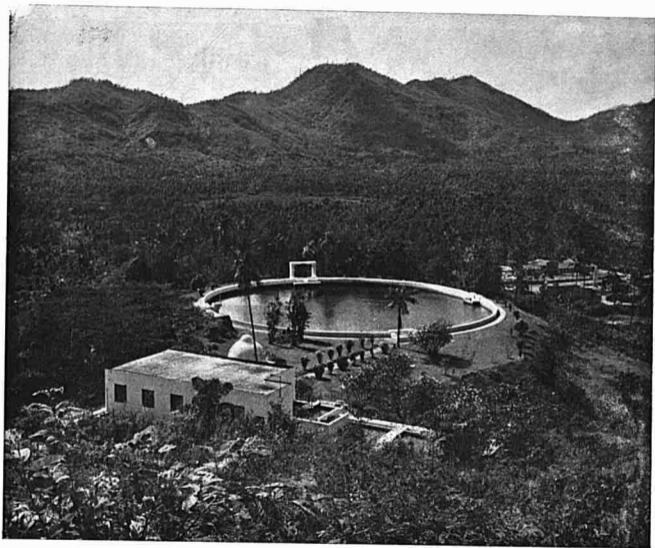
It will be seen from this table that the battle was never so won as to allow the Health Department to rest upon its laurels. Some 80,640 gallons of anti-malarial oil were used in 1937, and there were setbacks even then as in 1935. Nor did the same remedy prove effective for ever. In later years it was thought an economy to use Gammexane instead of oil. It was used with success from 1950 to 1954. By then, however, there had arisen a breed of mosquitoes immune to Gammexane. Before this mosquito population could turn into one which actually liked Gammexane, the Municipality had taken to using Shell Malarial Emulsion, which was cheaper still. All this was after the major setback of World War II but it serves to illustrate the principle that 'mosquito control is not merely a matter of spray and forget'. The work has to go on.

\* No. of Infant Deaths (1961) — 307  
 Infant Mortality Rate (1961) — 36





*Batu Feringgi Aqueduct (1929)*



*Ayer Itam Service Reservoir (1914)*  
*Filtration Plant Added (1934)*

As late as 1953 the Health Department reported that the chokras had discovered and dealt with 14,056 breeding places and had removed no less than 1,039,066 receptacles such as tins and bottles which either were or might have become, breeding places. This is war that never ends and the eternal plea of those responsible is that citizens should co-operate more. As pointed out in one Annual Report (1937)

A clear, well-run town is not a gift from Heaven or even from the City Fathers. It has to be desired, worked for and cared for by the citizens themselves.

In the period of office of Mr. S. Codrington there was a trade depression in 1921-22 with no improvement until 1923. That year was also memorable for two other reasons. In February the Municipal Commission was enlarged by the addition of two more members, both appointed by the Governor. Of the two chosen, one was Dr. J. E. Smith to represent the Eurasians, and the other was Mr. M. H. M. Noordin to represent the Muslims. Then, in October, the Hill Railway was completed, although not ceremonially opened until 1st January, 1921. This was not strictly speaking, a Municipal enterprise, being Government property. It was handed over to the management of the Commissioners, however, and soon created problems of its own. The idea of such a railway was considered at a very early period and one attempt to construct it was a failure. The present railway was the work of Mr. Johnson of the F. M. S. Railways who based his design on examples studied in Switzerland. It cost \$1,500,000 to build and might be regarded either as a health measure or a tourist attraction. Its good effect in offering a climatic change was counter-acted, however, by the bad effect of the hill station drainage on the catchment area. A minor departmental war developed, only ending when that particular catchment area had been abandoned. A further problem presented itself when it was asked how the Fire Brigade could reach the Hill, supposing one of the bungalows caught fire?

As a commercial venture, the Hill Railway was not an unqualified success. Its peak of popularity was in 1926, when the Hill was developing rapidly. It showed a modest profit of \$3,355 in 1927 but was hard hit in 1930, when building ceased and when the want was felt of a hotel and restaurant at the top of the railway. By 1931 the loss on the Hill Railway amounted to \$11,762.37. It was still being run at a loss in 1934-36, showing no profit again until 1937 when \$1,651 was earned, and just meeting expenses in 1938, before plunging into new losses in 1939-40. On the credit side could be placed the Hill's usefulness to the harassed official or citizen in need of cooler air. The value of this was recognised by the Municipality when it built the 'Richmond' and 'South View' bungalows for its own staff, and there can be no doubt that the investment was a sound one.

The battle for health was directed by Dr. Rose until he died in 1927. Dr. Rose, hero of the fight against influenza in 1918, Commander of the "B" Company by the Penang Volunteer was succeeded by Dr. G. S. Glass. In his time the death rate fell in spectacular fashion (1928-29), the birth-rate remaining steady and high. The birth-rate for 1929 was 37.54 as compared with 16.15 in 1909; the corrected death-rate 24.15 as compared with 38.25. Only 151 infants died in 1929 as compared with 337 in 1909.

The great event in Dr. Glass's period of office was the Census of 1931, which gave the following results :—

Race	M	F	Total	Per cent of Total
European	703	471	1,174	1
Eurasian	910	1,066	1,976	1
Chinese	58,519	42,723	101,242	68
Malay	9,618	9,518	19,136	13
Indian	18,314	5,806	24,120	16
Others	986	774	1,760	1
	89,050	60,358	149,408	

The death rate was still falling in 1933 when Dr. Glass retired, handing over to his deputy, Dr. W. H. Brodie. It was Dr. Brodie who consolidated the good work of the past by founding the Maternity and Child Welfare Centre in 1936. The problem of infant mortality had been more or less solved. What remained was the problem of food. That it was a problem was suddenly brought to mind by the outbreak of typhoid in 1937. Sixty cases were treated in Hospital (14 died, 46 recovered) and 28 cases were treated at home (10 died, 18 recovered). This was but the forerunner of the more serious epidemic of August - September 1939, during which 844 cases were notified. Of 575 patients treated in hospital, 106 died, and of the 277 patients treated at home 46 died. Dr. Brodie gave vent to his feelings in these words :

To those with a public health mind, a tour through the streets of Penang can result only in nightmare! The uncontrolled and unhygienic conditions under which the food and drink are consumed by what would appear to be the whole population of certain districts, makes one wonder, why there is not a permanent state of "epidemic" caused by food poisoning. Certainly the hope of tracking down one source of infection seems faint in the extreme, so long as the large army of food sellers ply their trade with such unhygienic methods. In a general epidemic it would be difficult to know where to begin . . . . .

(Annual Report, 1939)

Latest census (1957) :—

Malays	26,757
Chinese	171,245
Indians	32,029
Others	4,872

234,903

In point of fact, the origin of this particular epidemic was discovered. Typhoid was traced to the schools, found to synchronise with school holidays and then traced to the vendors of ice-cream. New regulations were introduced in October 1939, but without immediate results, there being 319 reported cases and 107 deaths from typhoid in 1940. After World War II the campaign against illicit manufacture of ice-cream was intensified as it was felt that this type of ice-cream was a source of typhoid. Vendors were on the streets again in 1947.

..... Many were arrested and had their "ice-cream" confiscated and were fined as well. But still they carried on, particularly at times when they believed our staff to be safely in the office. They were not always right and many arrests were made in the afternoon. By the end of the year our persistence had reduced the sale of the filth to very small proportions  
.....

That 'filth' was the right word to use became obvious as soon as the stuff was put under the microscope. By 1948 the Health Officer's patience had been over strained.

New by-laws were made with respect to hawkers to control their activities. No class of people excite so much general sympathy, and as a class deserve it so little, for the vast majority of hawkers serves no useful purpose whatever. They in their thousands are a constant menace to public health, traffic and convenience .....  
..... A test analysis made by the Government Chemist on ice-cream sold by an unlicensed hawker after a detailed report elicited the following unsolicited testimonial. "This ice-cream is comparable to undiluted sewage".

(Annual Report 1948)

The illicit ice-cream trade was stamped out in 1948 but the description given is enough to show how serious the danger had been.

The devoted work of the Health Department is shown, first and foremost, in such statistics as these :

	Birth Rate (per 1,000)	Death Rate (per 1,000)
1951	38.32	11.30
1953	40.33	9.79
1954	43.52	11.26
1955	42.42	10.94
1956	43.84	10.51
1957	40.25	10.64
1958	40.02	9.67
1959	39.00	8.95
1960	39.16	9.49
1961	39.68	8.92
1962		

But the mere increase in population, which these figures represent, must produce its own problems. Housing is one such problem and planning is another. Mr. S. Codrington had been President during the period of depression 1921 - 1922 and also through a period of recovery 1923 - 25.

There was no real prosperity until 1926 - 29. This was the period of the building boom, first noticed in 1926. It was a function of the Municipal Engineer's staff to consider building plans, of which there were 392 in 1925, 119 of them for new buildings. Now in 1926, 778 plans were submitted, 169 of them for new buildings ; and there were 657 buildings altogether under either construction or alteration. In 1927 the number of plans submitted had risen to 989, of these 303 were for new buildings. By 1929 the boom was over, although work was proceeding on no less than 1,194 buildings : only 877 plans were submitted that year, only 538 in 1930, only 477 in 1932 and only 248 in 1934. It is clear, nevertheless that the housing shortage, had been very largely met. It was during this period in 1928, that the Municipal Commissioners adopted the policy of housing all its employees, voting \$350,000 for this purpose in the first instance.

As for planning, this began in 1927 when it was agreed to begin a town survey the following year as a basis for future policy. The survey was completed in 1929, when actual planning began, to be finalised in 1931. This work done by a Town Planning Assistant in the Municipal Engineer's Department was strictly limited in scope. All that the Municipal Commissioners were empowered to do was to fix the building line in roads and back lanes, giving areas for residential and other purposes. Nothing more ambitious was to be attempted until after the passing of the Town Planning Provisions (Extension) Ordinance in 1949.

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## NEW DIFFICULTIES AND SUDDEN CHANGE

For major development in public works the ideal period is one of trade depression when tenders are competitive and wages low. In practice, the difficulty is to find the money when this opportunity occurs. From this point of view, George Town was fortunate to have raised a fund before the slump began. The Commissioners floated a loan of \$8½ million in November 1929, and such was the security offered by the increased rateable value of the town that the loan, on favourable terms, was over-subscribed by nearly \$3 million. The town was again fortunate in having already completed several important schemes under a loan programme which ended that year. The new Water Supply Scheme had just been completed. A new 5000 K. W. turbo generator had been installed at the Prai Power Station. Much had been done during Mr. G. L. Ham's term of office as President. It fell therefore, to his successor, Mr. G. W. Bryant, to make good use of the loan already raised and at the same time economise on all current expenditure, making allowance for the fall in revenue which trade depression was certain to produce.

The Commissioners of 1931 were the following :

**President — Mr. G. W. Bryant**

Dr. J. E. Smith*	Mr. Lim Eow Thoon
Mr. M. H. M. Noordin	Mr. L. E. Slowe
Mr. Khoo Sian Ewe	Mr. H. Dove
Mr. Yeoh Cheang Aun	Mr. S. M. Middlebrook
The Hon. Mr. H. H. Abdool Cader*	Mr. C. R. Sammuel
Dr. Ong Huck Chye	Mr. B. G. H. Johnson

Mr. Noordin was succeeded in the course of the year by Captain S. S. Alsagoff, M.B.E. A point to notice is that the Commission had included an Asian majority since it was enlarged in 1923. The Commissioners had also ceased to be listed as 'Esquires' (for some vaguely democratic reason) in 1921. So the Governor's powers of nomination were not used to ensure a European majority but rather to secure the representation of responsible interests. It was for this Commission to decide on a policy : one, obviously, of development in certain fields and one of retrenchment and economy in everything else.

The major development envisaged had already been defined in 1929, when the Commissioners had concluded that "the most important and most pressing problem to be faced at the moment is an improvement in the system of sanitation". They had therefore instructed the Municipal Engineer to prepare a water-borne sewerage scheme in collaboration with a firm of Consulting Engineers. This was done and the scheme was approved, but work actually began in 1931. This was the most ambitious undertaking of the period and deserves both description and comment.

It might at first sight seem strange that sewers should have been non-existent in 1930. Dr. Glass commented upon their absence in words which put the problem in its historical perspective, thus :

\* Taken away and killed by the Japanese during their occupation of Penang.  
 \* later knighted by King George VI.

### Sewerage

In the year 1660 sanitation in England was almost unknown and the death-rate from all causes for the years 1660 to 1680 averaged 80 per 1000. This was reduced to 35.9 per thousand in the period around 1755, 24.9 per thousand in 1855, and 11.7 per 1000 in 1928 . . . . . The general reduction in the death-rate can be put down to the progress made in sanitation . . . . .

(Annual Report 1930)

To this the more argumentative citizens might have replied by pointing to Penang's corrected death-rate of 22.18 per thousand in 1930, as compared with 32.82 in 1920. Such figures could have been used to prove that sewers had nothing to do with it. To this Dr. Glass would have answered that 22.18 per thousand was still double the British death rate of 11.7. If sewerage was not the means to further improvement, what other means were there ?

In point of fact, George Town does not readily lend itself to sewerage. It is built on a flat cape with little fall in the ground and nowhere for the sewage to go except into a harbour filled with shipping. In the early days a system of water-borne sewage would not have been technically possible. Even as late as 1892 it was judged to be too expensive, even though the alternative was to collect 14,000 pails in six months. The nightsoil, when collected, was either accepted by plantation contractors or else taken in barges to be dumped off Pulau Jerejak. In 1905 the foreshore at Jelutong was leased from Government and a pier 1,100 feet long constructed. Nightsoil was thenceforward collected at Kampong Java Bahru and then pumped to the end of Jelutong Mole, mixed with water and discharged under pressure into the sea below low water mark.

The emptying of dustbins is quite a different problem. The collection of refuse was done by bullock-carts, the last of which did not disappear until about 1930. The refuse itself was dumped so as to reclaim swampy ground on the foreshore. This system continued until 1910 when an incinerator was installed actually on ground which had been so reclaimed.

A second unit was erected and in use by the end of 1915 and a third one added in 1926/1927. Surplus steam from the boilers was used to drive the tarmacadam plant, a nightsoil pump and the stone-crusher. Incorporated in the incinerator was a chamber for burning animal carcasses etc, and a separate tin baling-press was installed. The tins were picked out of the refuse and pressed into bales about four inches thick. Thousands of bales have been made and used for filling and, in at least one case Bakar Street, as a retaining wall.

*(Historical Note on the Municipal Engineer Department)*

There could be no great improvement in this system of incineration and the nightsoil collection was nothing of which the town could be proud. Past effort had ensured that the pails could be collected, in most cases, in a backlane; but there were still many houses (as indeed there still are) where nightsoil had to be brought out through the building. The process was neither convenient nor healthy. The remedy was to pump the sewage, uphill and down, to Jelutong Mole. It was agreed, moreover, after careful investigations and experiment, that extension of the Mole as far as the deep-water channel would make it possible to discharge the sewage, without further treatment, at all states of the tide.



Work on the new sewerage scheme began in 1931, the new General Hospital area forming the starting point ; but it was not until 1934 that the first buildings were actually connected to the sewer. That year marked the completion of the first stage in a costly project. The cost of the work done in 1935 alone came to \$177,774. In that year three local firms were licensed to do plumbing work, now of course in greater demand. By 1937 an area of 684 acres was served by sewers, 871 dwelling-houses being connected. More sewers and area pumping stations were constructed each year, so that by 1940 there were nearly 30 miles of sewers serving 1,436 acres. To the sewers were connected 2,699 premises containing 4,753 W.C.'s. The whole scheme was thus far from completion when World War II began. Work was resumed subsequently, so that by the end of 1945, there were over 48 miles of sewers and 9 pumping stations dealing with nearly a million gallons of sewerage a day from over 10,000 W.C.'s. and 9915 premises. In addition there were nearly 500 septic tanks to empty — despite which "there has been no appreciable reduction in the number of nightsoil pails collected", over a thousand of them still having to pass through the house to reach the van. In other words, the increase of population had tended to overtake the rate at which the living conditions can be improved.

Another great change which accompanied the period of commercial depression, and which is attributable in fact to the depression, was the abolition of the trams. Mention has been made already of the changes in the service begun in 1922.

In 1922 the overhead lines and tracks of the Municipal Tramways were in a very bad and dangerous condition. The tramcars were of the old toast rack type without any protection from sun or rain. Derailments were so common that it was necessary to keep men standing by in workshop for the express purpose of dealing with the trouble.

(Note in Annual Report for 1938)

The worst section of track was that between the Magazine and Weld Quay. It is now abandoned, four motor-driven buses being ordered from Messrs. Thornycroft. Two of these replaced the tramcars on the Magazine — Weld Quay section, the other two being used to open a new route from Bagan Jermal to Weld Quay via Maxwell Road and Burmah Road. The fleet at this time comprised 21 tramcars, 3 trailers and these 4 buses making 28 vehicles in all. It might have seemed that the tramcars were destined for replacement by motor buses, but in 1923 the Commissioners purchased two trolley buses as an experiment. They operated on the route Magazine — Jetty via Chulia Street, and it soon became obvious that these (not the motor-buses) were the vehicles of the future.\*

What, meanwhile, of the tramways? The trade depression of 1922 — a year which opened "in almost unrelieved gloom" — lessened the number of passengers. Something was done to improve the trams as a result. They were made to connect with the Hill Railway to begin with. Then the Tramways Workshop, which employed 139 men, put a roof over 13 of the cars and added something to their popularity. But competition

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\*They were eventually replaced by diesel buses in 1960.

was now intense. Privately owned motor-buses were first separately numbered in 1928, when there were 256 of them, but they had evidently been fairly numerous from 1925. Nor is George Town a place in which a vast choice of routes is open. The town is triangular, two sides fronting on the sea and the third partly blocked by the Hill. All routes, other than the circular, must lead to Jelutong, Ayer Itam, Waterfall or Bagan Jermal. Competition must therefore be keen if competition is to be allowed. It was in 1929 that the tramways began to feel the pinch. Their profit for that year dwindled to \$2,916, the Manager's response being to introduce the more popular trolley-buses on the Jelutong route. Under worse conditions in 1930, he explained where the difficulty lay :

..... Competition from hired buses was again very severe, and the rules governing the control of these hired buses having been relaxed during the year, they were able to run as, when and where they pleased. The practice adopted by them of waiting at our regular stopping places and collecting passengers and then moving off just as our trolley buses arrive caused considerable loss both of passengers and revenue and it is hoped that some rules will be made preventing this deliberate poaching and unfair competition.

By 1931 the trams were in a worse position, with an actual loss for the year of \$3,101. In 1932 the loss had increased to \$5,725, and in 1933 to \$17,085. There were fewer passengers and the privately-owned buses were running on no regular schedule. The result was a new series of by-laws introduced at the end of that year, restricting the number of buses on a given route. In accordance with a decision made by the Municipal Commissioners in October 1937, to reduce the number of Hire Buses by 50 over a period of 18 months, 17 buses were eliminated in January and 17 in July, and the total number was reduced from 162 to 128, distributed thus over the following routes :—

Prangin to Ayer Itam (Green Buses)	11
Prangin to Telok Bahang (Blue Buses)	39
Prangin to Balik Pulau (Yellow Buses)	78

The restriction in the number of licences issued was later relaxed somewhat but there were only 150 privately owned buses in 1934 and the trams were by then showing a net profit of \$8,914. Competition had nevertheless had its effect for the decision was then made to scrap the remaining trams in 1935. The process actually took longer than that, a vote of \$200,000 being necessary to introduce trolley-buses on the Ayer Itam route. The change-over was completed in 1937, all the overhead wires being replaced in 1938. By that year the thirty-six trolley-buses were showing a net profit of \$51,557. The last trams to be replaced in 1937 were those on the route between the Waterworks and the Hill Railway Station. Thereafter trolley-buses were in use everywhere, their three main routes being to Ayer Itam, Jelutong and Bagan Jermal. With a net profit of \$50,070 in 1939 and of \$70,771 in 1940, the Transport Department had passed its difficult period and was well able to pay its way.

After World War II, the transport system has been further extended and improved. It took several years to restore the trolley-buses to their pre-war efficiency, only 7,181,936 passengers being carried in 1948 as compared with 14,644,255 in 1940. Progress thereafter was rapid, with 35 trolley-buses operating in 1949 and the daily service extended to 10 p.m. in 1951. It was further extended to midnight in 1961. The following year a new service was opened between Green Lane and Caunter Hall and we hear of an enlightened administration issuing a questionnaire in 1953 to sound public opinion on the subject of the routes to be followed. There began in 1954 the construction of a new Transport Depot, complete with offices, stores, canteen, servicing accommodation and a covered parking space. By then there were many new 41-seater trolley-buses in service and a new route opened to the Botanical Gardens. The period of recovery and development ended with the decision taken in 1954 to create a separate Transport Department, distinct from the Electricity Supply Department of which it has so far formed a part. It was exactly fifty years since the work had begun.

