



Agreement on a new Constitution for Singapore by which the present British colony will attain internal independence as a State within the Commonwealth some time after January 1, 1958, was signed in Lancaster House, London, on April 11 by Mr. Alan Lennox-Boyd, Colonial Secretary, and Mr. Lim Yew Hock, Chief Minister of Singapore. This article describes the circumstances in which the Colony was founded by the great free statesman

RAFFLES of SINGAPORE

By F. T. HODGKISS

SIR STAMFORD RAFFLES, known as the founder of Singapore, was born in 1781. At 14 he entered the London employment of the East India Company where for ten years he was desk companion of the famous Charles Lamb. He advanced rapidly and eventually was appointed to serve the company in Penang.

To forestall Napoleon, and only after strong representations by Raffles, Britain seized Java which later was restored to the Dutch after Napoleon's downfall.

From October, 1811, to March, 1816, Raffles acted as Java's British Governor. He found Java a land that had been exploited cruelly by the Dutch company. Conscription of man-power for labour battalions and armed services had drawn one-quarter of the male population, and in the 22 years of Dutch control over one million lives had been taken by an army whose principal duties were to suppress their fellow Javanese. Typical of the stupendous tasks assigned to enforced labour was the construction of an 800-mile military road through the Javanese jungle, and to supplement the native labour the Dutch imported slaves from Bali and other nearby islands. All trade was channelled through the Dutch company, a practice the foreign masters enforced by the death penalty. A fixed wage scale compelled men to carry a hundred-weight 60 miles for one-half cent a mile—for which, incidentally, the Dutch in Europe received 22 cents. Heavy import duties burdened every article—internal duties of 47 per cent, poll tax, market tolls, buffalo tax, licences and divers penalties, restrictions and prohibitions.

On taking office Raffles proclaimed: "The duties of government are to uphold the weak, to put down lawless

force, to sustain the honour of British good faith and to establish humane institutions." In the sphere of his service Raffles made practical these ideals. In a few years he had effected a social revolution. He eliminated feudal service and made chattel slavery a felony. He abolished tyranny, torture in courts of law, and instituted trial by jury. Free Trade was his policy and his means. He wiped out transit duties and had port dues reduced from 46 per cent to 10 per cent. Once, following a demand by the Indian administration for money to be used in the defence of Java, Raffles did raise the revenue from this source. However, the revenue for the administration of Java was collected solely from the rent of land. His expressed sentiments were: "The rent of these lands was to constitute the one regular form of taxation in lieu of all the varied obligations of the old system. I conceived that a fair equivalent for the old burdens was two-fifths of the first rice crop, leaving the second crop and the fruit trees and the gardens free from assessment, the cultivator free from personal taxes and the inland trade unrestricted and untaxed." In his own words, the land system Raffles introduced had for its object: "Justice to individuals, the improvement of mankind, and the prosperity of the government founded on the mutual advantage of the people."

He paid tribute to his subordinates' help in the internal administration. "They felt," he said, "the honour and character of the British nation prompted them above every selfish consideration and in the short time of six months enabled me to effect a revolution which two centuries of Dutch administration could scarcely dream." The amount of the rent of land was agreed upon by each cultivator and

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accepted "not only with readiness but with gratitude." One of the most quickly discerned social effects of Raffles' policy was the increase in the native birth rate and those families that had fled to the mountains for security of person and property returned to become again tillers of the soil.

About the time Raffles relinquished Java to the Dutch he sent out a commission to ascertain the results of the fiscal programme. The commission commented on the ease of collecting revenues under the amended system and certified its "beneficial effects in encouraging the extension of industry, agricultural pursuits, securing tranquillity and diminishing criminal activities." Later Raffles was able to say: "With peculiar satisfaction we see the Dutch Government sanctions what we have done and gives our regulations permanency." The investigating commission, be it known, was Dutch!

