

THE PAUPER HOSPITAL IN EARLY SINGAPORE (Part III) (1840-1849) — Section 2

(continued from Section 1.—Sing. med. J., Vol. 16, Page 106, 1975).

By Y. K. LEE

Plans continued to be made for the hospitals. There was a recommendation that a house be built for the Apothecary (also the Steward) in charge of the Seamen's Hospital, "a steady European with a family, of good birth and superior education".⁴⁰ The Governor in support of this recommendation stated: "The Pauper Hospital which is on the eve of completion at the sole expense of Tan Tock Sing Esquire is in the same vicinity as the Seamen's Hospital, and the erection of the building for the accommodation of the Apothecary will enable him to have a general supervision of the two establishments, whilst the lower apartments of the house will form excellent store rooms for such articles as may require to be under the immediate charge of the Steward."⁴⁰

The shed for the paupers was built in October 1845. The Straits Times on 14th October 1845 reported:⁴¹

"... Near Pearl's Hill there has been erected within the last few days a temporary but commodious building capable of housing 200 persons and intended for the Chinese and other poor. The place is very healthily situated, every convenience is furnished and the supply of spring water and rice abundant. These arrangements cannot, of course, be maintained unless subscriptions are paid up. In the meantime, something may be done by way of representation to the Supreme Government for the introduction of the least objectionable means for the support of the institution."

At the Criminal Session which opened on 13th October 1845, the Recorder drew the attention of the Grand Jury to a subject not wholly unconnected with the criminal business before them—the destitute condition of the lower classes of Chinese. Poverty and desperation almost

invariably led to crime and it was the duty of a criminal Court not merely to punish but where possible to prevent the commission of crimes. He was certain that the gentlemen of the Grand Jury had all seen the circular which Captain Cuppage had so properly and humanely sent round describing the state of the destitute Chinese, of whom it appeared there were 150 receiving their daily subsistence from the contributions of the Charitable, and 50 or 60 more begging about the streets; whilst during the past year, 70 had perished either from absolute starvation or from disease engendered by extreme destitution. As a temporary expedient, the appeal to the charitable feelings of the community had been met by the Europeans, but the important question was whether this source of relief could or ought to be permanently calculated upon. Whether in short, the European portion of the community could be justly expected exclusively to bear the burden of maintaining the diseased, disabled and indigent Chinese. He did not think so. The Chinese should look to the rich of their community, which included some of the wealthiest inhabitants of Singapore, for relief. The wealthy Chinese were directly or indirectly responsible for the large constant influx of Chinese immigrants who had been attracted by glowing reports of success and prosperity. Moreover, the protection of the British Government had enabled many of them to make large fortunes and live in safety. For these benefits the Chinese merchants and shopkeepers should support the destitute members of their own kind. But in response to the circular, they had subscribed very small amounts, and the Recorder believed that after the first month not even this would be forthcoming. With all their wealth the Chinese in the Straits, with a few exceptions like Tan Tock Sing, had not shown themselves to be a charitable people. He was of the opinion that the Pork Farm should be re-introduced and some means devised to check the emigration of diseased paupers from China and Rhio to Singapore.⁴²

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Taking their cue from the Recorder, the Grand Jury having disposed of all the Bills, presented that⁴³

“... they agree in opinion with the Recorder that re-establishing the Pork Farm would be the fairest and easiest plan of raising funds to support a Poor House or Hospital for their reception, and the Grand Jury have reason to know they are joined in this opinion by the principal Chinese merchants who do not look upon the Pork Farm as a tax.

Should the Pork Farm be re-established, the Grand Jury recommend that the funds arising from the same be placed under the control of a committee appointed from the servants of Government and from the community. They would also recommend that the Government would enforce a regulation to prevent *nakodas* (captains) of junks and other native craft bringing Chinese to the Settlement who may be in a sickly state, and who have no apparent means of providing for themselves, but in recommending this regulation they would not wish it to be such as in anyway to interfere with immigration of Chinese in a healthy state.

A handsome and appropriate building is now nearly finished, erected at the private cost of a wealthy and charitable Chinese merchant for the purpose of being used as a hospital for the reception of destitute Chinese, and to which no doubt, Government would supply the necessary medical attendance.”

The local Government also did their bit. On 10th November 1845, the Resident Councillor, Mr. T. Church, ordered Senior Surgeon Oxley to send his Assistant Surgeon to visit the Pauper Shed daily:⁴⁴

“I beg to bring to your notice that there are at present upwards of 100 Chinese in a shed at the base of Pearl’s Hill, many of whom are in urgent need of medical treatment. These miserable objects have been collected from the streets and highways and through the benevolence of a few persons they are provided with shelter and wholesome food. I beg to request that Assistant Surgeon Traill may be solicited to visit and prescribe for the sick daily, by which means it is hoped their condition will be materially alleviated.”

One of the first things that Traill did when appointed to be in medical charge was to report that the accommodation was very inadequate

and that there was gross overcrowding. This report was transmitted by the Senior Surgeon to the Resident Councillor, who replied on 5th December 1845:⁴⁵

“... At once communicated with Mr. Dunman who has the management of the Funds raised for the benefit of the Chinese paupers, and suggested to him the expediency of erecting an additional shed. I have just received a Note from Mr. Dunman in which he says ‘I can get another shed made and have given orders to do so.’”

(Mr. Dunman was Superintendent of Police and a Police Magistrate).

By the end of the year, it was quite apparent that this scheme to house and treat the paupers had failed. Subscriptions and donations gradually decreased and the “management committee” got into debt. The Straits Times wrote another appeal for funds and criticised the Chinese community for their bad faith:⁴⁶

“We are extremely sorry to learn from the Deputy Superintendent of Police, at whose humane suggestion a public subscription was got up on behalf of the Chinese poor, that the institution at Pearl’s Hill must shortly close unless immediate and adequate aid be afforded not merely to relieve the daily wants of the needy, lodged and fed within the temporary erection, but also to discharge the debt amounting to nearly 250 Spanish dollars which these gentlemen and other humane benefactors have incurred to save the hungry from perishing, until some provision be made by Government by re-establishing the Pork Farm as recommended by the Grand Jury at the close of the last Criminal Session.

In the shed at Pearl’s Hill there are at this moment 146 paupers, chiefly Chinese, most of whom or at least a majority of the number, would in all probability have died had not the temporary building been erected and succour afforded. We visited frequently the abode of misery. Such a collection of miserable objects—the halt, the lame, the blind, men whose hands, feet and ears were separating from the superior parts of the body in consequence of the devastating progress of disease. There were no less than ten lepers whose ghostly appearance struck terror into the minds of every beholder. More than 30 of the inmates were labouring under cancer in its most hideous and excruciating

form. By the timely and gratuitous action of the Government medical gentlemen and the administering of wholesome food, several paupers left the establishment cured at once of disease and vagrancy. Many others will doubtless experience similar benefits from the institution.