One disturbing problem which first attracted attention in 1955 was the fact that fewer fares were collected than there were passengers. The passengers (it was said) too often gave their tickets back to the conductor, thinking him a poor man with a family to support, and so tempting him to retain the fare.

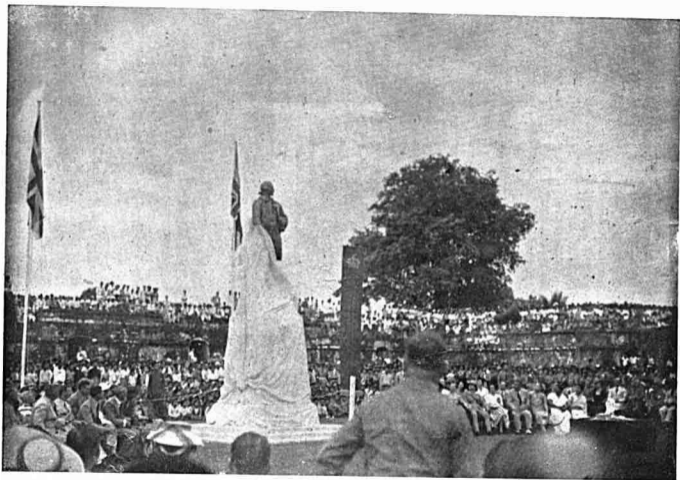
Revenue collected from passengers was disappointing as it amounted overall to only 60.8 cents per car-mile. Misappropriation of fares by certain conductors had apparently increased, following the acquittal by the Court in 1954 of two conductors charged with this type of offence.

This misappropriation of fares appears to be a problem which is nowadays frequently encountered by bus operators in Malaya excepting the many small-scale operators whose employees, and Inspectors especially, are recruited mainly from the owners' relatives .....

(Annual Report for 1955)

Some improvement resulted from a case in which a conductor was sentenced to six months imprisonment on two charges of criminal breach of trust. But the remedy was to replace the men conductors by girls. They were offered a smart uniform but they firmly decided upon wearing a sort of battle-dress instead.

The accelerated replacement of the old tram was a result of the slump. In other respects progress was as delayed by a trade depression as one would expect. The rates were more difficult to collect and economy was the order of the day. Mr. G.W. Bryant saw the worst of this period and it fell to him as President to announce the abolition of temporary allowances and a 10% cut in the salaries of those to whom no allowances had been payable. Mr. Bryant went on to become Resident Councillor of Malacca and was succeeded after an interval by Mr. J. A. Black, who was still in office when World War II began. During his presidency, or shortly before it began, the system was introduced by which the



*Unveiling of the Statue of Captain Francis Light (1939)*  
*(collection of Capt. Mohd. Nor bin Mohamed P.J.K., E.D., J.P.)*

nomination of five of the twelve Commissioners was vested in certain public bodies, thus making the Commission more representative. Thus the Commission of 1934 was composed as follows :—

Name	Nominated by
Dr. J. E. Smith	The Governor
Mr. Khoo Sian Ewe	The Governor
Hon. Mr. H. H. Abdool Cader	The Governor
Dr. Ong Huck Chye	Chinese Town Hall
Capt. S. S. Alsagoff, M.B.E.	The Governor
Mr. P. N. Knight	Straits Settlements (Penang Association)
Mr. B. G. H. Johnson	Penang Chamber of Commerce
Mr. Heah Joo Seang	Straits Chinese British Association
Lt. Col. G. D. A. Fletcher	The Governor
Mr. H. S. Russell	The Governor
Mr. Lim Eow Thoon	Chinese Chamber of Commerce
Mr. W. L. Blythe	The Governor

An Asian majority was maintained and the same system was in force in 1939. The place of Mr. Black was taken for certain periods by Mr. H. S. Paterson, and Mr. W. L. Blythe. It was in fact during Mr. Black's absence in 1936 that the 150th anniversary of the Settlements' foundation was celebrated. It was agreed to mark the occasion by erecting a memorial to Captain Light. On a previous occasion for rejoicing, the Settlement's centenary in 1906, it had been discovered, with some surprise, that Francis Light's great grandson had been Chief Clerk in the Court at Taiping. This later Francis Light, who retired in 1886, was the son of Robert Rollo Light who was the son of Francis Lanoon Light; Francis Lanoon was the Founder's youngest son, born just before Captain Light's death in 1794. Sir William Maxwell marked the occasion by giving this direct descendant 500 acres of land but he died soon afterwards leaving five children. Had the Municipal Commissioners been similarly moved by sentiment, they might have shown favour to Mr. P. A. Rozells, their own assistant Inspector of Sanitary Improvements and presumably a relative of the lady to whom the Founder's estate had been left. Instead, they had dispensed with his services in 1901. As for the Light Memorial, it took several years to complete, being finally unveiled by Sir Shenton Thomas in 1939.

The Memorial statue of Captain Francis Light, the Founder of Penang, was unveiled by His Excellency the Governor on the 3rd October 1939. Contingents of Cadets, Scouts and Girl Guides from the English Schools and a Guard of Honour of 100 men from the Indian Regiment stationed at Glugor and 100 local volunteers were in attendance.

(Annual Report)

By this time war with Germany had already begun and the Water Engineer, Mr. A. P. H. Holmes, was soon pointing out that the water pressure was insufficient should there be "an unusual number of fires". It was not, however, until 1940 that danger seemed imminent. It was then that the Commissioners made two \$300,000 donations to the Imperial War Funds, one from Municipal Fund balances, and one from the Insurance Fund.

A.R.P. schemes were put in hand during the year. Arrangements have been made for the protection of certain essential services, where such is possible, and for the dispersal of materials. Most of the additional fire fighting appliances, ordered before the outbreak of war arrived during the year and has been organised by the Auxiliary Fire Service Superintendent, Fire Brigade.

Section Officers	5
Sub-Officers	9
Drivers and Mechanics	10
Firemen	138
	<hr/>
Total	162
	<hr/> <hr/>

They drilled on five evenings a week throughout the year. Other precautions taken included the defence of the Power Station at Prai and the Sub-station at Glugor, each being equipped with barbed-wire, machine-gun posts and splinter-proof shelters. Ordinarily speaking, much of the A. R. P. work would have fallen on Mr. Thorpe, the Municipal Engineer, but he retired in 1940, to be succeeded by Mr. W. F. Fletcher who wrote as follows :—

This is the first Annual Report for fifteen years that has not been submitted by Mr. M. J. Thorpe who arrived in Penang in January 1921, and was appointed Municipal Engineer in May 1926. Mr. Thorpe left Penang on 25th March 1940, on six months leave prior to retirement.

There are two aspects to a Head of Department. The first is his work and the results which are evident to the public; the second his reputation amongst his staff. As far as the former is concerned, Municipal progress during the last fifteen years is ample evidence of Mr. Thorpe's ability as an engineer; while with regard to the latter his relations with the whole of his staff were of the happiest. Always easily accessible and never too busy to give a hearing, he treated every member of the Department with the utmost consideration .....

(Annual Report 1940)

Mr. W. F. Fletcher's task in succeeding Mr. Thorpe was made no easier when five of his European engineers were sent on a two months course with the Volunteer Forces. There was much to do and Passive Defence measures were not in force until January, 1940. It was evidently difficult for the public to believe that the war was real. There was apparently nothing for comment in the process by which the old Theatre Royal in Penang Road was altered, redecorated, air-conditioned and renamed the Odeon. Life was still comfortable and few imagined that war could really come to Penang.

It was the new Municipal Engineer who saw most clearly where the danger lay in this spirit of complacency.

In spite of events in England which have shown the vital importance of Passive Defence, there seems little public appreciation of what the position would be in Penang if the Island were actually attacked. The effect of interference with health and allied services would be far quicker and more serious than in towns with a temperate climate, and the large population would be unable to disperse to other centres as is possible in countries where towns are less far apart.

The importance of being fully prepared is apparently appreciated less than it was in England of 1803 when, with reference to a threatened invasion of England, a proclamation stated "Let not the whims and extravagances of an enthusiastic nation divert out attention from this grand point; nor the wildness of their plans lead us into an opinion that they will not attempt what they threaten. If we prepare for the worst we cannot be in the wrong".

(Annual Report 1940)

Penang did not prepare mentally for the worst and it was with stunned amazement that people heard of the Japanese landings in December 1941. After that events moved swiftly. On December 11th came the first air raid on the town. Twenty-seven bombers dropped their loads in daylight and without meeting any opposition. The streets were full of people who had come out to see what was happening. The raid was repeated the next day but on a smaller scale. On the 13th a squadron of Buffalo fighters was sent up from Singapore to Butterworth with the result that the next Japanese raid on Penang was less successful. Twenty-seven bombers came over unescorted and were engaged by eight Buffaloes. Five of the raiders were shot down but this did not save Penang from further damage. In the words of the official war history :

These air raids on Penang caused extensive damage to buildings and dock installations. Half the town was set on fire and a breakdown in the Municipal services resulted .....

What this meant to the Municipal staff we learn from Mr. J. E. Miller, the Chief Sanitary Inspector, who had served the town loyally for many years. He had for long pleaded with the public to co-operate more with the Municipal officers and to realise that they were not busybodies but friends. Now he was to see this lesson taught the hard way. This is how he described it afterwards :—

This Department's part in the Passive Defence Service was that of Disposal of the Dead. This service proved, with the immediate reluctance quickly followed by the flat refusal of the labour force to assist, one of extreme difficulty and it was only because of the loyalty of the staff with the aid of a few civilian volunteers and latterly some Military Personnel that anything was done at all. It was the staff themselves that undertook the gruesome task of moving and disposing of the hundreds of mutilated bodies that were the victims of the indiscriminate bombing and machine gunning of the town. I should here like, once and for all, to dispose of the official myth as broadcast by the B.B.C. and M.B.C. that "the casualties were not heavy and did not exceed 200." This Department dealt with 483 dead bodies between December 11th and 16th and hundreds still remained. I would estimate the total casualties both killed and wounded as not less than 5000. The casualties were practically all sustained on the first day, December 11th as, following on this raid, the towns emptied and became literally a "city of the dead".

(Annual Report, 1946).

It was on the day after this first raid that Lt. General Percival decided to withdraw his troops from Kelantan. Nearer to Penang, the 11th Indian Division fell back through Kedah into Province Wellesley. It was then a question whether Penang should be defended or not. In 1940 Penang was regarded as a 'Fortress' although defended by only one Indian battalion and one Volunteer battalion. The Commander was the veteran Brigadier 'Tiger' Lyon, with Angus Rose (author of *Who Dies Fighting*) as Brigade Major at one time. But Penang lacked any fixed defences and was equally without an airfield. So Percival concluded that it would have to be evacuated. European women and children were evacuated on the night of the 13th. The Royal Air Force abandoned Butterworth on 15th December. On the following day it was decided to withdraw the 11th Division behind the Krian River. Penang garrison was withdrawn at the same time, together with the European civilians. Evacuation of these was completed during the period between the 15th and the 17th, demolitions going on at the same time. Until that time some of the Volunteers and some of the Passive Defence personnel had been doing good work keeping order, helping to extinguish fires and saving the women and children. When the order came to quit the island, the time for doing so was short.\* The result was that there was no one available to destroy the shipping in the harbour. Many vessels were thus allowed to fall into Japanese hands, and proved of great value to them in the course of the campaign. Hearing of this, Mr. Winston Churchill wrote a scathing minute beginning with the words "This is really not good enough" and ending "I am sorry to be disagreeable, but I look for a further report of a far more searching inquiry." The first Sea Lord explained :

The rot appears to have started at Penang, where the arrangements to put into force the "scorched earth" policy appears to have completely broken down.

This was perfectly true but the order to remove the garrison and all the civilians likely to be of use in the defence of Singapore was not in fact very compatible with the scuttling of coasters and small crafts. There were too few people available to do anything and the few there were found themselves fully occupied in the most urgent rescue work. Some 500 of the Volunteers who might have been evacuated chose rather to stay, but not all of these were on duty. At the same time it would be wrong to conclude that nothing was accomplished. In fact the British army engineers did carry out some effective demolitions. As far as the Municipality was concerned, the most important of these were at the Power Station, where explosives were used to wreck the machinery. Numbers 1 and 3 sets were so completely wrecked that they were sold after the war as scrap. Other demolitions were on a smaller scale, which was perhaps as well for the civilian population. Many people had fled in panic to the countryside and it was indeed a "city of the dead" that the Japanese occupied.

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\*This evacuation of Europeans, both military and civilian, clandestinely carried out, gave rise to much unfavourable comment amongst the local population.



This book is no place for an account of how Penang fared under Japanese rule. There had been anti-Japanese riots there in 1938. Now the Japanese were to be fully avenged. Of the twenty-five Municipal Officers who were interned during the war, three died as prisoners. These were Mr. A. G. McCrea, Municipal Veterinary Surgeon, Mr. H. G. Moulding, Assistant Municipal Engineer, and Mr. J. H. Dodd, Assistant Distribution Engineer. Of those who survived internment, a number had to retire for reasons of health. Mr. T. W. Douglas, Municipal Secretary, Mr. A. P. H. Holmes, Municipal Water Engineer, Mr. J. A. McEvoy, Registrar of Vehicles, Mr. A. H. Brown, Superintendent of the Fire Brigade and Mr. J. C. M. Sharp, Mechanical Engineer, were among these. Casualties were quite heavy among the junior staff and the labourers. Nine labourers employed by the Health Department were killed in the bombing, and thirty-one died on the Siam Railway. Fourteen of the Water Engineer's staff died, and seven others retired as medically unfit. Nearly a hundred of the road labourers had disappeared. What had happened to many people was not even known. Outstanding among all these sufferers was Mr. Yeap Hin Tat, Sanitary Inspector, taken by the Kempeitai in 1943 and tortured to death. He had been outstandingly efficient and cheerful during the air raids and Mr. J. E. Miller afterward wrote of him :

He was a first class Inspector and, it transpired, a loyal and undaunted citizen, which cost him his life. His death was a grave loss to this Department and I should like to pay my small tribute to the memory of a brave man.

On the material side, 1,100 houses were destroyed by bombing and looting, the bombing had shaken the Memorial Clock out of the vertical and all the Municipal account books had been lost before the war ended.

Penang suffered in common with other Malayan towns from the rough and ready methods of Japanese military administration. It is however true that the essential services were fairly well maintained in spite of increasing difficulties in getting necessary supplies. The water supply was very efficiently maintained by Mr. H. C. Goh\* in what was afterwards described as 'one of the worst bombed and devastated towns of Malaya.' Sanitation too remained effective and public transport was maintained at a satisfactory level. The one thing the Japanese really approved of and cherished was the Hill Railway. They even went so far as to replace the upper section of the cable in 1942. It reminded them, no doubt, of the funiculars to be found in Japan. By the time of the Japanese surrender, three years and nine months after they had arrived, the Hill Railway was still in tolerable working order.

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\*The present City Water Engineer.

## CHAPTER IX

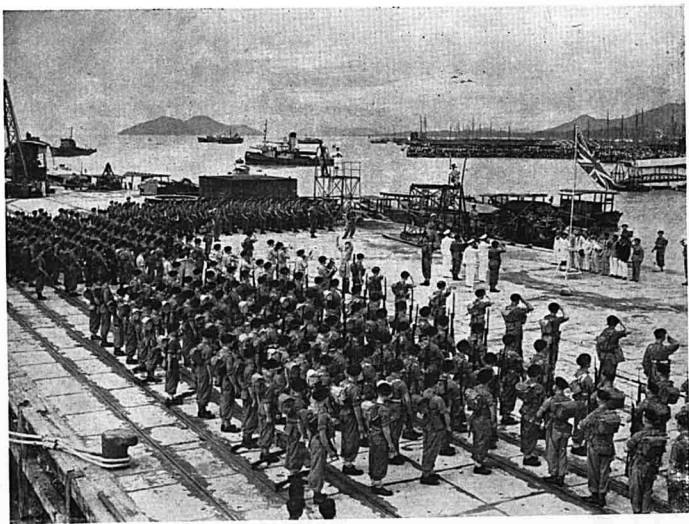
### RECONSTRUCTION OF THE BROKEN PAST

The British Military Administration assumed control of Penang on September 3rd 1945, and continued its government until March 31st, 1946. One feature of its rule was to amalgamate the various public services, making no distinction between the governmental and the municipal. There seemed good reason for this at the time and the question was asked whether these various departments need again be separated. Doubts were expressed even as to whether the Municipality would again be constituted and some months passed before these doubts were dispelled. Assurances were finally given on this point and the following Commissioners assumed office on April 1st :—

Mr. W. C. Taylor, President	Government nominee
The Hon'ble Mr. H. H. Abdool Cader, C.B.E.	Government nominee
Dr. Ong Huck Chye	Chinese Town Hall
Dr. Lee Tiang Keng	Straits Chinese British Association
Mr. C. Grumitt	Straits Settlements (Penang) Association
Dr. K. Mohd Ariff	Government nominee
Mr. Jules Martin	Penang Chamber of Commerce
Mr. Khoo Sian Ewe, O.B.E.	Government nominee
Mr. Lim Eow Thoon	Chinese Chamber of Commerce
Mr. E. V. C. Thomson	Government nominee
Mr. C. C. Stewart	Government nominee
Dr. W. H. Brodie	Government nominee

The last-named official was appointed Deputy President when Mr. Taylor went on leave in December. To serve the Municipal Commissioners there re-assembled the permanent staff, some however to retire soon afterwards. Mr. J. E. A. Clark became Secretary and Treasurer. The first meeting of the Commissioners was held in June, 1946 and a survey began of all there was to do.

George Town had suffered, as we know, from bombing and other direct damage. But the indirect damage was found to be worse. There was chaos in the Secretariat over Debenture Stocks and rates of pay. There had been no maintenance of roads, drains or buildings. The Electricity Supply Department was near the point of breakdown. Health precautions had been neglected and mosquitoes swarmed afresh, breeding unchecked in slit trenches and air-raid shelters. Smallpox had broken out and there was a rush to vaccinate people. When Penang was reoccupied there were no trolley-buses in operation. Two had been destroyed by enemy action, the remainder had been run until they broke down for lack



*Royal Marines landing in Penang — September 1945  
(by courtesy of Imperial War Museum)*

of spare parts, lack of maintenance and lack of suitable lubricants. The situation further deteriorated as a result of attempts to run buses on improvised solid tyres. In addition to all that, the population had increased, the number for 1947 being 189,067 and nothing had been done to provide housing. Instead, hundreds of attap hovels and stalls had been built, obstructing traffic and constituting a grave fire risk. There were some 400 of these in the area bounded by Penang Road, Brick Kiln Road and the sea. Back Lanes were blocked by uncollected refuse. Municipal workshops were in disrepair and many Municipal vehicles had disappeared.

As regards the Commission it was pointed out that :

The members consisted almost entirely of individuals who had previous experience as Municipal Commissioners. This was a wise step as it enabled the routine Committee work to be got under way with the least possible delay. There is no doubt that in the future the Commissioners will be a more representative body, possibly being voted into office in a truly democratic manner but local government has got to be learned . . . . .

(Annual Report 1946)

Hampered at first by lack of funds, the Commission and its officers set about the work of re-organisation. Mr. Sharp, the Mechanical Engineer, managed to collect 85 miscellaneous vehicles, 25 of them military lorries. Some lorries were fitted out for use as buses. War was resumed against rats. Licensing of hawkers was re-introduced and the astonishing number of 7,063 obtained licences — another two or three thousand continuing to trade unlicensed. The Municipal Band was re-assembled. The memorial statue of Francis Light was discovered behind a house used by the Japanese as a naval store. The sword had been lost but the statue was re-erected in August 1946, not in its original position but in the Supreme Court grounds. Slowly and painfully, the town was brought back to life, health and order.

The period of reconstruction may be said to have lasted from 1946 to 1951, covering the presidencies of Mr. W. C. Taylor and Mr. H. G. Hammett. It was a period not without its trouble, nor without its progress, but it should perhaps be remembered, first and foremost, for the housing problem which the war had left in its wake. There had been no building since 1940. Some 1,100 houses had been destroyed. As against that, the population had increased, was increasing and would certainly not diminish. Land needed for housing, moreover, had been occupied by squatters, whose unsightly and insanitary dwellings were not easy to remove. There were 900 of these in outlying areas and hundreds more in the town proper. The existing houses were more crowded than ever before. Between 1931 and 1947, occupied houses increased in number from 16,000 to 18,000 but the average number of persons per house rose from 9.30 to 19.43. Within the Municipal limits the population density was only 33 per acre, but it had reached 263 per acre in the Chulia Street/Campbell Street/Kimberley Street area, and 150 per acre in the town area proper. It was thus observed that 33.68% of the population was living in 7.5% of the available space.

