

A SMALL EUROPEAN COMMUNITY IN COLONIAL PENANG IN THE 1800s

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Introduction

Penang was occupied by the English East India Company towards the end of the eighteenth century. Through the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries Penang grew into an important port in the Straits of Melaka serving traders and merchants for the intra-Asian trade. The demographic pattern of early Penang consisted of Malays, immigrants from the Asian communities (Indian and Chinese), the European settlers and the mix-groups (*Jawi Pekan*). Living in a far away land for the Europeans males was quite a hard time. Loneliness was one of the major factors that made life very difficult especially to the white males in the Far East. Since the majority of the Europeans were males therefore the concubinary arrangements with local women were considered preferable, although, there was also a small European community in the port town¹. The aim of this paper is to highlight the social life of the European men and women and their families in early Penang. How the European settlers carry themselves in a small European community within a larger Asian environment. In addition the paper will also discuss the relationship between European men who "married" or were living together with native women and at the same time having a family. Questions such as whether there were any differences between the white and coloured spouse in terms of inheritance and relationship between cross cultural

boundaries will be highlighted and discussed. Whether colour played an important role in determining relationship between the small white population will also be discussed.

A Small European Community in Early Penang

Penang was created at the end of the eighteenth century and its historical past is of a, comparatively, short span. Before the English opened the island as a small English settlement in the Straits of Melaka, the island was almost uninhabited as there was only a small settlement of a few hundred Malays whose history and background are not clearly known and there was no existing foundation on which the English could build an urban centre. Penang was therefore a creation of the English. However, its physical and societal shape and form were less determined by English traditions than by a combination of factors, of which its geographical location and the purpose for its existence were the most important. Located in the northern part of the Straits of Melaka, the main artery in the long established intra-Asian sea trade and serving the purpose of assisting the East India Company to gain control of that trade, Penang developed more in the tradition of other colonial port-towns in Southeast Asia but possessing some unique features of its own.

The European community, mainly English, was very small as befit its position as the rulers and the elite of the society, being made up of Company officials and merchants, traders, businessmen and planters. Although the English administration did not have a policy of separating the ethnic communities, right from the start, the tendency with the different groups was for self-segregation. The majority of the Europeans were found on the northern and western part of the town.²

The majority of the Europeans resided to the west and south of Fort Cornwallis or in the northern part of Penang, in an area towards the fort that was situated close to the administrative centre, at the northern part of Beach Street, north of Penang Street, Light Street, Bishop Street, north of King Street, north of Pitt Street, Penang Road, Farquhar Street and Leith Street. Due to the fact that all the ethnic communities were new to the environment, the cultural contrasts tended to be stark and were more so because many came with no intention of staying permanently in Penang. Thus, they went about their own way, practising their own customs and traditions. This can be clearly seen in the way the European community lived, as we shall see, for while there was some adaptation made to living in the East, both the form and substance in their life style were western.

Most Europeans in Penang were Company officials and their relatives and European merchants and traders. The official community

was small right from the start as it was in charge of a small population. In fact, the inability of the British to establish Penang as a naval base subsequently led to the reduction of European officers working in Penang. The establishment was reduced from a Governor and three Councillors to a Governor and two Councillors and there were retrenchments in the administrative departments.³ Besides, there were not many Europeans in Penang who did not work for the government, and these were mostly traders, merchants, planters and real estate owners. Thus the European community remained small throughout the period under study. In the first twenty five years or so of Penang's opening, Europeans were already overwhelmingly outnumbered by the other communities making up only 1.5% of the total population in 1788 while in 1810 they represented only 0.6% of the total. The small European community was a matter of concern to the administration so that when the English were in Melaka, they also tried, as they did with the Chinese, to entice the European population there to migrate to Penang. In fact those who were willing to leave Melaka were given a cash incentive equivalent to the value of the property they had to leave behind.⁴

Although they were a small minority, the Europeans were the elite of the society and some were among the most wealthy on the island due to their business ventures. In 1806 the Europeans community in Penang owned more than three quarters of the wealth in property compared to the other races in which would have given them an early advantage⁵. They owned some of the choicest land in Penang. The liberal policy of encouraging the merchants and Company servants to own land during Light's administration had made many wealthy. Francis Light, himself, and his friend James Scott and Scott's close associate, David Brown, owned vast areas of land in the town and in the hinterland.⁶

In the early years, particularly, during the administration of Francis Light, his friendship with some of the European merchants, his own background as a country trader and probably the need for as much assistance as possible to develop Penang as a port, gave the European mercantile community the opportunity to have a lot of say in the running of the new settlement, thus increasing their influence in the government and the community. Following the administration of the third Superintendent of Penang, who saw this direct involvement as interference, there appeared to have been some distance between the mercantile community and the government. Nevertheless, this did not affect subsequent relations as co-operation between the two sectors appeared to have been maintained, as we have seen. This was largely due to the fact that many of the European businessmen were former Company servants who probably found that the business opportunities on offer in Penang were more lucrative

and could make them wealthy quicker. Indeed, the career path that a company official had to follow was long and the rise to the top was slow. Many started their careers as writers or store keepers where they remained for six years before they were promoted to the next level, rising up to the position of Junior and Senior Merchants only from the ninth to the eleventh year of holding their job.