Now, unless an effort be made to raise funds for the maintenance of the destitute, the whole of the 140 wretched beings in the pauper asylum must be turned adrift again to exhibit in our streets their loathsome conditions. Many of the Chinese who agreed to subscribe, have as we feared, refused to contribute even a few cents monthly towards the support of their own poor—shame upon them—denying to their helpless fellow countrymen a few grains of rice daily to save them from perishing, and leaving their poor to be supported by Europeans who are almost weekly called upon to afford aid to their own destitute countrymen. Pending the reply of the Bengal Government to the Presentment made by the Grand Jury, it would certainly be detrimental to the interest of society to cast the mass of Chinese paupers on the public indiscriminately, to infest the thoroughfares of the Town and places of resort, and to spread around them the melancholy diseases of which they are the subjects.

Under any circumstances it would be an act of injustice towards those gentlemen who cheerfully undertook and efficiently performed the task of housing the destitute, to allow them to bear the burden of the existing debt and which we are sorry to observe is daily augmenting. To meet the immediate demands upon the native poor until the Pork Farm be re-established, donations and subscriptions are urgently requested and will be thankfully acknowledged and applied to the purpose of the charity by Rev. H. Moule, M.A., Capt. Cuppage and Thomas Dunman, Esq.”

It will not unnaturally be assumed by the reader after having digested the above accounts that the Chinese really did not lift a finger to help their poor. To put the record straight and in the right perspective, part of the first annual report of Tan Tock Seng Hospital (1852) will be quoted *in extenso*:⁴⁷

“ . . . The Committee deem it advisable to take a glance at pauperism as it existed prior

to their assumption of office so that the condition of the poor of Singapore may be known, and who they were who first took the subject of their relief into consideration. At the commencement of 1845, the only assistance the diseased poor received was entirely from private and therefore precarious charity and the most conspicuous of those who gave a little to that end were Tan Tock Sing and Seah Eu Chin, Esquires. The latter rented a small house near the Chinese Temple, Philip Street, where all who chose received shelter during the night, but during the day to support themselves, they were found begging in our streets exposing their diseased persons to the public gaze and to the disgust of the passersby by baring their loathsome sores.

The situation of this refuge being a nuisance, Eu Chin bought or erected two sheds on the then unbuilt swamp near the Ellenborough Buildings, but the miserable beings refused at first to go there as it was far from their haunts, nor would they occupy the sheds until Eu Chin promised to supply them with food independent of what they could pick up by begging and stealing.

Notwithstanding these efforts of one or two charitable Chinese, the state of the diseased paupers was most deplorable. Again and again the public papers reported the death of one or two in the streets, and the Police considered that not less than 100 died annually at our very doors from sickness and starvation.

Government at this time afforded no assistance and unless the wretched beings were committed to the House of Correction, they had no admission to the hospitals nor claim for aid of any kind. At this time, one or two European gentlemen took the subject into consideration and endeavoured by private subscriptions to give the poor systematic aid. Of these, Mr. Dunman, our Superintendent of Police stands forth the most prominently, so that assisted by the Police Magistrate, the Chaplain for the time being and Seah Eu Chin, he collected in the month of November 1845, the sum of \$111.75 from 324 subscribers, of whom the majority were Chinese. By these and other means, an attap shed was built at the foot of Pearl's Hill, wherein were daily lodged and fed from 100 to 120 as wretched paupers as ever the eye of men rested on.

In addition to being supplied with food, their medical wants were attended to by Government, and William Traill, Esq., M.D., Assistant Residency Surgeon, was appointed Medical Officer in charge, and well and faithfully did he perform his most unpleasant duties for several years until his departure from the Settlement. The subscriptions from the public for reasons unknown monthly diminished, so that the \$50/- monthly that was at first subscribed by the European community in six months fell to \$20/-.

Finding this and seeing the likelihood of a further decrease, Mr. Dunman handed over the charity to Seah Eu Chin who, until the formation of the present committee, managed solely and entirely its financial affairs and superintended the details without which the undertaking must have been abandoned and the paupers returned again on the public to eke out their existence by begging and stealing.

During the time that Eu Chin managed the charity, he raised by subscription and donations betwixt April 1845 and June 1851, the sum of \$8090.22; . . . while the expenditure amounted to \$8103.02. . . .

The Committee have made mention of Tan Tock Sing, Esquire, as well-known in Singapore for his charity which disposed itself in various fashions. He took upon himself to bury all Chinese paupers who died in our streets and verandahs, and between the years 1843 and 1850 supplied 1032 coffins at the expense of \$1073.03, and this charity is still continued by his son, Tan Kim Cheng, Esquire. . . ."

The old Pauper Hospital continued to be used for the treatment of pauper and other natives suffering from acute diseases and accidents. It was very badly run and this came to light when a mercantile firm complained to the authorities that it had been over-charged for the hospital expense of a native sailor sent by the firm for admission. Investigations revealed that the Apothecary in charge of the hospital had indulged in irregular practices, e.g. supplying medicines free to non-pauper patients and double charging the patients for food for his own benefit. The Senior Surgeon and the Assistant Surgeon were soundly reprimanded by the Governor for their poor supervision and

laxity.⁴⁸ On 21st November 1845, the Governor wrote to the Resident Councillor as follows:⁴⁸

"The Charges hereafter to be allowed for each pauper will be 6½ cents per diem, and 10 cents for each person sent by the community, vizt. 6½ cents for feeding and 3½ cents for country medicines, etc. which latter sum will be paid to Government by whom, I understand, the medicines, bandages, etc. are furnished. Hospital comforts such as broth, wine, etc. will be made an extra charge in a contingent bill, and if these include bread, fowl or what may be termed superior dieting, the daily allowance for feeding will be discontinued. Such comforts in nature and quantity should be expressly prescribed by the Medical Officer in charge and duly entered in a book from which the bill may be checked, and the treatment of a patient in this respect fully ascertained by the Senior Surgeon or any officer of Government. The Surgeon in charge of the Hospital will certify on the bill that the extras and medical comforts therein charged for were absolutely necessary, and to the best of his belief duly administered.

No person will be admitted into hospital except through the Resident Councillor to whom a return of patients will be furnished monthly.

In conclusion, I beg that you will do me the favour in conjunction with the Senior Surgeon to frame and submit for my approval a set of rules for the admission, dieting, etc. for the inmates of the several hospitals in Singapore."

On March 16, 1846, the Governor wrote to Bengal forwarding a copy of the Recorder's charge to the Grand Jury and its Presentment made in October 1845 (see above), "which so completely embodies the sentiments I have from time to time ventured to express that I hesitate not once again to commend the subject to the favourable consideration of the Honourable the Deputy Governor of Bengal."⁴⁹ The pitiable and miserable condition of the destitute and diseased Chinese was again described and the re-establishment of the Pork Farm again recommended.