The first Municipal efforts to provide housing were for the benefit, not unnaturally, of the Municipal staff. A beginning was made in 1946 with quarters for thirty-two labourers. At this time most of the Senior Officers were sharing quarters and all but twenty-five of the clerical and subordinate staff were, officially speaking, "homeless". The Municipal Engineer therefore set about building six houses for senior officers, six blocks of flats (42 quarters) for subordinate officers and 48 quarters for labourers. These were completed in 1948. So were 28 semi-permanent houses built in 1949 for sale to the public at \$2,775 each. These were in Prangin Estate. The Commissioners went on to acquire 16 acres at Green Lane for more 'low cost' housing : the plan providing for 200 of these, eventually, in 36 acres. It was at least a beginning. Further progress depended, however, on finance. There was a War Damage Claim for \$3,936,769. To provide immediate funds, however, a debenture loan stock of \$4,000,000 at 3½% was floated in November 1948. With this sum in hand it was possible to embark on a four-year plan of rehabilitation and development.

This plan included the Green Lane Housing Scheme. Six specimen houses were built first, being completed in July, 1950, and sold for \$9,300 to \$6,500 according to size. Then 20 more acres were acquired on which to build 50 more, with another 44 to follow, all for sale at prices between \$7,200 and \$10,300. It was realised, however, that this was merely touching the fringe of the problem. With 9,000 more houses needed, the Municipality had a long way to go before the need would be met.

Only when everybody is properly housed, and only when the cost of living is kept within reasonable bounds, will there be any prospect of curing the ills from which the country is suffering.

(Annual Report 1950)

The fact was that the population of over 189,000 as enumerated in 1947, had reached 199,458 in 1951. So far from coping with the shortage noted in 1946, the houses built were insufficient for the population increase which had happened since. There were another 10,000 people in four years. With a birth rate of 38.32 per 1000 in 1951, rising to 44.24 per 1000 in 1952; with a death rate of 11.3 per 1000 in 1951, falling to 10.19 per 1000 in 1952, the problem seemed insoluble. It was certainly beyond the scope of the Municipal Engineer's Department. The result was the formation of the Town Planning and Building Department, detached from the Engineer's Department as from 1st January 1951. Beginning with a staff of 9, some 23 more were added to cope with the additional work of planning and design.

By 1952, some 54 houses had been completed in Green Lane, with 41 more to come. Private builders had completed 161 buildings during the year and had submitted plans for 299 more (as compared with 368 in 1951). Building costs had risen. It was calculated, moreover, that a minimum of 450 houses a year would be needed to meet the population increase, without relieving the overcrowding. Faced with this situation,

the Town Planning and Building Department did its best. It could report the completion of the Green Lane scheme in 1953, with 207 houses, 4 shops and 16 garages. It could report the completion of 362 units by private enterprise. There was better progress to report in 1955, with 40 flats nearing completion in Jelutong Road, 50 houses in Pinhorn Road, 12 labourers' quarters completed and plans prepared for 116 houses in Udini Road for the Power Station staff. Private builders had completed 270 new buildings, with 577 in course of construction, and plans submitted for 376 more. Municipal building activity was slowed down on occasion by lack of funds and again by squatters on the site. On the other hand, much was being done. By 1956 the buildings completed might actually exceed the minimum number which the population increase would imply. Any progress towards relieving congestion was still something of the future. Towards this the most practical step was taken in 1954 with the opening of three Family Planning Clinics. As the President said in 1952 :

Housing is I think, the biggest and the most difficult single problem calling for solution in George Town .....

It would be fair to conclude that it has not been solved yet.

About this period of recuperation two other matters require comment: one being staff relationship, the other being 'Malayanisation' of the senior staff. Staff relationship became an issue with threatened strike action in 1949. The President reported that :

While the main body of Municipal servants are loyal and not unmindful of their duties and responsibilities towards the 190,000 people whom they serve, there are always a few less responsible members of society who delight in creating difficulties. Standing themselves in the background, they incite others who are at heart moderate men, to contemplate action which would not only cause hardship and inconvenience to the inhabitants of the town but would also be detrimental to their own interests. On two occasions during the year threat of strike action was made but happily averted.

Generally speaking, the staff relationship had been good; and on this occasion the complaints made were partially justified. The eventual result of these incidents was the formation of a Joint Council (31st December, 1951) in which staff problems could be solved by discussion rather than agitation. As regards the appointment of locally recruited officers to reposable office, the first department to have a Malayan Chief was the Fire Brigade. On the retirement of Captain A. E. M. Little in 1948, the present Chief Fire Officer, Enche (now Haji) Zainulabidin Abdul Rahman, was appointed to the vacancy. About the same time Mr. Yeang Hooi Chee was appointed Registrar of Vehicles. More Malaysians were promoted in 1950, when it was reported that

Further proof was afforded to the Commissioners, declared policy of appointing locally-born officers to Senior Superscale posts by the promotion during the year of five such officers. Locally-born men now hold these senior posts:

Electricity Department	.. ..	2
Engineer's Department	.. ..	3
Water Department	.. ..	1
Secretariat and Revenue	.. ..	3
Health	.. ..	1

Other local men held office as Traffic Superintendent (Transport Department), and Municipal Veterinary Officers. With the two first named, this makes a total of fourteen, as compared with the figure at 1962 which is 63.

The last years of this period of post-war recovery were marked by steps towards introducing a fully-elected Municipal Council. The President of the day, Mr. H. G. Hammett, was fully in sympathy with those who demanded progress towards democracy in local government. He was also unusually eloquent on the subject as the following passage may serve to indicate :

#### Elections

The subject of elections for this Municipality has been raised and a Committee appointed by the Settlement Government has commenced its study of this important question. Meanwhile, an experiment will be tried out in 1950 whereby each Standing Committee (except the Finance Committee) will have an Unofficial as its Chairman, and each Chairman will automatically be a member of the Finance Committee at which the President will continue to take the Chair. This departure from previous procedure will not only enable the Unofficial Chairman to obtain a closer insight into Municipal affairs, but will also considerably strengthen the Finance Committee which, as the focal point of Municipal business, should, it is felt, be more fully representative of the Commissioners.

Lastly, and perhaps of least importance, the Municipal Commissioners of George Town, Penang, have been subjected during the past year, to the vagaries of three different Presidents. The Commissioners have accepted the position with good grace realising the difficulties consequent upon the war years, of posting senior M.C.S. officers. At the same time, they have intimated that they will welcome a return to the pre-war practice whereby a number of names were submitted to them, and whereby they were able to make their choice in the knowledge that their President would remain with them for more than a few months. The fact that the Municipality can withstand such rapid changes of its Presidency is a measure of its strength.

(Annual Report 1949)

The way was thus prepared for the new elected Council of 1951. The Municipal Commissioners held their last meeting on 29th November. As Mr. Hammett pointed out :

For some of them this represented a severance of a connection with the Municipality which had extended over many years. The three senior Commissioners were appointed in 1924, 1925 and 1927. To them and to their colleagues appointed since 1946 the citizens of Penang are deeply indebted. They had devoted many hours, week after week, to serving the municipal needs of their fellow citizens.

Local government is a thankless task at best, remembered with impatience when things go wrong and forgotten meanwhile when all goes well. Certain it is, however, that George Town was well served for many years by its Municipal Commissioners. When the time came to hand over the Municipal organisation to an elected Council, it was the handing over of institutions which had been built up over the years. All sorts of new problems might be expected to arise, but at least the organisation existed for dealing with them. There was a firm basis of administration upon which a later and more democratic structure might be built.

## ON FIRMER GROUNDS

The first election to be held under the new Municipal Constitution, embodied in Ordinance No. 53 of 1950 took place on 1st December 1951.

..... The campaign before the election was conducted keenly but in a friendly spirit. The percentage of registered electors voting was remarkably good: it would have been even better but for the heavy downpour during the last hour of polling.

The effect of the new constitution was to divide George Town into three wards: Jelutong, Kelawei and Tanjong. Each was to return three elected Councillors. In addition there were to be six appointed Councillors with an M. C. S. officer as President.

Of the nine Councillors who were elected, six were members of the Radical Party, one came from the Labour Party, one from U.M.N.O. and one was an Independent. One of the two women candidates was successful and she topped the poll in Kelawei Ward. The two Municipal Commissioners standing for election were both elected to the Council.

Four of the appointed Councillors were retiring Commissioners, so the new Council has a substantial proportion of members with previous experience of Municipal affairs.

(Annual Report 1951)

The two former Commissioners elected to the new Council were Mr. N. Ponnudurai and Mr. A. C. Reutens, a very proper recognition of their past services and useful experience. The new lady Councillor was Miss Nancy Yeap, lawyer member of a well-known family, whose success had been fully deserved as a result of personal canvassing. *The Straits Echo* of December 4th reflected the public interest which the election had aroused:

Penang's first Municipal elections have been a great success from every point of view .....

That 72 percent of the registered electorate discharged their duty may not appear to be very impressive ..... (But for rain, more votes would have been cast).

Indeed, the first Municipal elections in Penang after a lapse of nearly half a century, have given this generation a foretaste of how the machinery of democracy works .....

..... None of the candidates who will now take their seats on the new Municipal Council owe their selection to racial support of any section of the community.

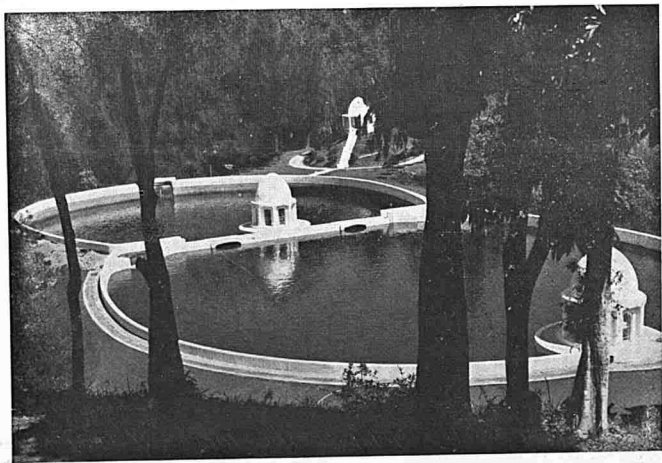
This was perfectly true, and the new Council entered on its labours with the good wishes of all. Candidates for election had naturally spoken freely of the amenities which they intended to introduce. They found that amenities cost money and that money was not to be had.

Why funds were so short was explained by the President in 1952:

The continued operation throughout the year of rent control on pre-war properties artificially restricted the Council's rate income and thereby rendered it difficult indeed impossible, for development to keep pace with the growth of the town and its needs. Constantly-rising salaries, wages, and prices of equipment and materials, by absorbing a greater proportion of income, still further limited the funds which it was possible to apply to improvement and extension of the public services and amenities of the town .....

(Annual Report 1952)

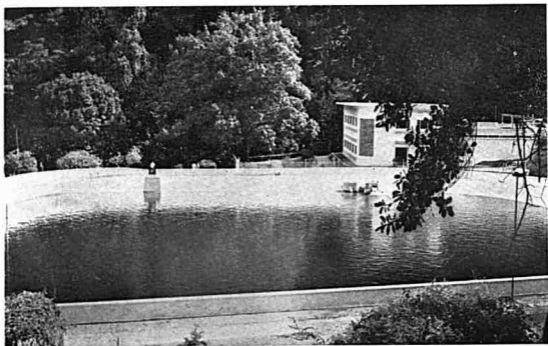




*Guillemard Service Reservoir (1929)*



*Bukit Dunbar Reservoir (Public Park)*



*Waterfall Reservoir*

Perhaps because of this financial stringency it would be difficult to show that electing a majority of the Councillors had brought about any startling difference in policy. The new Councillors were perhaps more imaginative. They also provided a channel through which Municipal work could be explained to the electorate. Thus, Mr. John E. Miller Chief Sanitary Inspector, who had been asking for public co-operation since 1933, expressed a plaintive hope :

..... that one day the public regard us as friends and not enemies, as people who persevere rather than persecute and that we shall not find ourselves harassed in our efforts at progress by those to whom we should look for complete support.

(Annual Report 1951)

Such support could be gained more readily by Miss Nancy Yeap than by any expert on sanitation. On the other hand, public pressure could make itself more readily felt and in one or two directions it did so. There had been many complaints, for example, about the transport system, which was now considerably modernised.\* Petrol buses were replaced by diesel buses on the non-electrified routes. The public was consulted about the routes to be followed. The Municipal Engineer pressed on with the Dato Kramat Stadium. The Council played a prominent part in the celebration of Queen Elizabeth II's Coronation in 1953. In the same year the Council applied for a Coat-of-Arms and obtained the attractive insignia which has since been used and which appears in this publication (see cover).

The President concluded of the Councillors :

..... The Councillors' methods in general, as far as I am competent to judge, seem to me probably rather more enterprising and certainly not less effective than were those of the Commissioners. Election to the Municipal body has undoubtedly invigorated its discussions both in its committees and in the full Council .....

(Annual Report 1953)

In June 1954, Mr. L. R. F. Earl was succeeded by Mr. J. S. H. Cunyngham-Brown, O.B.E., who was to be the last President drawn from the M.C.S. His first year of office was made notable by the decision to found the new Power Station at Glugor on Penang Island. By an earlier decision two more generating plants were nearing completion at the old Municipal Power House at Sungei Pinang. The foundation stone at Glugor was laid by Lt. Col. S. Mortimer, the Municipal Electrical Engineer, on 27th November 1954 ; a few days before he was due to retire. The conversion from D.C. to A.C. was proceeding at the same time. A sad event of this year was the final dispersal of the Town Band. Its career latterly had been somewhat chequered, for it had already been abolished in 1950. The Bandmaster, Mr. C. C. Scott, had been interned by the Japanese but had returned to duty in 1946, together with his bandsmen, and continued to perform for the next four years. At the end of this period Mr. Scott retired and the Annual Report for 1950 records that :

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\*See statistical table in Appendix.

With the retirement of Mr. Scott, the Municipal Band which had functioned with varying degrees of success since the year 1891 was dissolved, and for some months the residents of George Town enjoyed weekly performances by the band of the King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry. By a subsequent decision of the Commissioners an attempt is to be made to reform the Municipal Band.

The Municipal Band was re-formed, and continued to play until it was disbanded in 1954. Sad it must have been to part with bandmen with names like E. Gonzales, A. Espiritusanto, Inigo Geronimo, R. Barbosa, Fortunato Edora and J. Perkins. The disbandment was justifiable at least in terms of finance. For funds were still short, as the President had to admit.

..... Though peaceful and progressive in no small degree, 1954 has not been a year of notably less financial stringency than those which have preceded it. Broadly speaking, we have moved steadily forward, paying our way; the 'Trading' departments of Electricity and Water continuing to derive a steady surplus, all of which has been ploughed back into the improvement and extension of those two enterprises. The General Revenue, from which derives every facet of the town health, cleanliness, future planning, and (most important and expensive item) present maintenance and extension of all Public Works, including roads and sewerage, continues to be sadly crippled by the provisions of the Control of Rent Ordinance .....

(Annual Report 1954)

There were times, no doubt, when the Council might have been tempted to raid the Water Department for its surplus when in search of funds for other necessary projects. At this juncture, however, it soon became apparent that the town would need a new reservoir. With its rapid increase of population (8000 persons per year) the town was already using nine million gallons of water per day. The available supply in wet weather, would touch twelve million gallons. But it was not then that the maximum demand would occur. It is in dry hot weather that people rush to the shower and it is towards the end of a long dry spell that the water supply will dwindle. At such times, in the Penang of 1954, the demand was threatening to exceed nine million gallons at exactly the time when the supply was tending to fall short of it. Mr. Gourley, at one time President of the British Institute of Civil Engineers, said that George Town had 'the finest and most beautiful water supply system' he had ever seen. The compliment was deserved but it was a question whether it would be deserved for long to come. Since 1946 various devices had been used to meet the immediate situation. The Ayer Itam Side Stream and Tats No. 1 were reconnected; a pump was installed to raise water from the lower reaches of Sungei Telok Bahang to the open aqueduct at Batu Feringgi. There followed the Bukit Dambar Service Reservoir, two circular tanks each holding four million gallons of water adding considerably to the town's reserve. But the Councillors were well advised to look further ahead and seek a more positive solution to the problem. They did so and the Ayer Itam Scheme of 1955 was the result.

The essence of this new scheme was to dam the Ayer Itam Valley at a point 700 feet above sea level and so impound some five hundred

million gallons of water. With such a supply available it was calculated that George Town would have nineteen million gallons per day even under the worst drought conditions that had ever been known. Work on the access road began in 1953 and work on the dam itself in 1957. At the time of writing the work of construction costing \$15 million still continues, and completion is not expected until 1960-61.\* As from that year George Town will have a supply equal to the expected demand of 1981, a credit to the foresight of past Presidents and Councillors.

As for the other 'trading' Department (Electricity Supply Department), it also had to meet a heavy capital expenditure. Between 1945 and 1950 the supply of electric current could not meet the demand, with load-shedding as a result. The theory at that period was that Penang would receive its electricity from the mainland under arrangements to be made by the Central Electricity Board. No new plant had been ordered, therefore, and all the Commissioners could do was to meet immediate needs with short-term expedients. These expedients included the purchase of second-hand machinery, with the aid of which the firm load carrying capacity was raised to 9,500 K.W.

By 1951 it had become clear that no help would be forthcoming from the mainland for some considerable time. The Consulting Engineers were asked, therefore, in 1952, to advise the Council what to do next. The consultants recommended the immediate installation of two Diesel generators at the old station site at Sungei Pinang. This was to be followed by the construction at Glugor of a new oil-fired steam power station, initially equipped with two 10 M.W. sets but capable of extension up to 50 M.W. The existing submarine cables were to be retained to feed back energy from the Island to Province Wellesley and Butterworth. These proposals were accepted in March 1953, and the immediate supply restrictions ended when the Sungei Pinang generators went into operation in 1955. In that year work began on the new Power Station north of Glugor, which was declared open on 3rd January 1957.

The new Power Station works on fuel oil which is brought by sea to Swettenham Pier and discharged by a mile-long 12" pipeline into transfer tanks at the southern end of Weld Quay. From the transfer tanks the fuel oil is pumped via a 6" pipeline into two storage tanks on the power station site, about three miles away. From the storage tanks the oil is passed to the boilers, each of which is equipped with four burners of the steam atomising type. The boilers raise the steam which serves to drive three turbo-alternators. These in turn drive the machines which produce the electricity. The current is then borne elsewhere in the cables which radiate from the Power Station. The Station itself is of the semi-outdoor type, the equipment being lightly roofed with metal sheeting supported on a steel frame. It is capable of extension to meet all foreseeable future needs. An additional turbo-alternator was erected in 1962.

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\*The Ayer Itam Dam was declared open by H. E. The Governor, Raja Tun Uda Al-Haj on 8th December 1962.

From this and from preceding chapters it will be seen how the Municipal services have developed over the years, creating the George Town we know to-day — clean, drained, sewerred and lighted, provided with electricity, water and transport. As time goes on, the Council has provided more than the services we have been taught to regard as essential. Typical of these is the Stadium, officially opened in 1956. Owing to such improvements and to progress of every kind, it became evident that George Town, the mere village of 1786, the town of 1857, was no longer a town at all. It had grown to the stage, when with a population of over 200,000, it was a city in all but name. All that remained was to secure the Royal Charter by which city status might be accorded. How this came about will be the subject of the next chapter, in which it will be recorded how the first century of Municipal government was brought most fittingly to its close, and also how the next century was most fittingly begun.

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## CHAPTER XI

### CITY STATUS

It may be noticed by now that the development of Municipal administration was to a great extent constitutionally influenced by her sister institutions in India. But it was Britain that moulded the structure of the Municipalities in the Straits Settlements, which included the Municipality of Penang. It took a hundred years to transfer slowly the responsibility of local administration to the people of George Town.

In 1957, three events occurred, two of which were of local significance, and one of national importance.

On the first day of January 1957, celebrations were held to commemorate the Centenary of the Constitution of the Municipal Commission (under the Straits Settlement Municipal Act XXVII of 1856). The week's celebrations were declared open by H.E. the High Commissioner at a ceremony on New Year's Day when His Excellency also presented the Letters Patent elevating the Municipality to the status of a City by command of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II.