Unfortunately, not long after, the Dutch resumed their policy of excluding others from every mart and island, their one aim monopoly and exploitation. They jockeyed for control of the Straits of Malacca, hoping to shut out all other nations from the route to China and Japan except on terms they could enforce. They were on the brink of succeeding in this attempt when Raffles, who understood the import of their actions, obtained permission from the Crown to secure a port south of Malacca. "Our object," he said, "is not territory but trade." ONE free port in these seas must eventually destroy the spell of Dutch monopoly. His thoughts were on Singapore Island as the site for this free port. The Dutch suspected as much, for shortly after Raffles arrived they came with presents of guns and an offer of protection to the natives. They were late. In negotiations with native chieftains from each side of the Strait, Raffles obtained this island of 220 square miles.

Raffles appreciated this opportunity to put his ideas into fuller operation. He declared: "I have established a revenue without any tax whatever on trade, which MORE than covers all civil disbursements and which must annually increase in future years while these disbursements should remain the same." Again, "No sinister, no sordid view, no considerations either of political importance or pecuniary advantage should interfere with the broad and liberal principles on which the British interests have been established. Monopoly and exclusive privileges are here unknown. That Singapore will always remain a Free Port and that no taxes on trade or industry will be established to check its further rise and prosperity I can have no doubt." "Education must keep pace with commerce in order that its benefits may be insured and its evils avoided. However inviting and extensive the resources of a country may be they can best be drawn forth by the native energies of the people themselves. If commerce brings wealth to our shores it is the spirit of literature and philanthropy that teaches us how to employ them for the noblest uses.

Photograph of the Sir Stamford Raffles monument in Westminster Abbey by courtesy of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster. Copyright reserved.

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Let it still be the boast of Britain to write her name in characters of light; if the time shall come when her empire shall pass away, these monuments will endure when her triumphs shall have become an empty name. I am sanguine in my hope that Singapore will stand foremost in effecting that grand object of Christian civilisation."

Sir Stamford Raffles died in 1827.

Since then, Raffles' principles have been abandoned bit by bit. A great part of the soil is still held at a rental, but only a few millions in public revenue are derived from land rent, the bulk coming from customs duties, impositions, licences, salt monopoly, etc. Before the Great War of 1914-1918 only four imports were taxed—opium, tobacco, petrol and liquor. More commodities have been added since then. It must be admitted that an effort has been made to adhere to Raffles' instructions to secure to each person "the indisputable possession of the spot he was allowed to occupy." The somewhat unsatisfactory result may be attributed to the delinquency in assessing land. Yet, however lacking in perfection Singapore's land policy is, the democratic nations of the world might note that great numbers of Chinese and Malays (nearly 42,000,000, over three times the population of New York State, in an area somewhat larger than New York State) enjoy life and pursue industry under laws and fiscal policies more just than those of the democracies.

Buried at Hendon, Middlesex, are the remains of Raffles, but graven on the base of a marble statue in Westminster Abbey appear the sentiments of the British Empire: "By wisdom, vigour and philanthropy, he raised Java to happiness and prosperity unknown under former rulers. He founded an emporium at Singapore where he established freedom of person as the right of the soil and freedom of trade as the right of the Port. He secured to the British flag the maritime superiority of the Eastern Seas. Promoting the welfare of the people committed to his charge he sought the good of his country and the glory of his God."

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"TOLSTOY AND THE SINGLE TAX

In an article on "The Wars and Peace of Leo Tolstoy" published in the current British issue of *Reader's Digest*, the following passage appears:

"Tolstoy urged a 'single tax'—a tax on land only. In Russia, where vast landholdings were the basis of the nobility's wealth, the single tax would have forced the noblemen to break up their estates and distribute the land to the peasants. The suggestion was met with angry horror by the Czar and government and Tolstoy's own ruling class."

Author of the article is Donald Culross Peattie. It appeared in the U.S. April issue. Later this year we hope to be able to find space to publish an article, translated from the French, containing correspondence between Tolstoy and the then Russian Premier, and between Tolstoy and Henry George.