The plan of Tan Tock Sing's Hospital and the draft of an Act were also submitted:⁴⁹ "I beg now to submit the plan of the hospital erected at the sole expense of Tan Tock Sing, Esquire, to which I have adverted in

my letters under dates the 19th February and the 29th March 1844. This building on the eve of completion, he has now made over to the Honourable East India Company by the accompanying deed, as a General and Pauper Hospital, and I trust the Honourable the Deputy Governor of Bengal will be graciously pleased to take some public notice in Government Orders of the humane and liberal donation from Tan Tock Sing, Esquire, who is the first of his nation that has taken a prominent part for the benefit of his species in any one of the Straits Settlements.

To prevent this building being made a lazaretto for the decrepit and maimed of Rhio and the adjacent states as noticed in Paragraph 357 of the Right Honourable Lord Auckland's Minute on these Settlements, I have caused the draft of an Act to be prepared by the Senior Sworn Clerk of Her Majesty's Court of Judicature at this Station which will effectively prevent such persons from being conveyed here for the purpose of gaining admittance to the Pauper Hospital."

The Governor then proceeded to explain the various sections of the draft Act:

"The 1st section provides against the importing and landing of diseased and decrepit persons within the Settlements by making the importers liable to a fine of \$100/- Section 2 enacts that the fines so received shall be appropriated to the maintenance of the Pauper Hospitals in the Straits Settlements.

Section 3 enacts that the Building erected by Tan Tock Sing, Esquire, shall be appropriated as a hospital at Singapore.

Section 4 authorises the establishment of a Poor House at Penang and Malacca.

Section 5 provides for the payment of the expenses of the inmates of the hospitals out of the revenue derived from the Pork Farm to be established at the three Settlements in the hope that the Honourable Deputy Governor of Bengal will sanction the re-establishment of the Farm since I can derive no other means of supporting the Institution proposed, except that half the expense should be borne by the Government and half by the Assessment Department, but the funds at Penang and Malacca could not bear such a charge, and it would tell very

hard upon the comparatively new Settlement of Singapore where all the canals and streams in and about Town are crossed by temporary wooden bridges constantly in want of repair.

Sections 6, 7 and 8 provide for the appointment of a Board of Guardians for managing the Pauper Hospital, defining their powers, etc. These powers may be deemed too great but I would respectfully notice that Rules and Regulations made by a body of men on the spot professing local experience and altered and amended from time to time as circumstances may render necessary are more likely to be better adapted and to prove of more practical utility to the Institution than any fixed rules embodied in the Act itself, the adoption of which, to the wants and circumstances of the place, would be a matter of uncertainty until tested by a trial when obvious defects would not so easily be remedied as they would be under the provisions of the present sections. The Rules and Regulations which now suggest themselves for the management of the Institution are herewith forwarded for the consideration of the Honourable Deputy Governor of Bengal in accordance with your letter under date the 2nd April last. Section 9 gives power to the Sitting Magistrate to order persons afflicted with loathsome diseases found begging in the streets to go to the Pauper Hospital, and upon refusal to commit them to the House of Correction, without which the ends and objects of the Institutions, namely, the removal of a nuisance and the discouragement of mendicity will be defeated, for as long as these unfortunate and disgusting objects are allowed to crawl about the streets soliciting alms which are nearly always given, they will refuse to go to the Pauper Hospital, which they look upon as a sort of prison or penitentiary. And it appears doubtful whether this power could be exercised in the Straits without some special enactment of this nature. . . ."

The Governor also informed the Bengal Government that he proposed to re-draft the Pork Farm Regulations because of "the evils which attended the working of the old Pork Farm Regulations". This work was entrusted to the Senior Sworn Clerk of the Court who had the advice of Mr. Seah Eu Chin, "an old, intelligent and influential resident Chinese",

and Mr. Tan Tock Sing. Also submitted was a "petition from the whole of the most respectable portion of the Chinese community in this Settlement that they are desirous of the establishment of the Farm upon the provisions laid down in the Act in question, and I can safely add that a similar feeling pervades a like portion of the community at Penang and Malacca."⁴⁹

The Governor also asked for the establishment at the moment allowed for the old Pauper Hospital (1 Apothecary \$15/-; 1 Dresser \$6/-; 2 Peons \$10/-; Total \$31/-) to be transferred to Tan Tock Sing's Hospital, when the paupers are accommodated there:⁴⁹

"... the whole of the paupers suffering from accidents and acute diseases are now being treated with the sick Convicts who are in occupation of the building erected from the funds of the late Pork Farm, which building is in juxtaposition with the Convict Jail and the only place available for their reception. The effect of this must be deleterious to the morals of the Paupers treated there and decidedly obnoxious to the better class of those necessitated to resort there for medical aid. Under these circumstances, I very respectfully recommend the removal of the whole of the paupers from their present location to Tan Tock Sing's Hospital and to compensate for the expenses of the Malays and Klings admitted from accidents and acute diseases that the establishment now allowed by Government for the treatment of the above cases may be continued and transferred to Tan Tock Sing's Hospital."

The Governor ended his long despatch by requesting the Bengal Government to approve the re-establishment of the Pork Farm. "... the subscriptions raised for the support of the diseased paupers nearly all of whom we have some little time ago collected in a temporary shed near Tan Tock Sing's Hospital, as prognosticated ... have already been exhausted, and I can confidently state that at an early date the whole of these unfortunate people amounting to 150 in number will be again obliged to resort to the streets and thoroughfares for subsistence."⁴⁹

Appended is a copy of the document signed by Tan Tock Sing on 21st March, 1846, giving over to Government "the Buildings erected at the foot of Pearl's Hill to be used as a General Hospital and Poor House for the reception and

relief of sick, destitute, diseased and decrepit persons of all classes in Singapore." A ceremony was held in the hospital where the signing and delivery of the document took place. It is of interest to note that Tan Tock Sing did not restrict the use of this hospital to Chinese paupers only. This document is of considerable historical interest.⁵⁰