The third event that took place, which had a great bearing on the development of the Municipality in its constitutional and political evolution, was the Declaration of Independence on August 31st and the coming into being of the Federation of Malaya. It brought about corresponding changes in the Municipal Ordinance, removing from the Local Authority certain powers which were reserved under the Federal Constitution to the central government, restricting and controlling the borrowing powers of the newly elevated City Council of George Town. The gain in status, seen against the back-ground of political development in this nation, had a quixotic flavour, and we often have to watch the spectacle of Councillors charging full tilt at the twin windmills of the State and Central Governments.

Political Independence of the nation followed the first ever fully elected City Council whose elections were held in December 1956, but its pervasive influence with different political groupings springing up, as can be seen in the previous chapter, had permeated the affairs of the Municipality long before formal Independence was granted.

Under the aegis of the British, local administration policies were aired only among the nominated members who in the eyes of the Resident Commissioner concerned, were considered worthy representatives of the local populace. In making his nomination, the Resident Commissioner had recourse to racial representation, selecting at least one Chinese, one Indian and one Malay. In this way, at a very early date, there was introduced the problem of communal representation which was to act as an irritant, and embittered relationships between communities. Though that might have been the natural way to select representatives from a plural society, it was certainly not the best way. In any case, this system was improved a little when a portion of the Council members was allowed to be elected in 1952. This state of affairs was not very encouraging either. In the face of the nominated majority, the elected members soon began to realise that it was impossible for them to secure the passage of important proposals against the government and its members.



*Pengkalan Tun Uda (P.P.C. Ferry Terminal) —  
Gateway to the City*



With a fully elected Council, however the proceedings were charged with new vigour and interest. Party politics influencing the administration of the City Council is therefore very recent. With this fact in mind many people may still wonder, and speeches of such a nature have been frequently aired in Council chambers, if local administration as conducted by party representatives on party lines may not, in fact, corrode the entire concept of local administration. It may be of interest, therefore, before considering the next phase of the City Council development which was piloted along political bearings to consider briefly the merits and demerits of political participation in local administration. Unlike the City Council of Singapore which was dissolved and absorbed by the State of Singapore as a political unit, the City Council of George Town is still in vigorous existence, although the threat of being taken over by the State Government is not to be lightly regarded.

The chief objections raised against purely party groupings and perhaps factionalism with regard to local administration may be:— First that the electorate are not literate enough to appreciate political ideologies and thus might be manoeuvred emotionally to give support to unscrupulous candidates. Combined with this, it is argued that political apathy may disinherit the Council of the broad-based support it needs. However, the elections of 1956, 1957, 1958, 1961, and 1963 provide ample evidence that the so-called illiterate masses are not at election times as indifferent to the larger political issues and the more immediate returns as some make them out to be; they can be awakened to their own interests to the extent of exercising their votes in favour of candidates or parties of their choice.

Second — that local council administration is basically 'local' in character and political parties which tend to clash more naturally and easily over national policies might bring in their political rivalries into the local scene. They might therefore, delay if not bring to a standstill the workings of a whole Council with their petty bickerings.

Third — if the Council is controlled by a different political party to the controlling State and Federal governments, the frustration that might have to be endured might be so prolonged and severe that the ill-effects of the situation would have to be suffered by the local populace. In other words, where the City Council has a majority of members of the opposing party, it is more liable to find its requests for grants and special permission to extend and improve municipal services ignored or rejected. If party feelings are allowed to be the guiding factor than the needs of the City residents, then it is they who will become the victims of political sabotage.

Fourth — there is the fear that political parties would only cater for the needs of certain sections of the City so that there is no over-all improvement of the area but improvements of only selected spots.

Fifth — in the context of a plural society, communalism might manifest itself in political parties, and act as a brake in the ordinary progress and smooth workings of the City Council.

The above views belong largely to the conservatives and that section of people who think only in terms of physical improvements rather than of the evolution of a responsible local administrative body. A large proportion of people, fortunately, approve party politics even at local council levels. Having noticed the apparently concealed prejudices of many of the early Councillors, they have come to realize now that it is better to put into the Council openly committed candidates who could be taken to task if they failed to fulfil their pledges. Again they feel sure that a Council will function well only if there is formal opposition to keep the Council active and alert. The party struggles at the Council level will help educate the voter in his responsibilities as a ratepayer by increasing his interest in local questions and will inevitably, serve to clarify for him the broader national stands of the parties and thus enlarge his political consciousness.

Having outlined the pros and cons of political parties as a force in the administration of the Council, we may go on to trace the next phase of the development of George Town, where political parties have shown themselves to be prominent in the discharge of their electoral duties, and where, more often than not, political differences colour the proceedings in Open Council, although, in fact, there is a remarkable cohesion of approach and sober deliberation when Councillors sit on Committees.

At the first meeting of the fully elected Council held on 2nd January 1957, the Resident Commissioner, who was then the Head of State, Penang, was present to witness the proceedings of the meeting and the election of the first local President of the Council. In the opening address he emphasized this new chapter of events in Penang remarking:

"This is the first occasion in the Federation of Malaya on which there has been a fully elected Local Government Authority with an elected President and we should be proud that George Town is to have the honour of being in the lead."

The election of the President was duly conducted and it indicated that from the very beginning political affinities began to express themselves into two camps; the Labour Party and the Alliance. In the slightly Alliance dominated Council, the Alliance candidate, G. H. Goh won by a majority of six to five votes, while the Labour Party candidate was defeated by four votes to six. The position of Independent Councillors may be regarded as nebulous.

Councillor G. H. Goh, a lawyer by profession and a well-known member of the Penang community has the distinction of being the first locally elected President of the City Council. Councillor D. S. Ramanathan whom he defeated, however, earned a similar distinction at the end of the same year when he was elected to the office of Mayor which was created by an amendment to the Constitution on the 23rd December by the State Legislature.

The new Council, even at its first meeting, faced a barrage of questions regarding the communal disturbances that took place during the Centenary Celebrations.

A misunderstanding during the procession between the Malay and Chinese communities flared up into one of physical violence which resulted in the imposition of a curfew throughout George Town for varying hours each day during the period 6th — 13th January. A climate of peace was only achieved after some loss of lives and after many more had been injured. During the disturbances a number of City Council employees were attacked whilst performing their duties and four were admitted to hospital. The curfew naturally disrupted Council services and seriously affected scavenging and nightsoil collection. The conditions were alleviated during the 7th, 8th, and 9th days only with the help of police escorts and as a result of selfless co-operation of the well-trained Council employees.

However, the attitude of the City Council during this critical period was a little complacent. Councillor Khoo Yat See, an Independent, was not persuaded by the plea of the Alliance Councillor, the Hon'ble Mr. Abu Bakar 'not to wash dirty linen in public' and demanded to know why the City Council, as a body, did not meet to take the lead in helping to restore law and order and establish a fund for the relief of the victims. He suggested that the Council lacked 'initiative and leadership'.

The President replied that he accepted responsibility for not calling the Council meeting but mentioned that action was taken by City Councillors in their individual capacities.

Reflecting the communal problems that were to impinge themselves on the affairs of the Council, the Council met to consider a motion brought by Councillor Khoo Yat See who sought support :—

'That this Council approves and recommends that Part III Section 14, Sub-section (b) of the Constitution of the Municipality of George Town, Penang, be amended to include Chinese — Mandarin and Tamil as the other two official languages of the Council, to wit —

- (b) able to speak, and, unless incapacitated by blindness or other physical cause, to read and write the English or Malay or Chinese (Mandarin) or Tamil language with a degree or proficiency sufficient to enable him to take an active part in any proceedings as a Councillor.'

He strongly argued that there were amongst the people of Penang those who could read and write only Chinese or Tamil and were excellent businessmen, and if the Council were able to recruit such men the Council would be better run. It seemed to him that the Government which wanted to create goodwill was taking a retrograde step in imposing such restrictive measures and for the City Council to abandon this inconvenience would allow it maximum scope to serve its people. He therefore urged that Tamil and Mandarin should be acceptable languages in the City Council and in doing so the Council should attract 'some of the best brains' to serve on it.

The motion was largely supported by Labour Party Councillors and its seconder Councillor D. S. Ramanathan reiterated the principle of the proposal. Opposition to the motion came from the Alliance Councillors, who argued that the National Government's policy was to make

Malay the official language and the sooner the people became familiar with the Malay language the more advantageous it would be for them. The aim was to create one nation and the single national and official language would be a great asset in unifying the various communities. The motion was hotly debated, with the above points being repeated in different forms, and when put to the vote was lost by a majority of 8 to 6 votes. The question of Councillor's qualifications on the basis of proficiency in the languages was raised sporadically at Ordinary Council Meetings in the course of the next few years until interest in it slowly fizzled away when qualifications for Councillors and voters at local authority levels throughout Malaya fell into line with those obtaining in the Federal Legislature.

At Ordinary Meetings of the Council, the newly elected Councillors performed with great debating vigour and there was hardly any Councillor who could remain silent for more than half the proceedings, which were opened to the public and the press. The pattern was established early that voting followed party lines. The newspapers, particularly the vernacular press gave full coverage to the debates and proceedings at these meetings.

The new vigour of the Councillors extended to closed meetings of the Standing Committees and it was not uncommon to find meetings lasting several hours. It must be put on record that the staff of the Council responded admirably to the new demands which took them beyond their normal working hours.

The motions brought up for debate at the Ordinary Meetings of the new Council sought to deal with the problems which still engaged the attention of the Council several years later. They fell into four categories which concerned, firstly the development of the City and of the services of the Council, secondly, the needs of the poor and the under-privileged, thirdly, the structure and organisation of the Council, and lastly the problem of hawkers and licences.

By 1957 the population of the City of George Town had risen to 234,855, an increase of 45,788 over the last census taken in the year 1947.

At the Ordinary Meeting held on 30th September 1957, Councillor A. Balakrishnan brought a motion urging the Council to take immediate steps to provide suitable and proper Public Housing at low rentals for kampong dwellers and in the course of the debate he went on to say that:

"There are about 30 kampongs within George Town's limits with about 5,539 substandard houses inhabited by approximately 50,153 people. In about 19 kampongs the Malays are predominant and in the rest there is a mixture of Malays/Chinese and Malays/Indians."

Councillor Tan Phock Kin of the Labour Party brought in an amendment to include cubicle dwellers—who, in the striking phrase of one Singapore politician, were the spacemen, i.e., people dwelling in tiny spaces and who formed the main bulk of the population in the Chinatown districts of George Town, where the proposer of the amendment obtained his votes.

This in turn was amended by Councillor Khoo Yat See to 'This Council supports the steps initiated by the Town Planning and Building Department Committee as appeared in the minutes of the Committee meeting held on the 12th September 1957.'

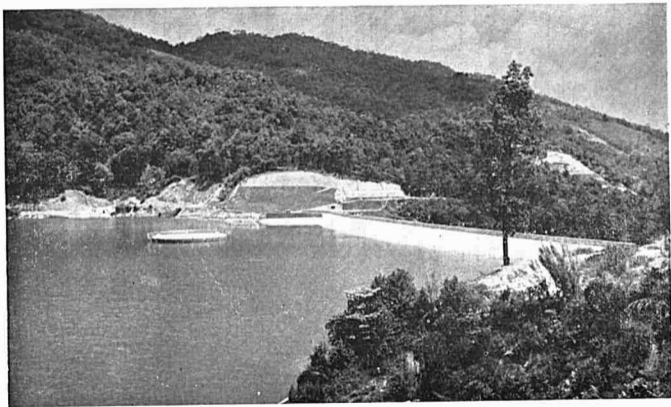
The second amendment was carried by seven to none with the Alliance Councillors abstaining.

It is of interest to note that when the Town Planning and Building Department Committee met on the 14th of October, the Building Surveyor, in tabling a block plan showing two types of Malay house at densities of 12 and 20 houses per acre at a unit cost of \$5,780 and \$4,850 respectively, could not refrain from commenting that 'There has been a considerable amount of loose talk about housing the low income groups and that Councillors should become fully acquainted with the problem before offering easy solutions.' The Building Surveyor's object was to show to members of the Committee that however much they wished to house the lower income groups, cheap land, low rates of interest and ability to pay rental, were essential.

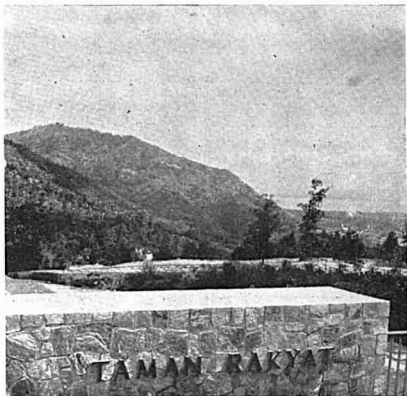
The problem of housing the lower income group engaged the attention of Councillors for next few years before four storey low cost flats, known as People's Court were completed in the heart of Chinatown in 1961. In the same year work started on the Trengganu Road Housing Scheme, a project which when finally completed would comprise several blocks of four storey flats and shop-houses. The next year saw the beginnings of the first phase of the Kampong Selut Low-Cost Housing Scheme for rehousing Malay kampong dwellers, consisting of 36 units of terrace houses and 22 units of Malay type detached and semi-detached timber houses. Of late, however, the Council soon found itself to be not the only organisation interested in the public sector of low cost housing. The State Government of Penang had shown itself to be interested in low-cost housing projects within city limits which sparked a trail of verbal pyrotechnics that led from the Council Chamber to the State Assembly. In retaliation, the State Government completed a low-cost housing project situated at Kampong Herriot, and threatened to be more vigorous in housing the poor within city limits in the coming future. At this time of writing, the Federal Government has established a Ministry of Local Government and Housing.

The City, ever since time immemorial (if such a phrase could be applied to a state of affairs not much more than 100 years in antiquity) has been subject to heavy flooding in certain low-lying areas, particularly Caunter Hall and Sungei Pinang Road.

Councillor D. S. Ramanathan brought two motions which posed the problem of flood control in the city limits. In presenting his first motion he said, 'I find that the question of doing something about the vagaries of Sungei Pinang and its tributaries, the Ayer Itam and the Ayer Terjun was mooted by the Municipality as long ago as 1927'.



*General view of the Ayer Itam Dam.*



*Another view of the Ayer Itam Dam.*



*Plaque at the Ayer Itam Dam.*

And in his second motion, he urged the Council to adopt and implement the recommendations of the Settlement Paper No. 22 of 1955 relating to flooding in Sungei Pinang and low-lying areas of George Town by the City Engineer's Department in consultation with the Settlement authorities. It was not however until some six years later that the City Engineer's Department could get down to construct pumps and flood control stations within the city limits and it would apparently be many more years before the problem of flooding could be successfully tackled in all its phases.

Water in the wrong places brings forth more than a touch of exasperation to the expressions of the Councillors, but to get water and keep it in the right places tackles the ingenuity of the highly trained staff of the Council. Work progressed satisfactorily in 1957 on the twin underground reservoir of 8,000,000 gallons capacity at Bukit Dumbar and only the roof remained to be completed and covered with soil at the end of the year. The access road to the Ayer Itam Dam site was completed during the year. This road was nearly two miles long and climbed to a height of approximately 800 feet. The contract for construction of the Ayer Itam Dam was awarded at a cost of about \$10½ million and it took five more years before the Dam which would impound 500,000,000 gallons was completed. Councillor A. Sabapathy brought in a motion on 29th November 1957 that, in order to reduce the incidence of dental caries among the children of George Town, the City Health Officer be asked to look into the possibility of fluoridation of water supply in Penang and this was successfully carried out by the Water Department in 1960.

The services of the Council were further extended by the completion of the Penang Power Station at Udini Road which was officially opened on 3rd January 1957. The Prai Power Station ceased regular generation. Since then all generation of electricity has been from Penang Power Station and the Sungei Pinang Diesel Station. At the beginning of the year the City Council had a fleet of public passenger vehicles which comprised 41 trolley and 14 diesel buses making a total of 55 of which on an average 50 were in daily service. However, when the City Council came under the control of the Socialists, the Transport Department under the able chairmanship of Councillor Lim Kean Siew made plans to dieselize completely the Council fleet, which had the effect of making the Council transport services more mobile and swift, cutting down on costs. Ever since the imposition of road tax on Council buses which had been tax-free when the road authority in George Town was with the Council and the introduction of the concept of encouraging private enterprise in public passenger bus services by the Ministry of Transport, the transport services of the Council began to show a deficit which increased enormously in the following years as a result of high overtime charges and maintenance costs coupled with competition from private bus companies.

Apart from the influenza epidemic in 1957, which struck one out of three of the City's population, the health of the city remained stable





*Penang Power Station*  
*(new 4th extension in foreground)*

throughout the years, and the health services were further amplified by the introduction of Mobile Health Units and X-ray facilities and the increase in staff. Although there are still at the moment about 7,000 latrines in the city, a scheme has been approved whereby gradual conversion to water-borne sewage will take place without undue financial expenditure on the part of the residents. A new three-storied market is nearing completion on the site of the old Chowrasta Market in Penang Road.

It is not only in the matter of expansion of services and reallocation of the Council's financial energy to the badly neglected parts of the City that engaged the attention of the Councillors. They have had also to take upon themselves without calling on outside expert help the task of re-organising and staffing of the Council's services. National Independence brings with it several problems, and experience has shown that one of the most tangible expressions of what nationalists term colonial power is the existence of expatriate officers as heads of departments, who can be a source of irritation and hurt pride, like an embarrassing birthmark which one must try to get rid of. Sir Ivor Jennings puts it blandly 'The most difficult obstacle on the road to self-government is the staffing of the public services.'

The Councillors found the spirit to address themselves to the task of removing this obstacle when the Finance and General Purposes Committee appointed a Sub-Committee on 8th February 1957 to consider what was usually known as Malayisation. Two years earlier the Council decided to appoint a Special Committee to study and report on the availability of suitably qualified locally domiciled Malaysians for Municipal service but apparently nothing ever came of it. But with Independence fast approaching the 1957 Council caused its Sub-Committee to write a fairly searching report which was adopted by full Council on 28th June. This report together with the views of the various Standing Committees and subsequent negotiations with the officers formed the basis for the complete reorganisation of Council service.

In 1957 there were about twenty expatriate officers who held senior posts. Except for the Transport, Vehicles and Fire Brigade Departments which had no expatriate officer serving in them, the rest of Council's Departments, being seven in number, came under the survey of the Sub-Committee. The Sub-Committee in its report paid high tribute to the City Health Officer, Dr. Lim Khoo Huat, stating that it was 'the only major department which has a Malayan head of Department. It is a matter of pride to us that in spite of Dr. Lim's comparatively young age and short term of service with the Council, he has shown himself to be equal to the cares and responsibilities attendant upon the administration of a department. We hope that he will remain an example to all future Malayan senior officers'. It is of interest to note that not only did Dr. Lim handle the administration admirably, but he also took in his stride the pressures from demands made on him by Councillors and hawkers alike, which became increasingly great. He died of a heart attack at the age of forty-two in 1963. No greater tribute could be paid to him than the attendance at his funeral of innumerable hawkers, market-keepers, stall-holders and meat vendors.

The Sub-Committee also considered the possibility of combining the administrative section of the Electricity Supply Department and the Transport Department. The feasibility of amalgamating the City Water Department and the City Engineer's Department was studied as well. But in both cases nothing materialised. It was apparently felt among the Councillors and to a certain extent, by the senior officers that the organisation of the Council needs be stream-lined, but apart from one or two abortive attempts, the administrative machinery retained its familiar features.

The post-independence Councillors rivalled one another to improve the working conditions of the lower income groups, and, as a step in that direction, negotiated with its 2500 daily-rated employees to set up a joint machinery similar to that already existing for the clerical service. As a result, the Joint Negotiating Council for the daily-rated employees was formed on 31st July, 1957. Some years later, another similar Joint Negotiating Council was formed for the City Transport Employees. These brought in their train additional concessions on wages, leave and housing.

The Councillors to fulfil their electoral promises, paid more attention to those of the electorate who had given them the greatest number of votes. Electricity tariff for domestic consumers was reduced. Reductions were made in taxes and fees in respect of hawkers' carts, hand-carts, tricycles, public trisha-rider's licence, ranging from about 20% to 60% in 1959, and the estimated total reductions amounted to \$26,300 or 12% of the estimated total revenue of the Vehicles Department. In 1958 and 1959, two Community Centres were constructed to serve as places for meetings and public gathering, and the establishment of creches in the City was suggested but it was found that the recurrent expenditure was too high. Kampong improvement schemes such as road-making and drainage, were initiated and implemented jointly by the kampong dwellers, Councillors and other volunteers, on Sundays. Councillors also established a Complaints Bureau at the City Hall where they take turns to attend to grievances from the public. An annual Health Education Campaign is now a feature of the Council policy.

As the electorate got used to democratic elections, pressure groups began to form. One of the most active was the hawkers who numbered thousands, many of whom did not possess licences. Being a free port and situated on an island, the City of George Town tends to develop into a tourist centre and place of entertainment. Over the years, because of poor planning and lack of foresight on this matter, hawkers became a serious problem. They can be divided into two groups — the street stall-holders and the itinerant hawkers. To most people, hawking is the alternative to unemployment. Because of this, there are innumerable unlicensed hawkers occupying unauthorised pitches, adult as well as juvenile. In 1958, the Council approved the lowering of the age limit from 18 to 16 years in order to bring within its fold those who previously could not obtain a licence because of the age restriction. But to solve the main problem arising from

the existence of the vast army of hawkers needs more than mere lowering of the age limit. It calls for better planning and greater foresight. The reason is not far to seek. Invariably, all hawkers want the best pitches, in the heart of the congested city.

In order to tackle this problem of congestion which threatened to get out of hand, the City Council made several co-ordinated moves. First, as part of the attempt to ease the flow of vehicular traffic, certain streets were declared one-way streets; dividers were put up along Penang Road, Dato Kramat Road and Carnarvon Street; an increasing number of "No Parking" signs began to appear; one-side parking on alternate days along certain streets was enforced; and finally an innovation was introduced — the parking meter. But keeping the flow of vehicular traffic by itself, did not ensure that congestion in the streets would disappear. The problem of tackling the hawkers had to be faced squarely, e.g. Chowrasta Market in Penang Road had by the 1960's become chaotic with unlicensed vendors. Alternative sites to accommodate group hawking of food were provided in the Esplanade and on Dato Kramat Grounds.

Since the year 1956 some 3,700 buildings had been completed by both the City Council and private developers. By 1963 there were than 23,000 buildings in the city. The city has grown enormously since the establishment of the Municipality in 1857.

However the problem of administering a city of such a size became increasingly complicated and expensive. Although the administration of George Town came about with the formation of the Committee of Assessors in 1800 during the governorship of Sir George Leith, one of the committee's main functions was to assess the properties of the inhabitants.

One hundred years later assessment became an increasingly more delicate issue between the Council and the ratepayers, who tended to regard the whole concept of assessment as the handiwork of a Mephistopheles. The Council held no less than seven meetings within a short space of two months towards the end of 1958 to consider the re-valuation of properties in George Town. Briefly, assessment had become entangled with the effects caused by the Control of Rent Ordinance; the Assessment Department was unable to assess any premises under the control at more than the maximum rent. The issue was complicated by the fact that much of the assessment list showed values fixed more than 18 years ago. On the other hand, George Town had increased in density after the war with the rapid construction of new buildings, most of which were not within the ambit of the Ordinance and therefore were subject to a different form of valuation. The difference in the rating-value for new houses and old houses caused much dissatisfaction among the rate-payers. Apart from this inequity which the City Council took upon itself to correct, one of the reasons that might have prompted the Council to take the bull by the horns could be gleaned from the remark of the Mayor in the course of a long and furious debate — "If this Council is going to maintain the standard of amenities which the citizens of George Town are used

to, then ways and means must be found to get the revenue." Or, as stated in the Mayor's Annual Report for the year 1963 — "Local authorities everywhere are constantly searching for additional or more remunerative sources of revenue; and as the services they render become more complex and expensive so the search for revenue is intensified."

The actual revenue of the City Council for 1958 showed an over-all deficit compared with the previous year. Annual recurrent expenditure was steadily increasing although part of the increase was due in no small measure to loan charges, and, as an accounting feature, contributions to capital. In spite of the deficit outstanding loan increased from \$58,636,848 to \$65,247,251. The principal sources of revenue were the rates and electricity, water supply, and conservancy.

For the first time the public got embroiled in the issue directly, resulting in the formation of the Association of Rate-payers of George Town. The Straits Echo in its editorial columns of 19th October 1958 remarked that:—

'Ratepayers of George Town are up in arms against the move of the City Council to increase the valuation of house properties. At a public meeting held last Wednesday more than 2,000 people including many women demonstrated their strong disapproval of the Council action.'

The Council had earlier decided at a Special Meeting on 15th September, to accept the principle of piece-meal re-valuation and to re-value all post-war premises. This was the cause of the hue and cry from the rate-payers. The day after the public meeting of the rate-payers, another Special Meeting of Council was convened at which a motion reduced by an opposition Councillor to rescind the earlier decision was defeated after a lengthy debate. Hard facts of a static income and an increasing expenditure made more impression on the party controlling the Council than the irate condemnation by a minority of rate-payers. As a result of the decision to go ahead with revaluation and re-organisation of the Assessment Department, Mr. I. W. Hake a highly experienced officer from the Inland Revenue Valuation Office, U. K. was seconded to the City Council in December 1959. At his suggestion, the Council put into effect, certain changes in the organisation of the Department so that the task of re-valuation could be carried out. One of the principal objects which Council had in mind was to produce eventually a sufficient number of experienced and qualified local valuers fully competent to carry out the function of the Assessment Department. By the end of 1963, all post-1948 dwellings known to be let had been re-assessed at what was believed to be their true rental value. Thus for the first time in nearly twenty-five years, a whole class of rateable property was assessed on the true values. Unfortunately, whilst the standard of valuation for this whole class of property was greatly improved, the disparity in the amount of rates payable on these houses compared with owner-occupied and rent-controlled houses caused some dissatisfaction. The City Council approached the State Government many times to amend the Municipal Ordinance to get more powers under

the provisions of the Rent Control Ordinance. The need for such amending legislation was strongly recommended by the Consultative Committee of Municipal Corporations, a body formed some time in 1957 consisting of the Municipalities of George Town, Kuala Lumpur and Malacca and later, of Ipoh. The State Government of Penang approved some of the needed amendments in 1964. The effect of this was to allow the Council when making rating valuations to assess rent-controlled premises on a more equitable basis.

In order to assess the extent of the development of George Town today, readers may well be reminded of a remark made by Justice Hackett in the case of the Municipal Commissioners V. Tolson (1801) —

'It is important to recollect that at this time (1801) the town of George Town, properly so called, was not yet actually in existence. It existed in great measure only in paper, in the designs of the Surveyors. That which is now the eastern side of Beach Street, a line of shops and godowns filled with merchandise, was only an unsightly bank of mud, unavailable for any useful purpose until it should be filled in and reclaimed. The ghauts or at least many of them, existed only in name, and the street to the west of Beach Street were still in the process of formation. This is clear from the resolution of the Committee of Assessors on the 30th August 1801: "That the Company's convicts be ordered to finish Bishop Street and Church Street"

'On October 2nd 1802, the Lt. Governor Sir George Leith issued grants of the land which had been reserved for the purpose to the inhabitants of George Town, to them and their representatives in perpetuity. George Town is described by the following boundaries:

'From the north-east angle of the point extending along the sea beach to the westward of the Penang Road, and including all grounds beyond Penang Road which enter immediately upon it. From the beach in the southerly direction to the first bridge, from thence following to northern bank of Prangin in an easterly direction to the sea, and from thence along the east side of the town to the north-east point.....'

It is proper therefore for every citizen of the present day City of George Town to keep this in mind and to observe the steady progress of the city of which he is a part.

## APPENDIX "A"

## BRICK BUILDINGS ON PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND — 1793

An account of the Brick Buildings upon the Prince of Wales Island belonging to different persons with an estimate of their value :—

Quality of the Building	Owner	Estimated Value
2 Dwelling Houses & Offices	Mr. Francis Light	16,000
1 Dwelling House & Office	Mr. James Scott	8,000
- do -	Mr. Thomas Pigou	4,500
- do -	Mr. James Hutton	2,500
- do -	Mr. James Gardyne	3,200
- do -	Lieutenant Geo. Halsan	3,500
- do -	Mr. James Hewison	2,000
- do -	Mr. Perkins	2,000
- do -	Soyad Hussein	6,000
2 Houses & Shops	Chee Eam Chinaman	2,000
1 House & Shop	Chee Eam Chinaman	700
10 Shops	Diverse Owners	3,000
5 Shops	Diverse Owners	1,500
1 House	Achew Chinaman	1,200
1 House	Tomogong Chinaman	1,000
Sundry Shops	Meracan Gandu	1,000
Sundry Shops	Meracan Gandoo	2,000
Sundry Godown Shop	Moosa of Sellecherry	2,000
1 Dwelling House	Captain Fryers	2,000
Sundry Warehouses & Shops	James Scott & Company	12,000
1 Dwelling House & Offices	Estate of Capt. Glass	3,000
1 Tavern & Offices	Layton and Robinson	4,000
Sundry Shops	Noqueda D. Ally	2,000
1 Bakehouse & Godown	The Hon'ble J. Cochrane	2,750
	Spanish Dollars	<u>88,650</u>

Prince of Wales Island, 28th June, 1793.

(signed) Francis Light.

(Enclosed in a letter from Captain Francis Light dated 28th June, 1793).

## APPENDIX "B"

## THE MACDONALD PROPOSAL FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT CIVIL SERVICE

MacDonald made a significant proposal for the establishment of a civil service to administer the settlement. The proposed list for a regular government was :

1 First Assistant	..	A Confidential Counsellor and Magistrate.
1 Second Assistant	..	A Collector of Revenue, Guardian of Farm, etc.
1 Secretary	..	A Confidential Assistant to Superintendent.
3 European Clerks	..	For Superintendent and Assistants.
2 or 4 Boys	..	From orphan school — "To be taught Malay to the attainment of which a foundation of Persian would much assist".
Clerk of the Marshall	..	"As Superintendent of the Department of the part of Police which respects cleanliness".
2 European Clerks	..	As Assistants to the above.
Head Constable & Jailer	..	"Improperly here termed Provost".
2 Deputies (Europeans)	..	As Turnkeys.
A Verdue Master	..	"Appointed by the authority of government with exclusive privileges".
3 Interpreters )	..	One each for Superintendent and Assistants.
3 Malay Writers )		



12 Peons	..	For Superintendent and Assistants.
3 Native Captains	..	One to each language.
3 Writers	..	One for each.

The scheme was not accepted and no immediate attempt was made to create an administrative set-up. But there was greater concern over the progress of the island and the Supreme Government began to accept the establishment as more than a temporary station. It was not till 1800 that the Supreme Government introduced substantial changes in the administrative system, and clearly revealed that it had re-orientated its attitude to Penang.

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## THE COMMITTEE OF ASSESSORS (I)

The Committee of Assessors which was in general charge of the affairs of Penang drew Regulations to remedy the inconveniences experienced from the conduct of servant and coolies, and introduced the registration of vehicles and a tax on carts. It also recommended that a lottery be organised and the proceeds from it be used to upkeep the road and bridges. The committee felt that this would lessen the financial strain of the Company and also pointed out that more money would be readily available for the construction of new roads.

One noteworthy act on their part was the passing of a new Regulation on 28th September 1826 for collecting assessments on houses in George Town according to the following rates :

Beach Street from No. 1 to 79	Dollars	20	for every	20	feet
" " " 80 to 109	6	"	"	20	"
Light Street	5	"	"	20	"
Church Street	5	"	"	20	"
Bishop Street	5	"	"	20	"
Farquhar Street	5	"	"	20	"
Chooliah Street	5	"	"	20	"
China Street	10	"	"	20	"
China Church Street	5	"	"	20	"
Pinang Street	8	"	"	20	"
Armenian Lane	5	"	"	20	"
Acheen Street	5	"	"	20	"
Prangin Road	5	"	"	20	"
Queen Street	5	"	"	20	"
King Street	5	"	"	20	"
Love Lane	4	"	"	20	"
Market Street	5	"	"	20	"
Chooliah Road	5	"	"	20	"
Pitt Street	5	"	"	20	"
Leith Street	5	"	"	20	"
Battery Lane	5	"	"	20	"
Pinang Road	5	"	"	20	"

These taxes were not levied on empty houses and on religious buildings.

## THE COMMITTEE OF ASSESSORS (ii)

The Committee's 21 suggestions which were laid before government for the general welfare of the Settlement.

1. That the Supreme Government do officially announce the intention of keeping the Island and of considering it as a part of the British Empire in India.
2. That the port be declared free.
3. That ingress or egress to and from the port be allowed without fee or detention.
4. That a portion of the opposite Coast be obtained from Kedah so as to secure the sovereignty of the port.
5. That the Supreme Government pledge themselves to the Community that the assessment on land produce shall never exceed a given rate, say 10 per cent.
6. That the term of commencement shall not be previous to a given date (say 1800).
7. That the land be given in perpetuity.
8. That it be not optional with the local authorities to change the forms under which land has hitherto been held, transferred, or mortgaged.
9. The establishment of a Court of Judicature.
10. That pending the established of such a Court, a Magistrate be appointed &c. a man of accommodating manners, mild temper and experience.
11. That the military be no longer employed in executing civil orders.
12. That the fines for securing the farms be moderated or disused.
13. That military guards necessary for protecting the Company's property or keeping the peace must be under their proper military officers.
14. That the necessary orders for "general convenience or the police" be no longer carried into effect by the military but by a committee of the inhabitants, composed of equal numbers of each class.

15. That it shall not be permitted to the Sepoys to lend money or make commercial contracts, or if they do not coercive redress be given on complaint.
16. That those who may be entrusted with making advances to cultivating do so with promptitude and a patient listening to all complaints.
17. That European cultivators be equally encouraged with natives and that the importation of the slaves be prohibited.
18. That the article of the Treaty with Kedah providing for the free export of rice be enforced.
19. That the ground allotted to the Chinese as Burial Ground be free from all future molestation.
20. That the powers now assumed by the Superintendent of sending Settlers to Bengal at his pleasure be rescinded.
21. That we are sorry to observe that your government here is rapidly changing from the fostering hand of a kind father to the features of a severe master and we recommend that such measures be adopted as will bring it back to its first principle—

“The benefit of those living under it”,  
as held forth in the general letter of January 1787.

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## APPENDIX "E"

## AN ILLUSTRATION OF NATIVE LAW 1797

As an illustration of how native laws were followed in early days, the following decision of Mr. Manington, in an application for divorce, is here given :

18th October 1797

Before Philip Manington, Esq., Acting Magistrate  
In the matter of Inche Lebedrecha

Inche Lebedrecha sues for a divorce from her husband. She relates that about five years ago when she lived at Hassahan, her husband Lebby Byun, left her to go to Rumbow, near Malacca, since which he never returned, or had she ever heard of him.

Until about a year ago when she was informed that her husband had married another woman at Rumbow — on which she came here and has been here resident on the Island two months. She now has no subsistence to live upon, and therefore sues for a divorce that she may be enabled to marry again.

## DECISION

It seems from enquiry of the different Chiefs and Priests that the Malay Laws say, if the husband leaves his wife, and leaves her no means of getting a maintenance during his absence, or that he should not return to her or she not hearing any tidings of him in the expiration of one year, that then she can marry again, it is therefore decreed that should the husband not return during the space of twelve months from this date, she be divorced and marry again.

Approved.  
G. CAUNTER

P. MANINGTON  
Ag. Magistrate

*[From Kyshe's Report Vol. 1]*

## APPENDIX "F"

## STATISTICAL TABLE OF TRANSPORT FLEET 1953 — 1957

Year	In Operation		Not In Operation	
	Motor Buses	Trolley Buses	Motor Buses	Trolley Buses
1953	.. 11	32	3	4
1954	.. 11	37	3	5
1955	.. 11	37	3	5
1956	.. 11	38	3	4
1957	.. 11	37	5	4
1958	.. 15	38	3	3
1959	.. 15	37	3	4
1960	.. 31	17	6	8
1961	.. 38	* 12	7	—
1963	.. 52	—	9	—

\* In operation up to 31.7.61.

## LIST OF NAMES OF STREETS IN THE CITY OF GEORGE TOWN AND ENVIRONMENT

### "A"

Aboo Sittee Lane	II.E3, II.E2, II.F2.
Acheen Street	I.E2, I.D2.
Acheen Street Ghaut	I.E3, I.E2.
Adams Road	VI.B4, VI.C4.
Ahmad bin Abdul Rahman Close	III.C3, III.C2.
Ah Quee Street	I.D3, I.D2.
Amoy Lane	II.D4.
Anson Road	II.D3, II.E2, II.F2, II.F1, VI.E5
Argus Lane	I.C2.
Argyll Lane	II.D4, II.D3.
Argyll Road	II.E5, II.D5, II.D4, II.D3.
Ariff Crescent	XII.C4, XII.C5.
Ariffin Court	II.F4.
Ariffin Road	II.D5, II.D4.
Armenian Street	I.E3, I.D2.
Armenian Street Ghaut	I.E3.
Arratoon Road	II.D2, II.C3.
Ayer Itam Lane	VI.F2.
Ayer Itam Road	VI.E5, VI.E4, VI.E3, VI.E2.
	VI.F2, VI.F1, VI.G1, XII.A5, XII.A4,
	XII.A3, XII.B3, XII.B2, XII.B1.
	XVII.C5, XVII.C4, XVII.B3, XVII.C3,
	XVII.C2, XVII.D2, XVII.D1.
	XVII.C4, XVII.B4.
Ayer Puteh Road	VI.B1, VI.A1, V.G1, XI.A5, X.G5,
Ayer Rajah Road	X.G4.
Ayer Rajah Close	X.G5, X.G4.
Ayer Rajah Gardens	X.G5, X.G4, XI.A4, XI.A5.

### "B"

Babington Avenue	VI.D4, VI.C4.
Bagan Jermal Road	X.F5, X.E5, V.D1, V.C1, V.C2.
Bagan Serai Road	VII.E3, VII.E4, VII.F4.
Bakau Lane	III.D2.
Bakau Street	III.D3, III.D2, III.E2.
Balik Pulau Road	XVII.C1, XVII.D1.
Bangkok Lane	V.F3, V.E3, V.E4.
Barnett Road	VI.C4, VI.B4.
Barrack Close	VI.C5, VI.C4.
Barrack Road	VI.C5, VI.C4, VI.D4.
Batu Cross	VII.G1.
Batu Gantong Road	XI.F5, XI.F4, XI.F3.
Batu Green	VII.G1.
Batu Lanchang Avenue	VII.G1, VII.F2, VII.E2.
Batu Lanchang Close	VII.E1, VII.F1.

Batu Lanchang Crescent.	VII.E2, VII.F2.
Batu Lanchang Cross	VII.E2, VII.F1, VII.F2.
Batu Lanchang Lane	XII.B3, XII.C3, XII.D3, XII.D4. XII.D5.
Batu Lanchang Road	VII.F4, VII.F3, VII.E3, VII.E2. VII.E1, XII.F5.
Batu Lane	VII.F3.
Bawasah Road	II.D3.
Beach Street	IC5, IC4, ID4, ID3, IE3, IE2 IE1.
Bell Road	VIA.2, VIA.3, VIB.3.
Bertam Lane	II.F4.
Bidor Lane	VII.B4.
Biggs Road	VIA.2, VIA.1, V.G.1.
Bingham Avenue	VIII.D2, VIII.C2.
Birch Close	V.F5.
Birch Lane	V.E5, V.E4.
Birch Road	V.F5, V.E5.
Bishop Street	IC4, IC3.
Bodhi Avenue	II.F1.
Boundary Road	XVII.C5, XVII.B5, XVII.A5.
Brick Kiln Road	II.G4, III.A4, III.B4, III.C4.
Bridge Street	IF1, III.A5, III.B5, III.B4, III.C1.
Brook Road	XI.D4, XI.D5, XI.C5.
Brown Road	V.E2, V.E1, V.F2, V.F1, XI.A5, XI.B5.
Brunei Lane	II.G1.
Buckingham Street	ID2.
Burmah Close	V.F4.
Burmah Crescent	V.G4, VIA.4, VIA.3.
Burmah Cross	V.E3
Burmah Lane	V.F4, V.E4.
Burmah Road	II.F4, II.E4, II.E3, II.D3, II.D2. II.C2, II.C1, VIA.5, V.G5, V.G4. V.F4, V.F3, V.E3, V.E2, V.E1, X.F5.
"C"	
Camp Road	VIII.C1.
Campbell Street	II.E5, IC1, ID1, ID2.
Calthrope Road	VIII.E3, VIII.E4.
Cannon Square	ID2, IE2.
Cannon Street	ID2, IE2.
Cantonment Avenue	VIA.3.
Cantonment Close	VIA.2, VIA.3.
Cantonment Drive	V.G3.
Cantonment Road	VIB.2, VIA.2, V.G2, V.G3, V.F3, V.E3, V.E4, V.D4.
Carnarvon Lane	ID1, IE1, IE2.
Carnarvon Street	IC2, ID2, ID1, IE1.
Caunter Crescent	VI.G3, VII.A3, VII.A2.
Caunter Hall Road	VI.F5, VI.F4, VI.G4, VI.G3, VII.A3, VII.A2.