"Know all men by these Presents that whereas I, Tan Tock Sing, Chinese merchant and inhabitant of Singapore, having lately built and erected at my own individual cost and expense, a certain house and offices attached on the base or slope of a certain hill belonging to the Government of the United East India Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies, commonly known by the name 'Pearl's Hill' and situated between the present Military Cantonments and Government Hill of Singapore, and which said House and Premises is situated contiguous to the European Seamen's Hospital likewise built on the base or slope of the said Hill. And whereas it was intended by me the said Tan Tock Sing that the House and Premises should be used as a General Hospital and Poor House for the reception and relief of sick, destitute, diseased and decrepit persons of all classes in Singapore who are unable to earn a livelihood or to obtain the means of subsistence except by public begging in the streets. And whereas I am willing and desirous of giving and making over the said House, buildings and premises unto the said East India Company, they being willing to devise or adopt and apply such means as they shall think most fit to uphold and maintain and otherwise carry into effect the objects and purposes for which the said Premises were erected and built as aforesaid. Now these Presents witness that I the said Tan Tock Sing in consideration of the Premises and diverse other good causes and considerations me thereunto moving, have given granted assigned and made over and by these Presents do freely absolutely and irrevocably give grant assign and make over unto the said East India Company and their successors in the Government of India the said House, buildings, offices and premises to be appropriated and used as a General Hospital and Poor House for the reception and relief of sick, diseased, decrepit and other destitute persons who may be unable to earn a livelihood or

obtain the means of subsistence except by begging in the public streets as aforesaid, and all my estate, right, title, interest, possession, property, claims and demand whatsoever both at law and in equity of in and to the said House, buildings, offices and premises, to have and to hold the same unto the said East India Company and their successors in the Government of India absolutely and forever and for the objects, interests and purposes aforesaid.

In witness wherefore I the said Tan Tock Sing have hereunto set my hand and seal at Singapore aforesaid this twenty first day of March in the year of Christ one thousand eight hundred and forty six.

Signed sealed and delivered by the said Tan Tock Sing in the aforesaid house and building and possession thereof delivered by him to the Hon. Thomas Church Esq., Resident Councillor, on behalf of the said East India Company the day last aforesaid in the presence of

(sd) J. J. Thomson. (sd) TAN TOCK SING
(in Chinese characters)

William Willson.

D. Stewart. LARGE SEAL ”

At this time, the Governor asked for official returns of the paupers in the Shed at Pearl's Hill from the Medical Officer as he wanted to have an accurate picture of the whole situation:⁵¹

“Asylum for the Reception of Sick Paupers established on the 18th October 1845.

No. of men admitted from 18th Oct. 1845 to 20th March 1846	239
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No. of men discharged and absconded	43
—do—	

No. of men died	45
—do—	

No. of men remaining on the 20th March 1846.	151”
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It will be noticed that this asylum was only for men, and that the mortality rate was 18.3% for the 239 patients admitted in five months.

On 23rd March 1846, Capt. Cuppage, the Assistant Resident and one of the founders of the Society which built the Pauper Shed, wrote officially to the Resident Councillor for help as the Society was in debt, the European subscribers having refused to contribute on the grounds that Government had sufficient funds to take over the responsibility:⁵²

“ A Society was formed by the Rev. and Mrs. Moule, Mr. Dunman and myself and subscriptions obtained from the Community by which a shed was erected and for the last six months about 150 Chinese have been supported. I regret to say the funds have never been sufficient to meet the expenses, and at the present moment, the Society is considerably in debt. It was found impossible to limit the number of inmates for on trying to do so, contributors remarked that beggars, etc. were still seen in the streets and declined subscribing without once visiting the institution to ascertain the good that was done.

Besides relieving the Town from such objects, a very considerable improvement has taken place in the case of petty offences which it was almost painful to punish seeing the cause from which they sprung.

On calling on contributors to pay their subscriptions for the present month, the greater number of Europeans declined continuing as members assigning as a reason that there were funds in the hands of Government or that they considered Government bound to assist. I am therefore constrained to request you will do me the favour to submit the subject to the consideration of his Honour the Governor that such steps may be taken as he may see fit to prevent so revolting a necessity as being obliged to return to the former state of things.”

The Governor had already written to Bengal on this subject when he recommended the re-establishment of the Pork Farm. However, in April 1846, he wrote again, reiterating that “ the means of subsisting these unfortunate people for the time they were under treatment were furnished by the Community, but I grieve to say these means are gradually being withdrawn. The short trial, however, of having an institution in which these people can receive medical care and attention has proved how much may be done to alleviate the sufferings of some, and to ensure the permanent cure of others”⁵³

Progress in the building of Tan Tock Sing's Hospital was slow, and the public also knew that there were no funds to maintain it. The Singapore Free Press asked on 20th August 1846, “ By the bye, when is the Chinese Pauper Hospital to be opened? It has been long on hand. Can anyone inform us if any provision

has been made for its expenditure after it is opened?"⁵⁴ And again on 7th January 1847, "...The Chinese Hospital still remains *in statu quo*, and we suppose will not be opened until funds are provided for the support of the unfortunate objects who are to be benefited by it. . . ."⁵⁵

The Bengal Government also took their own time to reply to the Governor's request for funds. In Singapore, every means was tried to obtain funds. On 21st January 1847, a Court order⁵⁶ was obtained to invest the \$2000/- bequeathed by Chan Cheng San (Chan Chan Sang) in January 1844, "pending the nomination of Trustees to the said hospital. Under existing circumstances, there is no person in a position or authorised to receive and appropriate the legacy to the object intended by the Testator".

"In the Court of Judicature of Prince of Wales Island,
Singapore and Malacca.

Thursday, the 21st day of January, 1847.

LARGE In open Court.

SEAL Present

The Honourable Thomas Church, Esq.,
Resident Councillor.

In the goods of Chan Cheng San, Deceased. On the application of Mr. James Guthrie, sole executor of the last will and the testament of the above-named Chan Cheng San deceased and on the representation of the Senior Sworn Clerk to the Registrar that the said James Guthrie as such executor as aforesaid has paid into his hands the sum of Two Thousand Spanish Dollars (\$2000/-) being the amount of a certain pecuniary legacy bequeathed under the will of the said Deceased to the House or Building erected at Singapore by Tan Tock Sing to be used as a Chinese Hospital or Poor House, it is ordered that the said Senior Sworn Clerk do pay into the hands of the Accountant-General of the Court the said sum of Two Thousand Spanish Dollars and that the said Accountant-General do receive the same and do lay out and invest the same and every part thereof at interest in the '5 percent loan' of the 'Bengal Government Securities' and do keep an account of the same to the credit of the said Chinese Hospital to abide the further orders of this Court.

Witness: the Honourable William John Butterworth, Esq., Governor of Prince of Wales Island, Singapore and Malacca, this 21st day of January in the year of our Lord 1847.

By the Court.
(sd.) H. C. Caldwell.
For the Registrar. "

Mr. Tan Tock Sing on 11th February 1847 wrote to the Resident Councillor, "I have the honour to inform you that the Pauper Hospital is finished and I am willing to deliver it up to your hands."⁵⁷ Two weeks later, on 27th February 1847, the Governor sent a despatch to the Bengal Government to inform them about the Court Order and Tan Tock Sing's Hospital, taking the opportunity also to request some action on the proposals he had made a year previously:⁵⁸

"... The plan of the Hospital and the Deed transferring the building to Government with the draft of an Act for establishing a Pork Farm to support the Institution, and Regulations for conducting the same, were submitted in my letter under date the 16th March 1846, No. 46, to which I earnestly solicit the attention of Government.