Cecil Street	III.B4, III.B5.
Cecil Street Ghaut	III.B5.
Ceylon Lane	II.D4.
Cheah Choo Yew Road	III.A2.
Cheapside	I.C2, I.D2.
Che Em Lane	I.D3.
Chemor Lane	VII.B4, VII.B3, VII.B2.
Che Rose Road	III.C1.
Cheeseman Road	XII.C5, XII.C4.
Chetty Lane	II.G4.
China Street	I.D4, I.D3, I.C3.
China Street Ghaut	I.D4.
Chin Ho Square	II.G3.
Choong Lye Hock Road	X.B5.
Choong Lye Hin Road	X.A5, X.B5.
Chor Sin Kheng Road	XVII.C3, XVII.C4.
Chow Thye Road	II.C1, II.C2.
Chowrasta Road	II.E5.
Chulia Lane	I.C2.
Chulia Street	I.D3, I.D2, I.C2, I.C1.
Chulia Street Ghaut	I.D3, I.E3.
Church Street	I.D4, I.C4, I.C3.
Church Street Ghaut	I.D4.
Cintra Street	I.C1, I.D1.
Circular Road	VIII.C1.
Circular Drive	IX.F5.
Claimant Place	I.D2, I.D1.
Clarke Street	II.D5, II.E5.
Clove Hall Road	II.D2, II.D3, II.C3.
Codrington Avenue	V.F4, V.G4, V.G3, VI.A3, VI.B3, VI.B4.
College Avenue	V.E2, V.D2.
College Drive	V.D2.
College Lane	V.E2.
College Square	V.E2.
Concordia Road	V.E4.
Cross Street	II.G5.
Crystal Drive	IX.F5.

## "D"

Dato Koyah Road	II.E5, II.D5.
Dato Kramat Road	II.G4, II.G3, II.G2, II.G1, VI.E5.
David Chen Gardens	XII.C3, XII.B3.
Dickens Street	II.E5.
Dindings Road	II.E5, II.E4.
Downing Street	I.C4, I.C5, I.D5.
Drury Lane	I.C1, I.D1.
Duke Street	I.B3, I.B4.
Dundas Court	I.B2.
Dunlop Road	II.G1, II.F1.
Dunn Road	VI.B5, VI.B4.

## "E"

East Avenue	IX.E4.
Edgcumbe Lane	V.F5, V.G5, II.B1.
Edgcumbe Road	V.G5, V.F5.
Erskine Crescent	X.D5, X.E5.
Erskine Grove	X.D5, V.C1.
Esplanade Road	I.C4, I.B4.
Evergreen Road	IX.E5, IX.F5.

## "F"

Faraday Road	VIII.C4, VIII.B4.
Farquhar Street	I.C3, I.B3, I.B2, I.B1.
Fettes 1st Avenue	IX.E4, IX.E5.
Fettes 2nd Avenue	IX.E4, IX.E5.
Fettes 3rd Avenue	IX.E4, IX.E5.
Fettes Lane	IV.F1.
Fettes Road	IV.F1, IX.G5, IX.F5.
Fish Lane	IE2, IE1.
Fort Road	IC5, IB5.
Free School Close	VII.B3, VIIA.3, VIIA.4.
Free School Road	VII.B4, VII.B3, VII.B2, VII.B1.

## "G"

Glugor Avenue	VII.G1, VII.G2, VIII.A3.
Glugor Cross	VIII.B2, VIII.A2.
Glugor Green	VII.G1, VII.G2
Glugor Lane	VIII.A2.
Glugor Gardens	VIII.A2.
Glugor Street	VIII.A1, VIII.A2, VIII.B2.
Glugor Road	VIII.A3, VIII.A2, VIII.B2, VIII.C2.
Green Drive	VIII.A1, VIII.A2.
Gaol Road	VI.E3, VI.D3, VI.D4.
Gemas Road	VI.F2, VI.F3, VI.G3.
Gladstone Road	II.G4, II.G5.
Gopeng Road	VI.E3, VI.F3.
Gottlieb Gardens	X.F4, X.G4.
Gottlieb Road	X.F5, X.G5, X.G4.
Green Crescent	VII.D1, VII.D2, VII.C2.
Green Cross	VII.D2.
Green Garden One	VII.D1.
Green Garden Two	VII.D1.
Green Garden Three	VII.D2.
Green Road One	VII.D2, VII.D1.
Green Road Two	VII.D1, VII.D2.
Green Road Three	VII.D1, VII.D2.
Green Road Four	VII.D1, VII.E1, VII.E2.
Green Hall	IB3.

Green Lane	XII.A5, XII.B5, XII.C5, VII.B1, VII.C1, XII.D5, XII.E5, XII.F5, XII.G5, XII.A5, VII.G1, VIII.A1, VIII.B1, VIII.B2, VIII.C2.
Greenbrook Road	IX.F5.
Greenhill Drive	IX.F5, IX.E5.
Grove Road	XII.A4, XII.B3.
Gurney Drive	II.A1, V.F5, V.E5, V.E4, V.D4, V.D3, V.C3, V.C2.

## "H"

Hala Sungei Pinang	III.D3, III.C3.
Halfway Road	II.D5.
Hamilton Road	VII.C1, VII.D1, VII.D2, VII.C2, VII.B2.
Happy Valley Road	XVII.E1, XVII.E2, XVII.E3.
Happy Valley Terrace One	XVII.E2, XVII.F2.
Happy Valley Terrace Two	XVII.E2, XVII.F2.
Happy Valley Terrace Three	XVII.E2, XVII.F2.
Happy Valley Terrace Four	XVII.E2, XVII.F2.
Hargreaves Circus	VII.B2.
Hargreaves Court	VII.C2.
Hargreaves Road	VII.C1, VII.C2.
Herriot Street	III.B4.
Hilir Sungei Pinang	III.D3, III.D4.
Hill Railway Station Road	XVII.B1, XVII.B2, XVII.B3.
Hock Hin Terrace	X.A5, X.B5, IV.G1.
Hogan Road	VI.C3, VI.C4.
Hongkong Street	I.E1, I.D1.
Hospital Road	VI.D4, VI.D3.
Ho Tiang Wan Road	II.F3.
Hutchings Gardens	VII.C1, VII.C2.
Hutton Lane	II.E5, II.D5, II.E4, II.D4, II.D3.

## "T"

Ibbetson Road	XII.A4, XII.B4.
Immigration Road	II.C1, II.D1.
Ipo Lane	VII.F4, VII.F3.
Irrawaddy Road	II.C1, II.C2.
Irving Road	II.G3, II.F3, II.F2.

## "J"

Jahudi Road	II.E4, II.E3, II.F3.
Jalan Abras	IX.B4.
Jalan Abdullah Ariff	XVII.B5, XII.B1, XII.B2, XII.B3.
Jalan Ahmad bin Abdul Rahman	III.D3, III.C3, III.C2.
Jalan Ahmad bin Kasa	IX.E1, IX.D1, IX.D2.
Jalan Azyze	XIV.E5, XIV.D5.
Jalan Baba Ahmad	XIV.D2.
Jalan Batu Gajah	VII.G4, VIII.A4.

Jalan Batu Jantan	XVII.C3.
Jalan Batu Perempuan	XVII.B1, XVII.C1, XVII.C2.
Jalan Bahaudin	XIV.D5.
Jalan Besi	XII.F5.
Jalan Bintang	IX.C5, IX.D5, IX.E5.
Jalan Berani	III.A1.
Jalan Brother James	V.F1, V.F2, V.G2.
Jalan Buah Chiku	VIII.E2.
Jalan Buah Duku	VIII.E2, VIII.D2.
Jalan Buah Durian	VIII.F2, VIII.G2, VIII.F3.
Jalan Buah Manggis	VIII.F2, VIII.F3.
Jalan Buah Rambutan	VIII.F2, VIII.E2.
Jalan Buah Saga	VIII.F3.
Jalan Bukit Dambar	VII.G4, VIII.A4, VIII.A5.
Jalan Bukit Gambir	XIII.F4, XIII.F5, XIII.D5.
Jalan Bukit Glugor	VIII.C2.
Jalan Bukom	III.A1, III.A2.
Jalan Bulan	IX.E4, IX.D4.
Jalan Bunga Bakawali	IX.D5.
Jalan Bunga Chempaka	VIII.B1, VIII.C1, VIII.C2.
Jalan Bunga Chempa Puteh	IX.C1, IX.C2.
Jalan Bunga Chikudangan	IX.D5, IX.C5, IV.B1.
Jalan Bunga Hinai	IV.D1.
Jalan Bunga Kacha Piring	IX.D5, IX.E5, IV.D1.
Jalan Bunga Mawar	IX.D5, IV.C1.
Jalan Bunga Orchid	IX.C1, IX.C2.
Jalan Bunga Pisang	IX.C5, IX.D5, IV.C1.
Jalan Bunga Puduk	IX.B2, IX.C2, IX.C3.
Jalan Bunga Rampai	IX.C5, IX.D5.
Jalan Bunga Raya	VIII.C2, VIII.D1, VIII.D2.
Jalan Bunga Tanjong	IX.D5.
Jalan Bunga Telang	IX.E5, IX.F5.
Jalan Bunga Tengkong	IV.B1, IV.C1.
Jalan Cheah Phee Cheok	IX.D1.
Jalan Cheah Seng Khim	XIV.C5, XIV.B5.
Jalan Chee Swee Ee	XIV.D2.
Jalan Chengai	IX.D5.
Jalan Cheong Fatt Tze	II.G4, II.F4.
Jalan Choong Cheng Kean	IX.D5, IV.C1.
Jalan Deva Pada	II.F1, VI.D5.
Jalan Dharma	II.F1, VI.D5.
Jalan Dua	XVII.C5, XVII.D5.
Jalan Dungun	VII.A2, VI.G2.
Jalan Empat	XVII.B3, XVII.C3.
Jalan Gajah	IX.C5, IX.D5, IX.E5.
Jalan Geh Chong Keat	IX.D1, IX.E1.
Jalan Han Chiang	XII.B5, XII.A5, VI.G1.
Jalan Haji Ahmad	VIII.A5.
Jalan Haji Ali	VIII.A4, VIII.A5.
Jalan Haji Hashim Imam	III.D2, III.D3, III.C3.

Jalan Haji Rifaie	IX.D1.
Jalan Haji Sudin	IX.C1.
Jalan Hajjah Rehmah	VII.G4, VII.G5.
Jalan Hashim	IV.B1.
Jalan Heah Joo Seng	XIV.D2, XIV.E2.
Jalan Helen Brown	VIII.F3, VIII.G3, VIII.G4.
Jalan Jati	IX.D5.
Jalan Kaki Bukit	XIII.E5, VIII.D1.
Jalan Kampong Custom	XIII.F5, XIII.E5.
Jalan Kampong Melayu	XVII.C5, XVII.D5, XVII.D4, XVII.E4.
Jalan Kampong Pisang	XVII.E1, XVII.E2, XVII.E3.
Jalan Kampong Rawa	III.B2.
Jalan Kebun Sangka	IX.E5.
Jalan Kemaman	VI.G2.
Jalan Kota Giam	VII.E5.
Jalan Lim Huck Aik	XIV.D2.
Jalan Lim Khoon Huat	VI.D4, VI.D5.
Jalan Lim Liew Saik	IX.E5.
Jalan Lima	XVII.C3, XVII.C4.
Jalan Lintang	XVII.B1, XVII.C1, XVII.C2.
Jalan Loh Poh Heng	XIV.D4, XIV.D5, XIV.C5.
Jalan Madarsah	VII.F4, VII.G4, VII.G5.
Jalan Market	VII.C4.
Jalan Marie Pitchay	IX.D1.
Jalan Mas	XII.D5, XII.E5.
Jalan Mata Kuching	XVII.C3.
Jalan Mohd. Taib	VII.E4, VII.E5, VII.F5.
Jalan Meranti	IX.C5.
Jalan Merbau	IX.C5.
Jalan Mohd. Khan	III.B3, III.B2.
Jalan Nyor Chabang	XIV.C5.
Jalan Oldham	XIV.B5, IX.B1.
Jalan Ong Joo Sun	III.E2, III.D2, III.D1.
Jalan Osman bin Abdul Rahman	XIV.D5.
Jalan Osman bin Kadir Lit	III.D2, III.D1.
Jalan Pakawali	XIV.C5.
Jalan Pasar	V.F3.
Jalan Pantai Molek	V.A1, V.A2, IV.G1.
Jalan Pelangi	XIV.C5, XIV.B5.
Jalan Pelata	XIV.C5, IX.B1.
Jalan Rambutan	XVII.D1.
Jalan Rusa	IX.E5.
Jalan J. K. R.	III.C1, III.C4, III.D4.
Jalan Sam Ah Chow	XIV.D3.
Jalan Samak	II.G1, III.A1.
Jalan Satu	XII.C1, XII.B1.
Jalan Sentosa	XIV.D5.
Jalan Singapura	II.G1, III.A1.
Jalan Sir Hussein	XII.C5, XII.B5, XII.B4.
Jalan Sir Ibrahim	VII.E2, VII.D2, VII.C2, VII.D3, VII.C3.
Jalan Sungei Kelian	XIV.C5, IX.C1, IX.B1.
Jalan Sungkai	VI.G2, VI.G3.

Jalan Syed Abdullah Alsagoff	XIV.D2.
Jalan Shaik Eusoff	XII.C1, XII.C2, XII.B2.
Jalan Shaik Madar	XII.C1, XII.C2.
Jalan Sekolah La Salle	XII.A4, XI.G4, XI.F4.
Jalan Taman Bunga	XIV.C5.
Jalan Taman Ria	XVII.B4.
Jalan Taman Ria Dua	XVII.B4.
Jalan Taman Ria Satu	XVII.B4.
Jalan Taman Ria Tiga	XVII.B4.
Jalan Tan Jit Seng	IX.D1, IX.E1.
Jalan Taman Watts	VIII.G1, VIII.G2.
Jalan Tekong	III.A1.
Jalan Telaga Ayer	IX.E5.
Jalan Talipon	II.F4.
Jalan Tengku	VII.E5.
Jalan Thangavelloo	XIV.D5.
Jalan Tiga	XVII.C5.
Jalan Tokong Batu	VII.E5, III.G1.
Jalan Ubun	III.A1.
Jalan Ria	II.G5, II.F5.
Jelutong Road	III.C3, III.D3, III.D2, III.E2, III.E1, III.F1, VII.D5, VII.E5, VII.E4, VII.F4, VII.G4, VII.F2, VII.G2, VII.G3, VII.G4.
Jelutong Avenue	XI.C4, XI.C3.
Jesselton Avenue	XI.C4, XI.B4, XI.B3, XI.C3.
Jesselton Crescent	XI.D5, XI.D4, XI.C5, XI.C4, XI.C3.
Jesselton Road	XII.A3.
Jockey Road	II.G1.
Johore Road	V.F4, V.F5.
Jones Close	V.F4.
Jones Road	VII.F3.
Juru Lane	

## "K"

Kajang Road	III.A2.
Kampar Road	VI.F2, VI.G2, VI.G3.
Kampong Bahru	XII.B3.
Kampong Deli	II.F4.
Kampong Dodol	VII.A5.
Kampong Hijau Dua	XII.F4, XII.F3.
Kampong Hijau Empat	XII.F3, XII.G3.
Kampong Hijau Enam	XII.F3, XII.F2, XII.G2, XII.G3.
Kampong Hijau Lima	XII.G3, XII.G2.
Kampong Hijau Satu	XII.F4, XII.F3, XII.G3.
Kampong Hijau Tiga	XII.F3, XII.G3.
Kampong Java Bahru	II.G3, III.A3, III.A4.
Kampong Java Lama	II.G3, II.G4.
Kampong Kaka	I.D2.
Kampong Kolam	I.D2.
Kampong Malabar	I.C1.
Katz Street	III.A4, III.B4, III.B5.
Kebun Nyor Lane	VI.E4.

Kebun Nyor Road	VI.E4, VI.E5.
Kedah Road	II.E4.
Kek Chuan Road	II.F3, II.G3.
Kelantan Road	II.E4.
Kelawei Lane	V.E3, V.D3.
Kelawei Road	II.B1, II.A1, V.F5, V.F4, V.E4, V.E3, V.E2, V.D2, V.C2, V.D3, V.C2.
Kelawei Terrace	II.F5.
Keng Kwee Street	XII.B5.
Kennedy Gardens	XII.C5, XII.B5, XII.A5.
Kennedy Road	VI.B5, II.D1, II.E1, II.D2, II.E2. I.E1.
Khaw Sim Bee Road	XVII.B3, XVII.A3.
Khoo Cheow Teong Court	II.F4, II.F5, II.E5.
Khoo Hye Keat Road	II.F1.
Khoo Sian Ewe Road	II.E5, II.F5, I.D1.
Kim Bian Aik Road	I.C5.
Kimberley Street	I.C4, I.C3, I.D3.
King Edward Place	II.E4, II.F4, II.F3.
King Street	I.C2.
Kinta Lane	II.F2.
Klang Street	I.C1, I.D1, II.E5, II.F5.
Krian Road	II.G3, III.A3.
Kuala Kangsar Road	V.E2, V.F2.
Kuantan Road	XII.A3, XII.A4.
Kuching Lane	
Kuda Road	

## "L"

Lahat Cross	XI.F3, XI.F4.
Lahat Road	XI.F5, XI.F4.
Langkawi Road	VI.F2, VI.F3, VI.F4.
Larut Road	II.D3, II.C3, II.C4.
Leandro's Avenue	V.E3.
Leandro's Close	V.E3.
Leandro's Lane	V.E3.
Leboh Raya Besi	XII.F5, XII.F4.
Leboh Raya Mas	XII.E5.
Leith Street	I.B2, I.B1, I.C1.
Leith Street Ghaut	I.B2.
Light Street	I.C5, I.C4, I.C3, I.B3.
Lim Cheng Teik Square	II.B1, V.G5.
Lim Eow Thoon Road	II.F1, II.E1, VI.D5, VI.C5.
Lim Chin Guan Road	II.A1.
Lim Lean Teng Road	XII.B5, VII.A1, VII.A2.
Lim Mah Chye Road	VI.C1, XI.D5.
Lines Road	III.B4, III.B3, III.B2.
Lintang Besi	XII.F5, XII.F4.
Lintang Jelutong	VII.G3, VIII.A3.
Lintang Mas	XII.E5.
Logan Road	II.E2, II.E1, II.D1, VI.C5, VI.B5.
Loh Boon Siew Road	II.C1.
Lorong Buah Pala	VIII.D1.

Lorong Bunga Kenanga	XIII.E5, VIII.D1.
Lorong Bunga Melor	VIII.D1.
Lorong Bunga Raya	VIII.D2.
Lorong Bunga Piring	IV.D1.
Lorong Bunga Rose	XIII.F5.
Lorong Bunga Tanjong	VIII.D1.
Lorong Dambar	VII.G4.
Lorong Gajah	IX.E5.
Lorong Hijau Dua	VII.D2.
Lorong Hijau Empat	VII.D2.
Lorong Hijau Enam	VII.D2, VII.D3.
Lorong Hijau Lima	VII.D2, VIII.D3.
Lorong Hijau Satu	VII.D2.
Lorong Hijau Tiga	VII.D2.
Lorong Hijau Tujuh	VII.D2, VII.D3.
Lorong Jelutong	VII.G2, VII.G3.
Lorong Kampong Melayu	XVII.C5.
Lorong Kulit	VI.E1, VI.F4.
Lorong Pantai Molek	V.A1, V.A2.
Lorong Rambutan 1	XVII.D1, XVII.E1.
Lorong Rambutan 2	XVII.D1, XVII.E1.
Lorong Rambutan 3	XVII.D1, XVII.E1.
Lorong Selamat	II.E3, II.F3.
Lorong Saratus Tahun	II.F2, II.G2.
Lorong Sekerat	IX.E4.
Lorong Shaik Eusoff	XII.B2, XII.C2.
Lorong Susu	II.F3.
Love Lane	I.B2, I.C2.
Lumut Lane	I.D2, I.E2.
Lunas Lane	V.G5.
Lower Crescent	VIII.C1, VIII.D1, VIII.C2.
Lower Tunnel Road	XIX.C3, XIX.D3, XIX.D2.
	XIX.E2, XIX.E1.