The pittance now granted by the liberality of the public is barely adequate to afford a sufficient quantity of rice for the subsistence of these paupers who have been detained in a temporary shed... whilst a supply of strengthening food, the necessary adjunct to the medicines supplied, is entirely out of the question with the small and diminishing means available.

The Hospital is a noble building for this small Settlement and I trust, will not long be allowed to remain vacant for want of funds, which might be at once forthcoming in the manner proposed in my letter dated the 16th March last, to the infinite satisfaction of the whole community of each and every denomination."

There was no reply from the Bengal Government until 1849 after much criticism and agitation by the Grand Jury in 1847 and 1848 (see below), and even that was just to say that the matter was under consideration!

The old Pauper Hospital continued to be used as an acute hospital. Two cases of Hydrophobia were admitted in April 1847.⁵⁹

In the meanwhile, the Editor of the Singapore Free Press was kept busy answering queries about Tan Tock Sing's Hospital:

"... Is the Chinese Pauper Hospital finished? I am told it is and has been placed in the hands of Government sometime, but I cannot believe this as the attap shed is still in existence at the foot of Pearl's Hill, and sick and diseased Chinese are becoming daily more numerous in our streets.... This subject reminds me of the Pork Farm...."⁶⁰

To which he replied, "The Chinese Hospital has been completed and handed over by Tan Tock Sing to the Executive authorities of Government, but we suppose they are rather non-plussed how to provide funds for its support...."⁶⁰ And again,

"... The Pork Farm grievance is another matter of consequence which involves the anomaly of the poor and diseased Chinese only being saved from dying in the streets by the benevolent exertions of a few private individuals, while a large sum collected for their use has been aborted by Government which is also in possession of a splendid hospital presented to them by a Chinese merchant. Towards the endowment of that establishment, it is understood, that a sum of money bequeathed by a deceased Chinese has also been placed in their hands, and the Chinese community have asked for the revival of the Pork Farm as a permanent provision, yet nothing is done...."⁶¹

And the reply, "We believe that this Hospital has not yet been made over to Government as they decline to receive charge of it until it is completed, which it yet requires the expenditure of a few hundreds of dollars to accomplish. This it is said is the reason why there has been an apparently long pause before it is opened for the reception of patients. It is to be hoped that the small sum required for its completion will be forthcoming soon, as well as sufficient funds for its support."⁶¹

In September 1847, a landslip occurred at the rear of Tan Tock Sing's Hospital. This was quite serious for even with extensive operations involving many men, the large mass of earth continued to move forward threatening the stability of the hospital,⁶² and by December of that year the drain surrounding the hospital collapsed.⁶³

Between September 1847 and September 1848, the Grand Jury made three Presentments on the diseased Chinese paupers, Tan Tock Sing's Hospital and the Pork Farm. There was no doubt as to what public opinion was on these matters. The Singapore Government was sympathetic, the Governor in his despatches to Bengal confirmed the views of the Grand Jury and supported their proposals, but his hands were tied. He could not take any action without prior approval from the Bengal Government, and these instructions were long coming. These were the Presentments:

*"September 1847."*⁶⁴

... The Grand Jury present the nuisance of numerous diseased Chinese paupers being allowed to frequent the streets and verandahs of the Town; and who, from their loathsome state, ought to have the active surveillance of the Police as objects of their special care until taken to hospital.

The Grand Jury would further draw the attention of your Lordships to the splendid Pauper Hospital built by Baba Tocksing, a wealthy Chinese merchant, which in the absence of an adequate fund to support it is useless, and it is with the view of carrying out the benevolent object of the Hospital in question that the Grand Jury recommend the re-establishment of the Pork Farm as the best means of meeting the wants of the many destitute and diseased Chinese who are daily to be found in the streets.

The Grand Jury are of opinion that a Pork Farm would not be objected to by the Chinese, who are the principal consumers of pork. Indeed, it is known to some of the gentlemen of the Grand Jury that about two years ago, the Chinese inhabitants petitioned Government to restore the Pork Farm for the purpose referred to...."

*"May 1848."*⁶⁵

... The Jurors present the number of diseased Chinese who are daily to be found on the streets and suggest that the Police be directed to provide for their wants by taking them to the Pauper Hospital. The Jurors further present that the New Pauper Hospital built by Baba Tocksing for the benefit of his countrymen remains unoccupied, although it was made over to the Executive as far back as October 1847. The

present temporary building, the Jurors are of opinion, is but ill-adapted to afford the comforts so necessary to invalids, and they recommend that it be abandoned and the new Hospital be occupied in its stead. . . .”

“September 1848.⁶⁶

. . . . The Jurors present as a nuisance the custom of allowing diseased paupers to infest the settlement by being daily abroad in the streets of the Town, and notwithstanding the animadversions of former Grand Juries, no attempt appears to be made by the Police or the Executive to confine them to the Hospital appropriated for them. The Jurors further present that the shed used as a temporary hospital for diseased paupers is totally unfit for such purposes and recommend that it be pulled down forthwith and the pauper patients removed to the new hospital built for their benefit by their countryman, Baba Tocksing. It is quite unaccountable to the Jurors what motive the Local Authorities can have for persisting in their refusal to occupy this hospital after having received over charge from the donor as far back as October 1847, after, as the Jurors are informed, being in part instrumental in inducing Baba Tocksing to incur an outlay of \$7000/- in the construction of the hospital. . . .”

The Governor sent the Grand Jury's Presentments without fail to Bengal with his commendations and comments:

“I fully concur with the remarks of the Grand Jury regarding the numbers of diseased paupers which infest the streets and verandahs of the Town, and would most earnestly but respectfully solicit attention to the several communications, more especially to the draft of a proposed Act submitted with my letter under date the 16th March 1846 for the re-establishment of the Pork Farm with certain regulations for managing the funds thereby realised, which has met with the unanimous approval of all classes of the community. There is nothing which startles a foreigner more on first coming to Singapore than these objects, and the want of funds from the most generous Government in the world to give effect to the munificent liberality of a private individual, Tan Tock Sing, by whom a splendid building for their reception has been erected on the outskirts of the Town

and in the most eligible situation. The Grand Jury have again and again urged the question on the notice of the Judges of Her Majesty's Court of Judicature. The Public have uplifted their voices and the judicial and executive authorities have supported the motion, whilst one and all are prepared and earnestly solicitous of the imposition of the tax proposed at the three settlements which without being onerously felt by the poorer classes, would ensure a revenue ample sufficient to meet all expenses.