## "M"

MacAlister Court	VI.C4, VI.C5.
MacAlister Lane	II.F4.
MacAlister Road	II.G4, II.F4, II.F3, II.F2, II.E2,
	II.E1, VI.C5, VI.C4, VI.B4, VI.B3,
	VI.B2, VI.B1, XI.C5.
McNair Street	II.G5, III.A5, III.A4, III.B4.
Macallum Street	III.A4, III.A5, III.B5.
Madras Lane	II.E4, II.F4, II.F3.
Magazine Road	II.G4, II.G5, I.E1, I.F1.
Makloom Road	VI.G5, VII.A5, III.C1.
Malacca Court	II.G2.
Malacca Street	II.G2, II.F2, II.F1.
Malay Street	I.E2, I.E1.
Mandalay Road	II.C1, II.C2, II.D1.
Mano Close	V.D1.
Mano Road	V.D1.
Market Cross	VI.E3.



Market Street	I.D3.
Market Street Ghaut	I.D3, I.D4, I.E4.
Maxwell Road	II.F5, II.G5.
Merican Lane	II.G1.
Merican Road	II.G2, II.G1.
Mesjid Road	I.C2.
Midlands Drive	V.D2, V.D1, V.E1, V.E2.
Midlands Road	V.E2, V.D2, V.C2, V.C1.
Moniot Road	XIX.D4, XIX.E4, XIX.E3, XIX.F3, XIX.F2, XIX.G2, XIX.G1, XIX.D4, XIX.D5, XIX.C5, XVI.D1, XVI.D2, XVI.C2, XVI.B2.
Moulmein Close	V.F3.
Moulmein Road	V.F3, V.G3.
Mount Erskine Road	X.F5, X.E5, X.D5, X.C5, X.B5, X.A5, IX.G5, IX.F5.
Muda Lane	I.C3.
Muntri Street	I.B1, I.C1, I.C2.
Market Lane	I.C3, I.C2.

## "N"

Nagore Road	II.D3.
Nambyar Street	VI.E3.
Nanking Road	III.B4.
Nanning Street	II.F2.
New-Spring Drive	IX.F5.
New Lane	II.G3, II.F3.
Ngah Aboo Lane	I.D1.
Nirvana Road	II.F1.
Nirvana Terrace	II.F1.
Noordin Street	II.G4, II.G5, III.A5, I.F1.
North Avenue	IX.E4.
North Road	VIII.B2, VIII.C2.
Northam Road	I.B1, II.C5, II.D5, II.C4, II.D4, II.C3, II.C2, II.B2, II.B1.
Noordin Street Ghaut	I.F1.
Nunn Crescent	VI.A1.
Nunn Road	VI.A1, VI.B1, XI.C5.

## "O"

Ong Chong Keng Street	II.F4, II.E4.
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## "P"

Pahang Road	II.G2, II.G1, II.F1.
Panchor Road	VII.E4, VII.E3.
Pangkor Road	II.B1, II.C1, VI.A5.
Paya Terubong Road	XVII.D1, XVII.E1, XVII.F1, XVII.G1.

Parit Buntar Lane	VII.D4, VII.D3.
Park Road	VI.A1, V.G1, V.G2.
Patani Road	III.A2, III.B2, III.C2, III.C1.
Peel Avenue	VI.A5, VI.B5, VI.B4.
Peirce Lane	VI.A3, VI.A4, VI.B4.
Peirce Road	VI.A4.
Peking Street	VI.B4, VI.A4.
Penaga Lane	III.A5.
Penaga Road	VII.F3.
Penang Road	VII.F4, VII.F3.
Penang Street	I.B2, I.B1, I.C1, II.E5, II.F5.
Perak Close	II.F4, II.G4.
Perak Lane	I.C4, I.C3, I.D3.
Perak Road	VII.E4.
Perlis Road	III.E1, III.D1, VII.B5, VII.A5.
Pesiaran Besi	VI.A5, VI.B5, VI.C5, VI.D5.
Pesiaran Mas	VI.E5, VI.F5, VI.G5, VII.A4.
Pesiaran Perak	VII.B4, VII.C4, VII.D4, VII.E4,
Phee Choon Road	VII.F4.
Philips Road	II.G3, II.G2.
Phuah Hin Leong Road	XII.G5, XII.G4.
Piggot Road	XII.E5.
Pinhorn Road	VI.F5, III.A1, III.A2.
Pitt Lane	II.F5, II.E5, II.E4.
Pitt Street	XII.C5.
Popus Lane	II.D2, II.C2.
Presgrave Street	VI.D1, VI.E1.
Presgrave Street Ghaut	VII.C1, VII.C2.
Prangin Lane	I.D3.
Prangin Road	I.C3, I.D3, I.D2.
Prangin Road Ghaut	II.E5, II.E4.
Pulau Tikus Lane	II.G4, III.A4, III.A5.
Pykett Avenue	III.A5, I.F1.
	I.E1.
	I.E1, II.G5, II.F5.
	I.F1.
	V.E3, V.E2, V.F3, V.F2.
	II.D2.

## "Q"

Quarry Drive	XI.B5, XI.B4, XI.B3, XI.A3.
Queen Street	X.G3, X.F3.
	I.C3, I.D3.

## "R"

Race Course Lane	XI.G3, XI.G4.
Race Course Road	XII.A3, XI.G3.
Range Road	XII.A3.
Rangoon Road	II.E3, II.F3, II.F2.
Rawang Road	VI.G3, VI.F3.
Reservoir Crescent	XVII.B4, XVII.A4.

Reservoir Drive	XVII.B4, XVII.B5.
Reservoir Garden Road	XVII.B4, XVII.A4.
Reservoir 1st Avenue	XVII.B4.
Reservoir 2nd Avenue	XVII.B4.
Reservoir 3rd Avenue	XVII.A4, XVII.B4.
Reservoir 4th Avenue	XVII.A4.
Reservoir 5th Avenue	XVII.A4.
Reservoir 6th Avenue	XVII.B4, XVII.B5.
Reservoir 7th Avenue	XVII.B5, XVII.A5.
Reservoir 8th Avenue	XVII.A5.
Reservoir 9th Avenue	XVII.A4, XVII.A5.
Reservoir Walk	XVII.B4.
Residency Road	VI.D2, VI.D3, VI.C3, VI.B3.
Rifle Range Lane	XII.A3.
Rifle Range Road	XII.B3, XII.A3, XII.A2.
River Road	III.B4, III.B3, III.C2.
Rope Walk	I.C2, I.C1, I.D1, II.F5.
Rose Avenue	V.G1, X.G5.
Ross Road	VI.D2, VI.E2.

## "S"

Salween Road	II.C3, II.C2, II.B2.
Sandilands Street	III.B4, III.C4.
Sandilands Street Ghaut	III.C4.
Scotland Close	XII.A5.
Scotland Road	XI.G5, XI.F5, XI.E5, XI.D5,
Seck Chuan Lane	VI.D1, VI.C1.
School Lane	VII.F3.
Scott Close	V.F1.
Scott Road	V.G2, V.G1, V.F1, X.G5, X.F5
Seang Tek Road	II.G3, II.G2, II.F2.
	II.D2.
Seh Tan Court	II.E2.
Selama Road	VII.E4, VII.E3.
Selangor Road	II.G3, II.G2.
Sepoy Lines Road	VI.D3, VI.D2, VI.C2, VI.C1.
Seremban Lane	VII.A5.
Service Road	II.C1, II.B1, II.B2.
Siam Road	II.G2, II.G1, II.F2, II.F1.
Singora Lane	II.G2, III.A2.
Sir Hussein Gardens	XII.B5.
Skipton Road	XI.E5, XI.D5.
Solok Mas	XII.E5.
Soo Hong Lane	II.D2.
South Avenue	IX.E4.
South Road	VIII.D2, VIII.C2.
Sri Bahari Road	I.B1, II.D5.
Stadium Circus	VI.F5, VI.F4.
Stadium Drive	VI.E4, VI.F4.
Stewart Lane	I.C3, I.C2.
Summit Road	XIX.B3, XIX.C3, XIX.C2,
	XIX.D2, XIX.D1.
Sungei Pinang Lane	III.D2.

Sungei Pinang Pengkalan	III.C3, III.C4.
Sungei Pinang Road	III.D2, III.C2, III.C1, III.B1, VI.G5, VI.F5.
Sungei Ujong Road	II.F5.
Swatow Lane	II.E3, II.D3, II.D4.
Swee Lee Grove	XII.B5.

## "T"

Taiping Road	VII.E4, VII.E3.
Taman Besi	XII.F5.
Taman Jelutong	VII.G3.
Taman Free School	VII.B2, VII.B3, VII.A2, VII.A3.
Taman Perak	VI.F5.
Tamil Street	II.E5, II.F5.
Tampin Lane	VII.A5.
Tan Iu Ghee Road	VII.A2, VII.A3.
Tanjong Bungah Park	IX.C4.
Tanjong Bungah Road	IV.B1, IX.C5, IX.C4, IX.B4, IX.B3, IX.B2, IX.B1, XIV.B5, XIV.B4, XIV.B3, XIV.B2, XIV.B1, XIV.A1.
Tanjong Bungah Terrace	IX.C4.
Tanjong Tokong Road	V.C2, V.B2, V.B1, V.A1, IV.G1, IV.F1, IV.E1, IV.D1, IV.C1.
Tavoy Close	II.C2.
Tavoy Road	II.C2.
Taylor Road	XII.C4, XII.C3.
Tek Soon Street	II.F4, II.F5, II.G5, I.E1.
Thaton Lane	V.G4, VI.A5.
The Esplanade	I.B4, I.B5.
Thean Teik Road	XII.B1, XII.C1, XII.D1.
Thomas Road	VIII.B4, VIII.B3.
Thorpe Road	XII.C5.
Timah Road	III.A4, III.A3.
Tingkat Besi	XII.F4, XII.F5.
Tingkat Besi Dua	XII.F4.
Tingkat Besi Satu	XII.F5.
Tingkat Jelutong	VII.G2, VII.G3.
Tingkat Mas	XII.E5.
Toh Aka Lane	I.E2.
Tongkah Road	II.G4.
Tramway Road	VI.E3.
Trang Road	II.G4.
Transfer Road	II.D5, II.E5, II.E4. VI.G1, VI.G2.
Trengganu Road	VII.B2, VII.A2, VI.G2, VI.F2.
Trusan Cross	III.D2.
Trusan Road	III.C2, III.D2, III.D1.
Tull Road	VI.D4, VI.C4, VI.C3.
Tunnel Road East	XIX.C4, XIX.B4, XIX.A4.
Tunnel Road West	XIX.C3, XIX.D3, XIX.D2, XIX.D1, XIX.E1.

Turf Club Road  
Tye Kee Yoon Road  
Tye Sin Street

V1.C3, V1.C2.  
H.G4, H1A4.  
H1A4, H1A5.

## "U"

Udini Road  
Union Street  
Upper Crescent

VIII.C2, VIII.C3, VIII.C4.  
1.C4.  
VIII.C1.

## "V"

Vale of Tempe Road

XIV.D2, XIV.C2, XIV.B2, XIV.E2,  
XIV.E3, XIV.E4, XIV.E5, IX.E1.  
XIII.E5, XIII.F5, VIII.E1, VIII.E2.

Valley Road

VII.C2, VII.C3.

Van Praagh Close

VII.C2, VII.C3, VII.D3, VII.E3.

Van Praagh Road

Vermont Road

V1.C4, V1.C3.

Veterinary Road

III.C2, III.B2.

Viaduct Road East

XIX.C4, XIX.C5, XVI.C1

Viaduct Road West

XIX.D4, XIX.D3, XIX.E3,  
XIX.E2, XIX.F1.

Victoria Green Road

VI.A5, VI.B5, II.C1, II.D1.

Victoria Street

I.D4, I.D3, I.E3, I.E2, I.F2, I.F1.

## "W"

Waterfall Road

X.G4, X.F4, X.F3, X.F2,

Weld Quay

X.E2, X.E1.  
1.C5, 1.D5, 1.D4, 1.E4,  
1.E3, 1.E2, 1.F2.

Wee Hein Tze Road

XIV.B3.

West Avenue

IX.E4.

Western Avenue

X1B5.

Western Gardens

X1B5, X1C5.

Western Road

V1.E3, V1.D3, V1.D2, V1.D1,  
V1.C1, X1C5, X1B5, X1A5,  
X1A4, X.G4.

Westlands Road

II.E2, II.D2, II.D1.

Williams Road

VIII.C3, VIII.C4, VIII.B4.

Wright Road

X.F5.

Wu Lien Teh Gardens

XII.B4, XII.B5.

## "Y"

Yeoh Guan Seok Road

V.G3.

York Close

V1.E2.

York Crescent

V1.E1, V1.E2.

York Road

V1.E3, V1.E2, V1.E1, X1.F5.

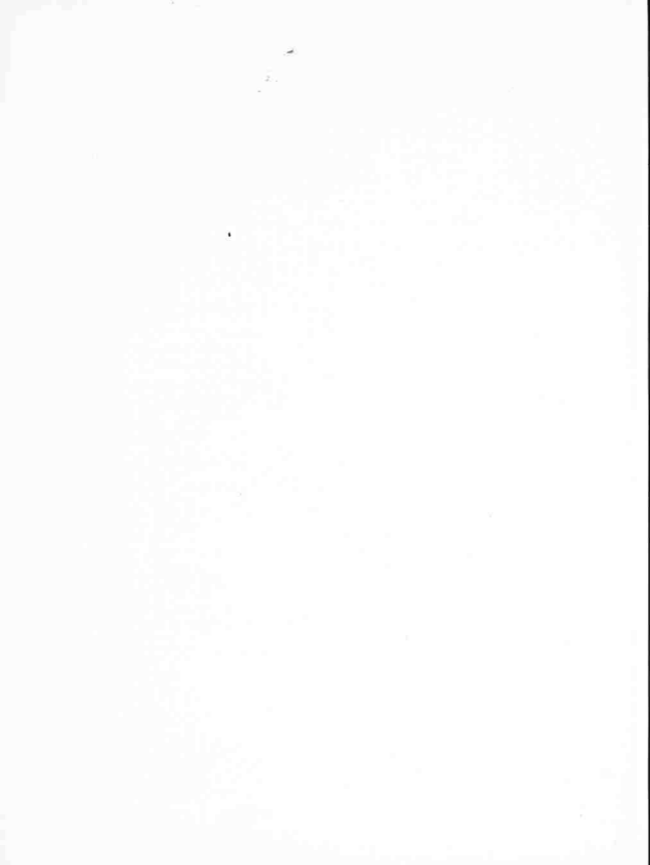
Yeap Chor Ee Road

VIII.C1, VIII.B1, VIII.B2.

## "Z"

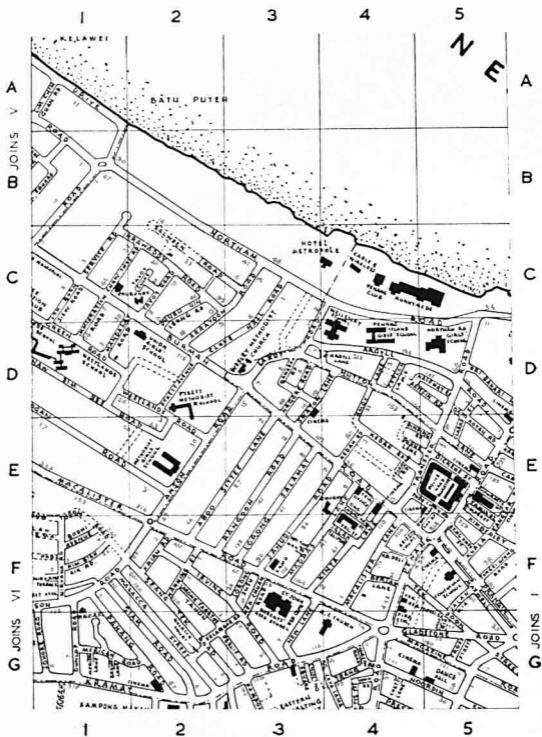
Zoo Road

XVII.C4, XVII.D4.