I feel assured if the Honourable the Deputy Governor will spare time to take this question into his liberal consideration, the proposed Act will meet with his support. . . . Tan Tock Sing's Hospital is all that could be desired. The building is completed and nicely fitted up with benches. All that remains to be done is to afford the means of supporting the sick, and as previously observed, all classes are clamorous for a slight tax on swine's flesh to meet this end.”⁶⁷
 “. . . I have written much on this subject . . . (7 letters between 1843 and 1847) that I hardly know how to urge the question more strongly on the notice of Government without appearing pertinacious, but suffering humanity demands that I should here repeat. . . .”⁶⁸

“. . . I have ventured to recommend the re-establishment of the Pork Farm under more liberal Regulations than previously obtained and have from time to time written so much on this subject. . . .”⁶⁹

“The subject of providing for the support of the destitute and diseased paupers now huddled together in a shed for want of means to locate them in the handsome Building erection by Tan Tock Sing for this express purpose, is indeed an evil to which I would again, as I have previously done . . . draw the attention of Government, and I do now most earnestly entreat the Honourable the Deputy Governor to pass his orders on this question with a view to some other plan being adopted, should there be any objection to the draft Act . . . which I beg to recommend believing that it is not only suited to the purpose but that it will be most acceptable to all classes of the community. . . .”⁷⁰

The Local Government, however, was the scapegoat and received all the censure from the

public and Press. "... Unless Government comes forward to second the efforts of the Chinese Merchant (Seah Eu Chin) who has been the principal support of these unfortunate creatures for some time past. This he has been doing under the impression that the Pork Farm would be resumed and he will be repaid part of the outlay."⁷¹ "... Diseased Chinese still abound in the streets and no measures appear to have been taken for appropriating Tan Tock Sing's Hospital to the use for which it was intended. It still remains a striking monument of misplaced confidence."⁷²

And what was the reply from Bengal after all the letters from the Governor, Presentments by the Grand Jury and petitions by the inhabitants? A reply which indicated that the matter had been shelved, had not even been studied all these years. On 5th January 1849, the Bengal Government wrote:⁷³

"This subject (Pauper Hospital) is one which His Honour considers deserving the serious attention of the Government, and he has therefore directed that the whole of the correspondence connected with it be laid before the Supreme Government for its consideration and orders. The result will be made known to you in due course."

At least, when the Grand Jury raised this matter again in their next Presentment on 17th April 1849, Governor Butterworth could authoritatively say, "... The question of providing means for the support of the Pauper Hospital is now before the Government, and I will not fail again to direct attention to the subject."⁷⁴ This he did on 23rd May 1849,⁷⁵ and he received the same reply that the matter was under the consideration and orders of the Government of India.⁷⁶

On 6th October, 1849, the Bengal Government wrote to Singapore, enclosing a copy of a letter from the Government of India dated 22nd September 1849, for information and compliance.⁷⁷ There was no question of re-establishing the Pork Farm. The authorities in the Straits were requested to explore the possibilities of supporting the Pauper Hospital under the Municipal Act which had just been passed. The draft Act to prevent immigration of diseased paupers would be considered separately and Tan Tock Sing's public-spiritedness was officially acknowledged.

"... The President-in-Council observes that Pork Farms did once exist in the Straits

Settlements, ... and they were abolished because they were found to press only on one class, the Chinese, ... that the Poor Houses were not limited to the reception of Chinese who did not even form a majority of the inmates, ... that the proceeds of the tax were not even expended solely on the Poor Houses, but went in part into the general resources of the Government.

Although Colonel Butterworth in recommending the revival of the Pork Farm, has very properly proposed to remove the distinction which formerly existed in favour of Europeans, and although the inhabitants generally of the Straits Settlements are stated to be themselves agreeable to the re-establishment of the monopoly, the President-in-Council cannot overlook the well-founded objections that exist in this mode of taxation. Pork appears to be the staple animal food of the poorer classes in the Straits and any project for placing it in a state of monopoly in order to raise a tax for the support of the Poor Houses would, to say the least, be laying the burden of supporting the pauper upon the classes immediately above him instead of upon higher and richer classes.

Since the date of the last letter from Colonel Butterworth on this subject, Act IX of 1848 has been passed, which has given the authorities in the Straits Settlements powers for levying local taxes for municipal purposes, and the President-in-Council would wish therefore to be informed before proceeding further in the consideration of the question now under notice, whether the maintenance of Poor Houses cannot be provided for out of the funds which may be levied under the Act.

His Honour-in-Council proposes to take into consideration separately the draft Act for preventing the immigration of diseased and decrepit paupers into the Straits Settlements.

I am directed to express the high sense of admiration with which the President-in-Council has viewed the public spirit and benevolence evinced by Tan Tock Sing. It is not probable that any expression of commendation on the part of the Government can give this liberal-minded gentleman so much satisfaction as he will be able to derive from the practical and visible effects of his

humane and judiciously-applied charity, but his Honour-in-Council would desire nevertheless that the sentiment of the Supreme Government respecting him may be conveyed to him in fitting terms. . . .” (The letter of commendation was sent to Tan Tock Sing on 30th November 1849, see below).

In Singapore, attempts were still made to solicit funds from the public to maintain the paupers. Mr. Louis Jackson, the Assistant Resident, wrote to the two newspapers asking them to support his proposal to have a Poor's Box at the Police Office:⁷⁸

“I beg to inform you that I am about to establish at the Police Office, a Poor's Box such as there is at every Magistrate's Office in London, for the relief of the needy and destitute persons who are frequently brought before the Magistrates.

These persons, generally Chinese, are often in a state of disease which unfits them for work and sometimes are strangers to the place, without friends and unable at the moment to obtain money. A trifling alms seasonably bestowed will often save such people from the temptation of crime, which besets starvation and idleness combined. And similarly a small sum will support for several days a wretched object whom sickness debars from seeking a livelihood by labour, while we forbid him from wandering in search of charity.

I earnestly beg the favour of your support in procuring through the aid of your columns any contributions for so desirable an object.”

The Editor of the Free Press wrote, “. . . . There can be no doubt that much destitution prevails in Singapore for the relief of which no provision either legal or voluntary exists, and we therefore cordially recommend Mr. Jackson's benevolent project to the favourable attention of our local readers. . . .”⁷⁸

The Straits Times' Editor's call was more impassioned:

“. . . . The evils pointed out by Mr. Jackson are forced upon our attention and demand public sympathy. The forlorn and wretched state of many of the Chinese is a crying evil, and the absence of timely relief must obviously drive them to the commission of crime. The suggestion however is not new, since in 1845 we published the following

appeal to the community to relieve the urgent necessities of the class of persons for whom our assistance and co-operation is now enlisted by Mr. Jackson. (see above, Straits Times, 23.9.1845). . . .

But no sooner was it ascertained that public sympathy had responded to the call to relieve suffering humanity than numbers of strong-limbed and stout-hearted paupers flocked from the neighbouring settlements. . . . To such an extent indeed was the abuse carried out that not only paupers from the Dutch settlements, but also maimed and diseased beggars were brought from China in the junks for the express purpose of becoming recipients of our bounty. . . . the object of Mr. Jackson's appeal to the benevolent, and so far the suggestion has our most hearty and cordial co-operation, but we cannot overlook the desirableness of providing means for the re-shipment to China of the vagrants so shamefully foisted upon us. . . .

It is now fully 30 years since the first formation of the Settlement at Singapore, but still up to this hour, no settled provision is made for the poor, no refuge exists for the destitute. . . .”⁷⁹

But some divine intervention was coming to the aid of the paupers whom their fellow beings in Singapore were unable to help because of bureaucratic red-tape in India. On 11th October 1849, Assistant Surgeon Traill reported to his superior, Senior Surgeon Oxley, that the Pauper Shed was in a rickety state:⁸⁰

“I have the honour to bring to your notice the unsafe state of the Chinese Pauper Shed, the props of which have inclined considerably since the heavy gales of wind that have occurred during the last week. I beg you will bring the circumstances to the notice of the Authorities in order that measures may be taken to secure the safety of the inmates.”

Oxley in forwarding this letter to the Resident Councillor recommended that it was not worth repairing the shed and that instead the paupers should be removed to Tan Tock Sing's Hospital.⁸⁰

Two weeks later, the Pauper Shed was blown down by another storm and the Authorities were compelled to move the paupers into Tan Tock Sing's Hospital. The Straits Times noted with glee that

"The Pauper Shed at Pearl's Hill was blown down a night or two ago and the paupers have been placed in Baba Tocksing's Hospital, so that what Public Petitions and Presentments of Grand Juries have failed to force on the Authorities, Dame Nature has accomplished!"⁸¹

This unexpected happening, however, posed formidable medical and administrative problems for the Senior Surgeon. There was no Staff. There was no water supply at the hospital. The drainage around the hospital was inadequate. The paupers were incompatible with gracious living in their new abode. They were dirty, were vandals and defaecated all over the place.

Soon after the transfer of the paupers into Tan Tock Sing's Hospital, the Senior Surgeon made a tour of inspection and submitted his report to the Resident Councillor with his observations and suggestions:⁸²

"... The first thing that will naturally strike a person visiting this commodious and handsome building is the extreme incongruity between the inmates and the tenement. In an attap shed put up as a temporary arrangement this was not so manifest, but now the dirty ragged clothes, filthy mats and general squalid appearance of the paupers is in strong contrast to the clean substantial building, which if immediate means be not taken to prevent it, will very soon become as dirty and filthy as its present inmates. I observed this morning the terrace in front of the hospital had been used as a place of easement during the night, and several wretched cripples were crawling up and down the nicely turfed bank already defaced by them for the purpose of washing their sores at the bottom, there being no supply of water at the hospital itself. When I expostulated with the peon upon allowing the patients to dirty about in the manner already alluded to, he declared that it was quite impossible for one man to watch 130 persons. I will not at present enter into the detail of the many requirements necessary to render this an efficient and respectable institution, being fully aware of the inability of his Honour to accede to them; but I would offer the following suggestions as likely in some measure to assist until funds be provided to allow of more extended arrangements. At present, there are attached to what is called the Pauper Hospital or more properly the Police Hospital, one

peon, one dresser and three local convicts as sweepers. The number of patients at present is nine. If these were transferred to one of the wards of Tan Tock Sing's Hospital to be hereafter set apart as a Police Hospital, the peon and dresser might be transferred with them and Apprentice Sim who has already acquired some knowledge of medicine could also do duty as an Assistant Apothecary under the supervision of Mr. Debeaux who will be near enough to look after him.

With the view of obtaining water, a trough might be laid from a spring said to exist between Tan Tock Sing's Hospital and the Apothecary's quarters. By sinking a well and having a man to fill the trough, men might wash their sores behind the hospital, the water being led off by the present large drain. What I have suggested will not interfere with any future arrangements and would appear to offer some amendment on the present state of affairs."

To make matters worse, one local prisoner employed as a sweeper at the hospital escaped as it was not possible for the medical orderly to keep an eye on him all the time. This caused the Superintendent of Convicts to propose to the Resident Councillor that "the Medical Officer be instructed to procure other assistance for maintaining cleanliness about the hospital as I am convinced that it cannot be effected by means of local prisoners without constant loss or the imposition of fetters."⁸³

The problem of the bad drainage was tackled also on an *ad hoc* basis and this did not prove an unqualified success. Water had been accumulating in the drain around the hospital due to the topography of the ground and also due to all sorts of rubbish being thrown into it by the patients. The drain was also used as a latrine by them. A trench was excavated in the rear of the hospital so that the water might be discharged at the back of the Apothecary's quarters. "This however will only form a partial alleviation of the evil unless conjoined with a strict system of hospital discipline whereby the patients may be absolutely prohibited from depositing their cast-off poultices and bandages in the brick drain as is now frequently the case. While this practice obtains the most carefully devised scheme of drainage must necessarily fail of success."⁸⁴

After a while, there was another complaint from the Medical Officers:

"... fluid impurities flow into it and there remain forming an accumulation of decomposing filth within two feet of the hospital walls. The stench continually arising from it is intolerable, two of the patients have within the last three days been attacked by Intermittent Fever which may perhaps be ascribed to this cause. However, as it is known that much more formidable diseases do arise from even slighter causes, I beg to urge strongly that the present drain be immediately filled up, pending the construction of one of more convenient kind."⁸⁵
 "... The new drain lately dug behind the Apothecary's quarters, being formed in soft clay, retains the filth and is particularly offensive. In fact, if some decided measures be not speedily adopted, the place will soon become a perfect Augean Stable of filth."⁸⁵

The next article in this series will describe how attempts were made to overcome the almost insuperable odds in solving the financial, administrative and medical problems facing Tan Tock Sing's Hospital.

This article will end with a letter from Governor Butterworth⁸⁶ to Tan Tock Sing and his reply,⁸⁷ in which amongst other things, fond hopes were entertained that means would be found to make the hospital viable.

"To Tan Tock Sing, Esq., Singapore.

Sir,

I have very frequently endeavoured to convey to you personally my sense of the munificent and philanthropic liberality which induced you to erect the capacious and substantial hospital now bearing your name for the reception of your diseased and destitute countrymen. But I have always felt that the expressions of my thanks for your benevolence and gratuitous consideration for the pressing wants of the miserable objects which infest our streets were inadequate to the occasion.

I now perform a most pleasing duty in furnishing you with the extract of a despatch from the Government of India communicating their sentiments on the public spirit you have displayed. Although I am assured that your own generous nature will experience greater gratification by observing the

benefit derived from your liberality than aught that could be written on the subject.