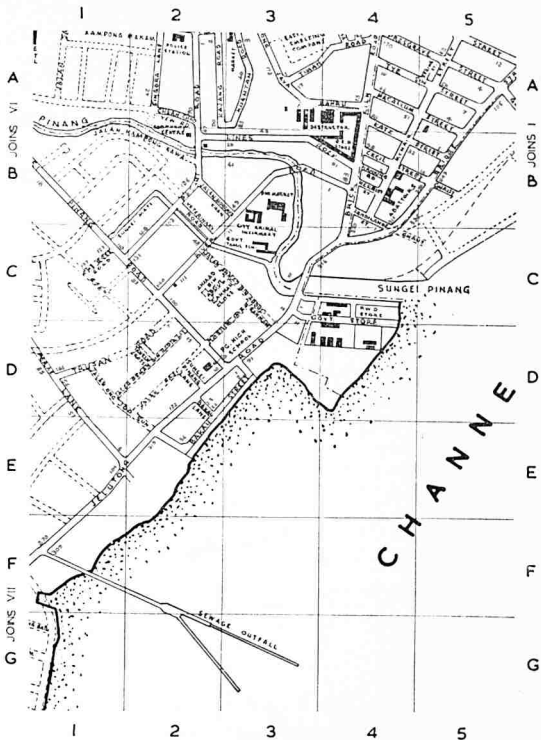


# MAP II

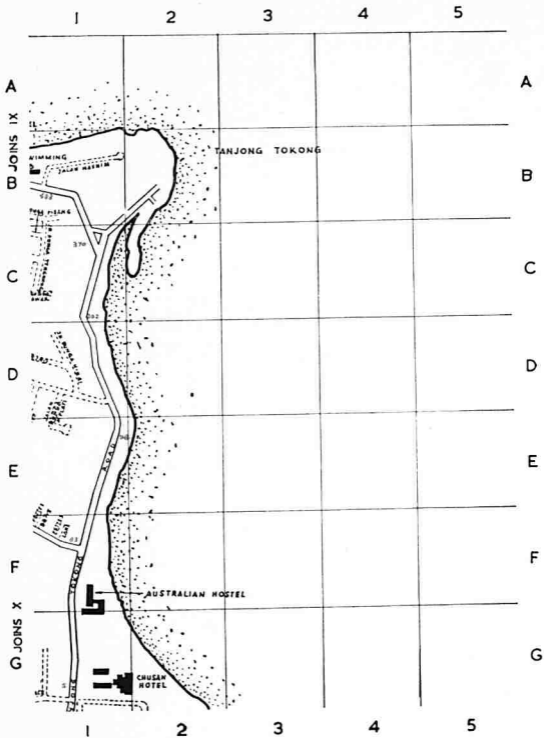




# MAP III

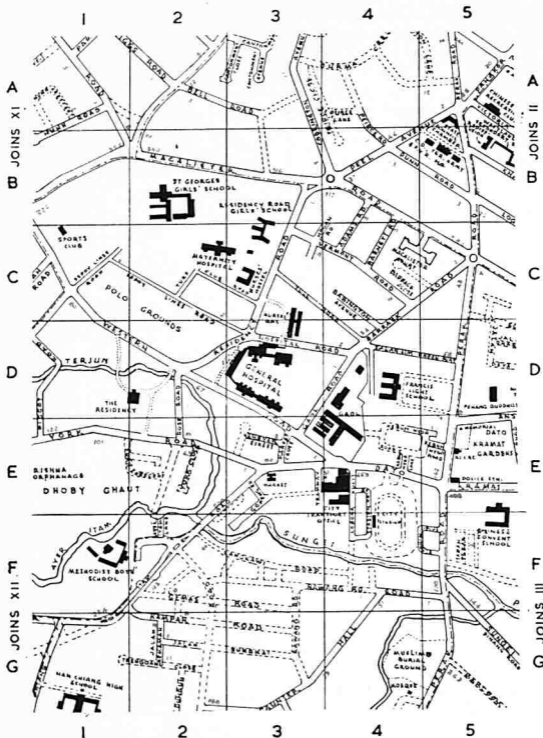


# MAP IV



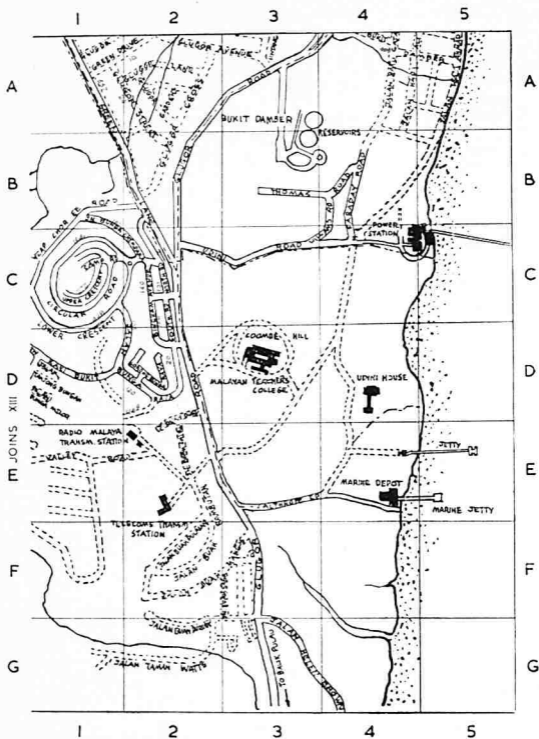


# MAP VI



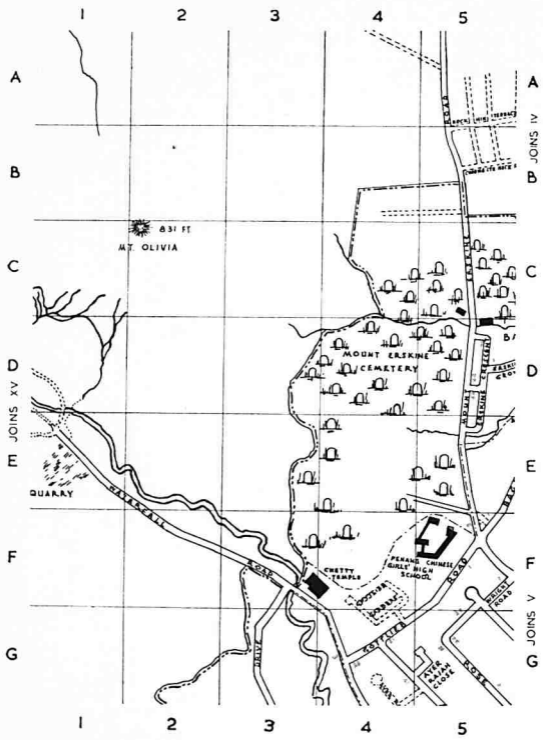


# MAP VIII



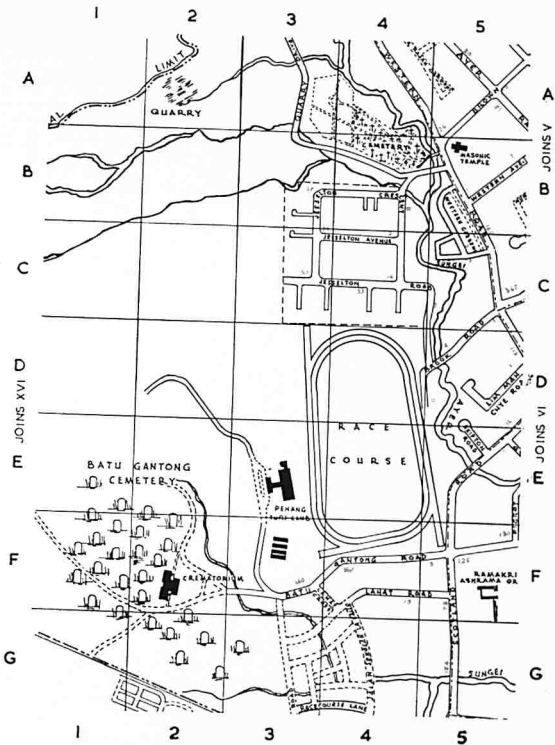


# MAP X



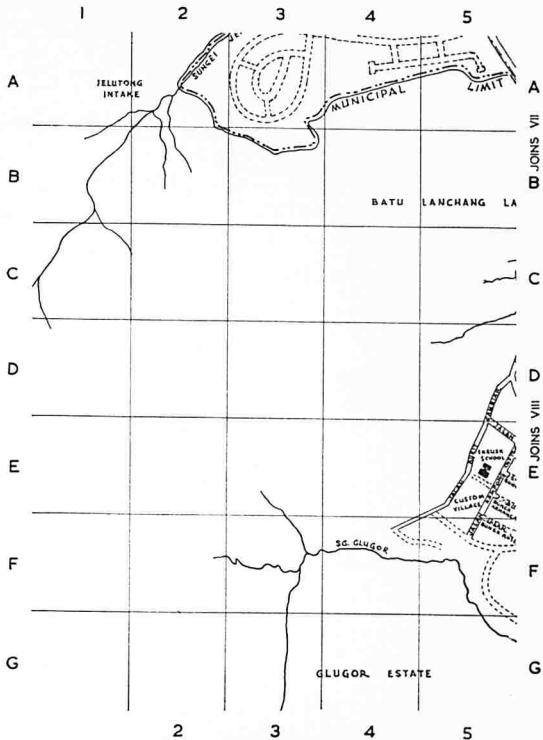


# MAP XI

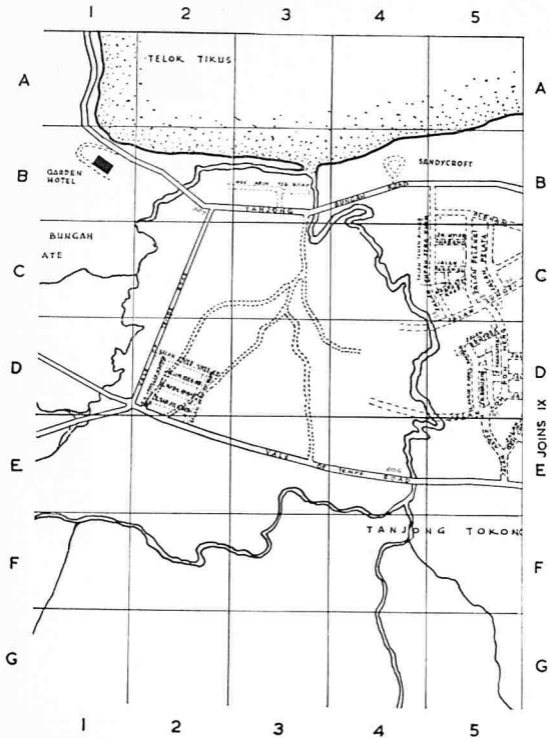




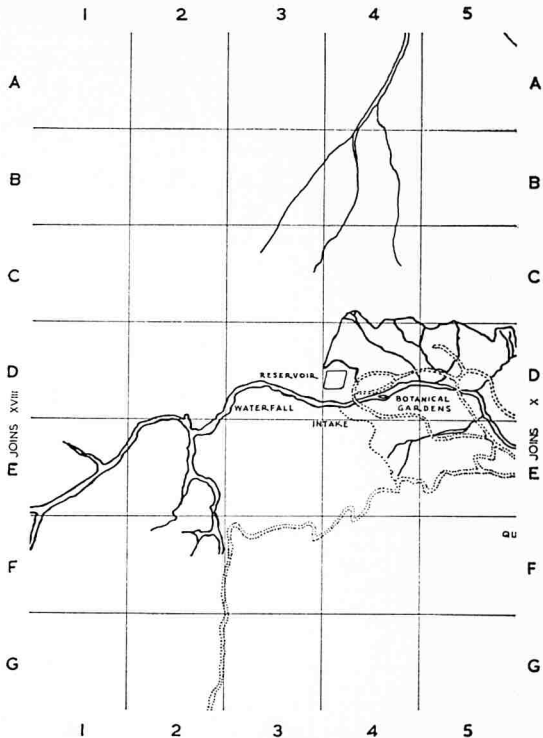
# MAP XIII



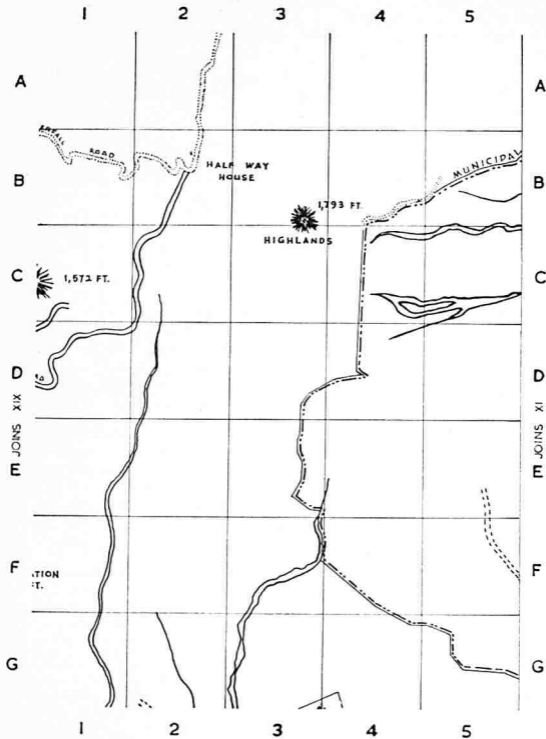
# MAP XIV



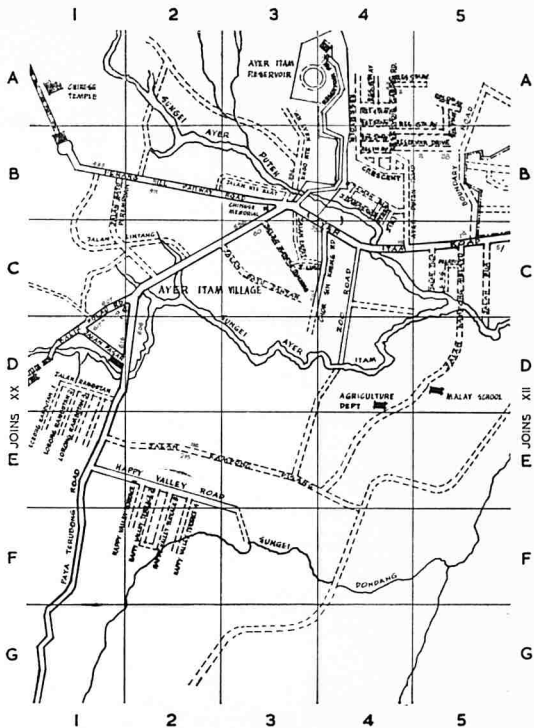
# MAP. XV



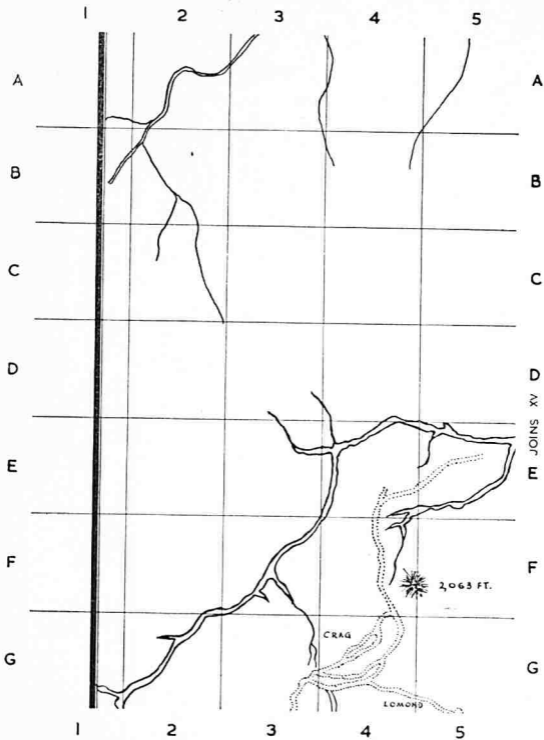
# MAP XVI



# MAP XVII

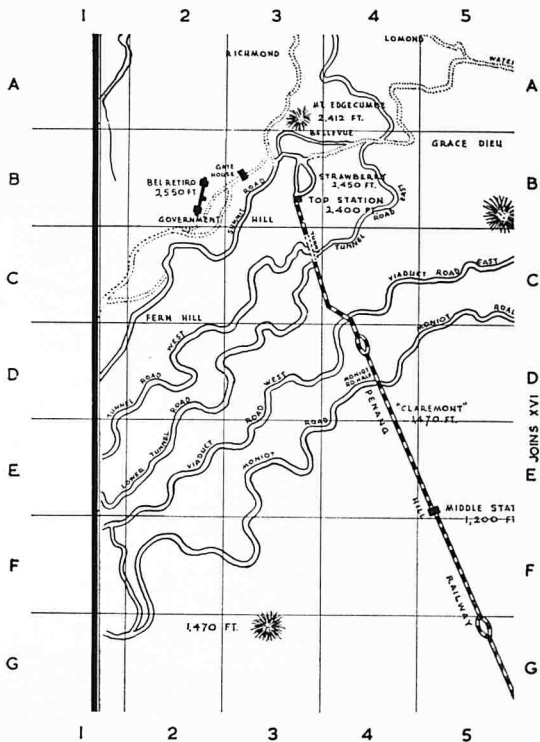


# MAP XVIII

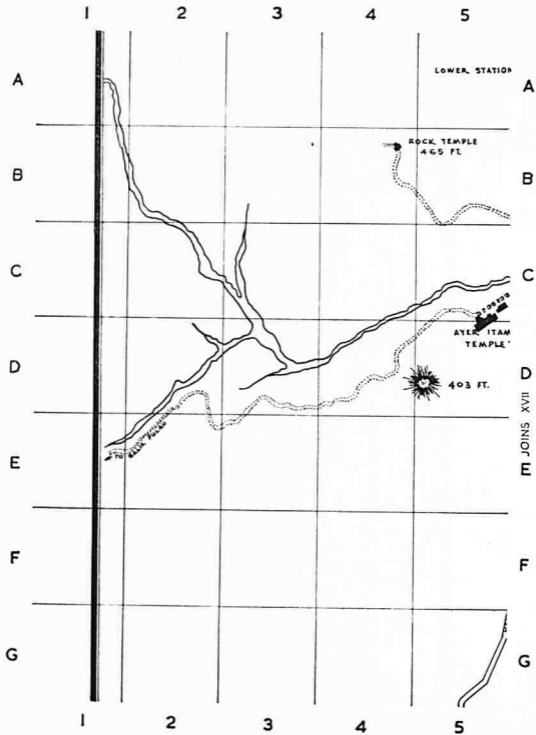




# MAP XIX



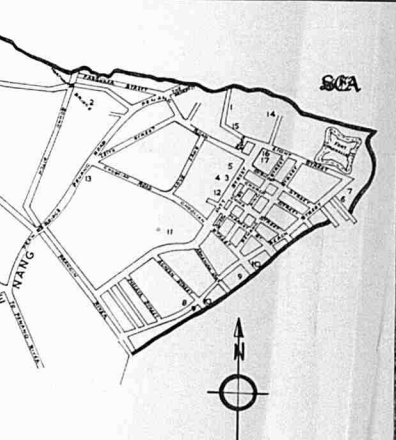
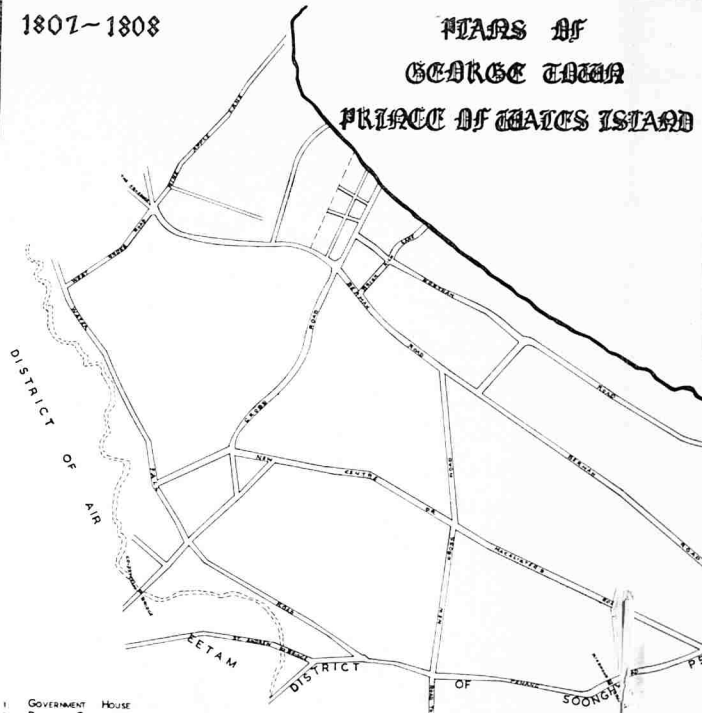
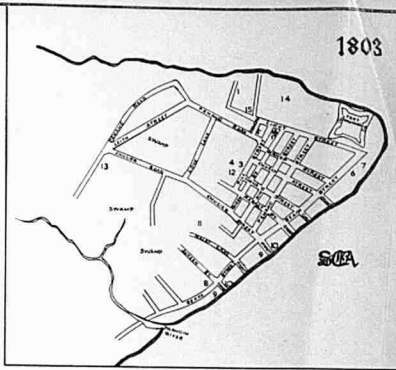
# MAP XX



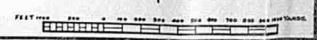
1807-1808

PLANS OF  
GEORGE TOWN  
PRINCE OF WALES ISLAND

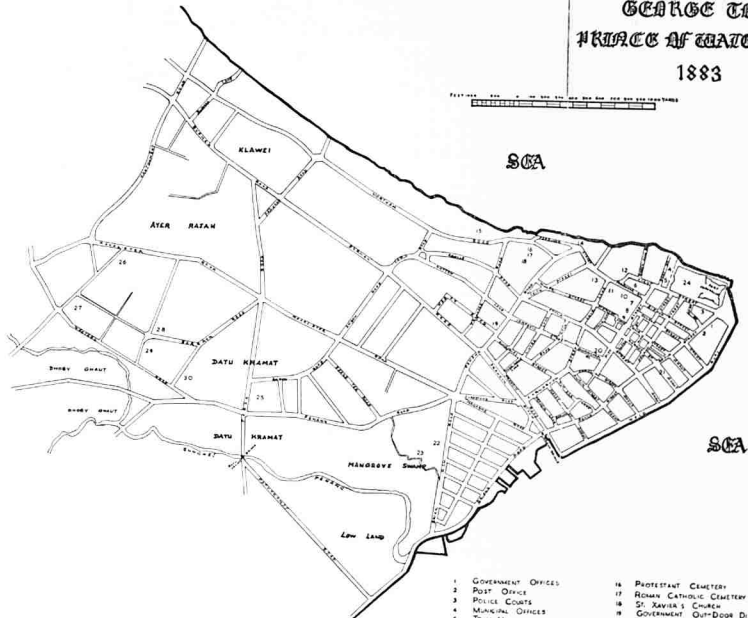
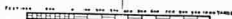
1803



- |   |                              |    |                                |
|---|------------------------------|----|--------------------------------|
| 1 | GOVERNMENT HOUSE             | 10 | POWL MARKET                    |
| 2 | BURYING GROUND               | 11 | MOSQUE BUILT BY THE GHEELIAS   |
| 3 | COURT HOUSE                  | 12 | GHINES CHURCH                  |
| 4 | PUBLIC OFFICES               | 13 | SERDY'S LINES                  |
| 5 | GROUND RESERVED FOR A CHURCH | 14 | ADMIRAL'S HOUSE                |
| 6 | MASTERS ATTENDANT'S OFFICE   | 15 | LARGE WELL                     |
| 7 | RICE GODOWNS                 | 16 | GOVERNMENT ARTIFICERS WORKSHOP |
| 8 | JAIL                         | 17 | NEW STORE ROOM                 |
| 9 | FISH MARKET                  |    |                                |



A PLAN OF  
 GEORGE TOWN  
 PRINCIPAL STREETS  
 1883



- |    |                      |    |                                |
|----|----------------------|----|--------------------------------|
| 1  | GOVERNMENT OFFICES   | 16 | PROTESTANT CEMETERY            |
| 2  | POST OFFICE          | 17 | ROMAN CATHOLIC CEMETERY        |
| 3  | POLICE COURTS        | 18 | ST. XAVIER'S CHURCH            |
| 4  | MUNICIPAL OFFICES    | 19 | GOVERNMENT OUT-DOOR DISPENSARY |
| 5  | TOWN HALL            | 20 | MOSQUE                         |
| 6  | SUPREME COURT        | 21 | NEW MARKET                     |
| 7  | ST. GEORGE'S CHURCH  | 22 | POLICE BARRACKS                |
| 8  | CHEESE TOWN HALL     | 23 | SMALL-PON HOSPITAL             |
| 9  | TEMPLE               | 24 | ESPLANADE                      |
| 10 | FREE SCHOOL          | 25 | PUBLIC GARDENS                 |
| 11 | CHURCH OF ASSUMPTION | 26 | RACE COURSE                    |
| 12 | CONVENT              | 27 | MILITARY LINES                 |
| 13 | ST. XAVIER'S COLLEGE | 28 | PAPER HOSPITAL                 |
| 14 | HOTEL D'EUROPE       | 29 | GENERAL HOSPITAL               |
| 15 | RUSSIAN HOTEL        | 30 | M.M. GAOL                      |