I wish that I could add anything satisfactory regarding funds for the maintenance of your hospital but I do not despair on this point, and in the meantime, I trust that your rich brethren will co-operate with us and that liberal-spirited gentleman Eu Chin (to whose assistance we are so much indebted) in supplying the means of furnishing the miserable inmates of your charitable institution with food and clothing.

W. J. Butterworth.

30th November, 1849."

" I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 308, dated 30th November 1849, handing me an Extract of a letter from the Secretary to the Government of India to the address of the Secretary to the Government of Bengal dated 22nd September 1849. (see above)

In erecting the hospital which now bears my name I need hardly say that the object was the relief of my diseased and destitute countrymen, and I think you will pardon me for saying that I was in a great degree incited to this from witnessing the desire your Honour has so generally shown since your arrival here to further works of a charitable description.

I now beg to thank you for the very flattering expressions conveyed in your letter handing me the Extract already alluded to, and beg you will do me the favour to convey to the Secretary to the Government of India the deepest sense I entertain of the compliment thus paid me.

I regret to learn that funds for the maintenance of the hospital have not yet been satisfactorily provided and sincerely hope that your Honour's expectations on this head may not be disappointed.

TAN TOCK SING
 (in Chinese). "

The Governor's letter and the Extract were published in the Singapore Free Press of 7th December 1849, and the Editor commented, "The annexed letter and the extract accompanying it must be highly gratifying to the gentleman to whom it is addressed, and we have no doubt his benevolent feelings would be still more

gratified were he to see some certain and permanent provision made for the support of the institution which bears his name."⁸⁸

APPENDIX

Draft Act, 1843¹⁵

An act for establishing a Poor House in the Island of Singapore and for raising a fund for the support and maintenance of the inmates thereof and for framing rules and regulations for the control and management of the same.

1. Whereas the public roads and streets are infested with numbers of Chinese and other Asiatic inhabitants of the Town and Island of Singapore in a state of extreme destitution, and by reason of the diseased and loathsome conditions of their persons occasioning great inconvenience and annoyance to the community at large, and whereas it is necessary to devise some means for the relief of the individuals themselves and also for the removal of the nuisance to the public.

2. It is hereby enacted that the Chief Civil Authority exercising the functions of the Governor of the Settlement of Prince of Wales Island, Singapore and Malacca shall and may cause a suitable building to be erected in the island of Singapore for the reception of paupers being Asiatics.

3. And it is hereby enacted that the said Chief Civil Authority shall from time to time as he may see fit, frame rules and regulations for the lodging, keeping and maintaining of the inmates of the said building, with liberty to nominate and appoint a Committee composed of not less than five members chosen indifferently from any of the principal householders of the said island to be called the "Committee of Management of the Singapore Poor House", and which committee when so appointed shall make all necessary contracts, hire servants and do all such other acts as by the said rules and regulations shall be required to be done.

4. And it is hereby enacted that the said Chief Civil Authority shall and may fill up vacancies in the said committee and if necessary remove a member thereof and appoint another in his room.

5. And, whereas it is expedient to provide funds for upholding the said building and supporting the inmates thereof, it is hereby enacted that it shall be lawful and the said Committee are hereby required to levy 3% per annum on

the rent or value of the immovable property of all persons being of the same nation or country to which the different paupers may belong in proportion to the number of each particular class of paupers to be provided for during the current year and the probable amount of expenditure for and on account of each distinct class so that persons of any one nation or country shall only be compelled to contribute towards the expense of lodging, keeping and maintaining the paupers belonging to that nation or country, provided always and it is hereby enacted that no such property as aforesaid shall be assessed at a higher rate than 3% per annum without expressed permission be first obtained under the hand and signature of the said Chief Civil Authority.

6. And it is hereby enacted that the rental or valuation of the property so to be assessed and levied on as the aforesaid shall be ascertained and fixed by the said committee once in every year and not oftener.

7. And it is hereby enacted that upon the application of any two members of the said committee, the Chairman being one, to any Magistrate or Justice of the Peace, such Magistrate or Justice shall and is hereby required to exercise the same power of enforcing the payment of any sum or sums of money that may be due and owing under this Act as he is required to exercise against defaulters under section 10 of Act XII of 1839.

8. And it is hereby enacted that the same means shall be adopted for the recovery and realisation of such sum or sums of money aforesaid as are pursued in like cases under and by virtue of the said Act XII of 1839.

9. And it is hereby enacted that from and after the day on which the said committee shall have been formed, it shall be lawful and the Superintendent of Police is hereby required to prohibit poor and diseased persons, who are the special objects of the provisions of this Act, from begging, sitting, walking or in any way exposing their persons in the streets, roads and thoroughfares in the Town and Island of Singapore.

10. And in order to provide against the refusal of any such person to attend to the said prohibition or to allow himself or herself to be removed to the said Poor House, it is hereby enacted that the Superintendent of Police shall represent such refusal to the nearest Magistrate or Justice of the Peace who is hereby empowered

to enforce the said prohibition by committing the offender to the House of Correction for any period not exceeding two months provided always that if the said offender be willing to avail himself or herself of the Asylum for Paupers he or she shall be at liberty to do so.

11. And be it further enacted that the words nation or country as used in Clause 5 of this Act with reference to persons shall be taken for all the purposes of this Act to mean persons of the same denomination as regards religion and as regards country to mean persons from the same part of Asia.

12. And it is hereby enacted that the several provisions of this Act or so many as may be deemed desirable shall at the discretion of the said Chief Civil Authority exercising the functions of Governor of the Settlement of Prince of Wales Island, Singapore and Malacca be extended to any station or place within the limits of the same Settlement.

Abbreviations used:

S.S.R. = Straits Settlements Records (1800-1872). Microfilm. National Library Holdings, Singapore.

S.F.P. = Singapore Free Press. Microfilm. National Library Holdings, Singapore.

S.T. = Straits Times. Microfilm. National Library Holdings, Singapore.

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74. S.F.P., 26.4.1849.
75. S.S.R., R.18.(281). 23.5.1849.
76. S.S.R., S.16.(131). 22.8.1849.
77. S.S.R., S.16.(147). 6.10.1849.
78. S.F.P., 12.10.1849.
79. S.T., 16.10.1849.
80. S.S.R., BB.78.(27). 12.10.1849.
81. S.T., 30.10.1849.
82. S.S.R., BB.78.(80). 26.10.1849.
83. S.S.R., BB.78.(93). 8.11.1849.
84. S.S.R., BB.78.(102). 51.11.1849.
85. S.S.R., BB.78.(124). 27.11.1849.
86. S.S.R., V.15.(189). 30.11.1849.
87. S.S.R., W.14.(324). 3.12.1849.
88. S.F.P., 7.12.1849.