The Making of a Community in Early Penang

At the social level, the European community interacted as one group. Although European men always outnumbered the women, Penang's European society, even in the early days, was grounded around family life. Phillip Mannington, who succeeded Francis Light as Superintendent, in 1794, obviously arrived in Penang with his wife and children one of whom, Elizabeth, was married in Penang in 1803 to a Charles Sealy. Francis Light himself was married and had children although his wife was a Eurasian by the name of Martina Rozells (in his will Martina was also named as Nonia Abuy),⁷ a Portuguese-Eurasian from Siam who had migrated to Kedah and subsequently came to Penang.⁸ There is evidence to show that many marriages were carried out in Penang. Among the early marriages besides that of Elizabeth Mannington's was the union between Thomas Burston Peirce, Commander of H.C.S. Taunton Castle and Anna Maria Fearon in 1801. In the second decade many more marriages were seen in the European community so that by the 1820s there were many children growing up in the European residential areas. Writing in 1837, Martin observed that, "...there must have been more European children in Penang in 1822 than there are today. There were many nice homes with boys and girls growing up together".⁹

As was usually the case in a new settlement, single European males, usually of a lower social standing, who came to work there were just as likely to form marriage alliances with Asians or other ethnic groups as they were to keep native mistresses due to the absence of European women of similar standing. A Thomas Layton who was a merchant and owned a slaughter house and farmland, set up home with a Burmese woman, called, Mallo, with whom he had a son, named, George.¹⁰ From the will of Mathew Shepherson, a mariner, it appears that he had a mistress in Melaka with whom he had a few children.¹¹ Another European, Christopher Smith, a botanist and superintendent of the EIC spice plantation, had a child with Rosina who did not appear to be a European.¹² The case of Smith is interesting because from the information given in the will it would seem that Rosina's sister, Elisabeth, might have been his mistress before he lived with the former.

Among the elite, however, mixed marriages were rare. James Scott, Light's friend and an influential merchant who lived in a typical Malay home, dressed like a Malay and spoke the language, might have been co-habiting with a Malay woman. But 'going native' was probably not well accepted among the community and only a wealthy and prominent member of the society, such as Scott, might have been able to challenge the norm with some impunity.¹³

The norm was to preserve the purity of the race intact which meant that in time, familial relations were forged and the Europeans came even closer together through blood and friendship ties. As we have seen, Elizabeth Plamer Mannington, the daughter of Phillip Mannington, the Acting Superintendent after Light's death, who was a wealthy merchant and land owner in the town, was married to Charles Sealy.¹⁴ Phillip Mannington, who died in 1795 and was succeeded by Major Macdonald, had two sons, named Phillip and Robert. Phillip worked as a Second Assistant to the new Superintendent and the Magistrate but died in Penang in 1806. Robert, who also lived on the island, was the Godfather to his sister Elizabeth's son.¹⁵

Besides the Manningtons, the Raffles were also a very well connected family which knew many people in the town.¹⁶ One of the most famous members of this family was of course Sir Stamford Raffles who later obtained Singapore from the Sultan of Johore. Stamford Raffles had a sister in Penang who married Quinton Dick Thompson. They had a son christened as William O'Bryen Drury and his godfathers were Rear Admiral William O'Bryen Drury and Thomas Raffles. However, Quinton Dick Thompson died a few months after his son was baptized. Two years later his widow remarried, this time to Captain Flint in Melaka. Leonora, the younger sister of Stamford Raffles also resided in the town and was married to Billington Loftie, a surgeon.¹⁷

The Bannerman family had a very close relationship with various people in the town.¹⁸ One member of that family, J.H. Bannerman, became the Governor of the island in November 1817. He had a nephew, named Reverend James Patrick Bannerman, who was a clergyman in the Anglican Church. Both of them had a daughter to whom they gave the name, Janet. The daughter of Reverend James Patrick Bannerman was married to Henry Burney, a Lieutenant in the Bengal Army, while the daughter of J.H. Bannerman was married to a member of the Phillips family, who was also one of the senior merchants. The Bannermans were considered an influential family in the town and had nieces and cousins living in Penang.¹⁹

Two other prominent families on the island were the Carnegys and the Caunters. The Carnegys were related by marriage to various people in the town.²⁰ In 1817 Margaret Carnegie, the sister of James

and Patrick Carnegy, married a Mr Clubley who was the owner of Clubley's Hill on the island and who later became the Senior member of the Council of Administration. Another sister, named Mary Alison, was married to John Anderson, a government servant. The town had two Caunter brothers. Their sister, Harriet Georgina, was first married to W. Bennett. After her husband passed away in 1817, however, she married a Mr. Ibbetson who later became Governor of the island. Ibbetson had a sister named Sarah Sparke Caunter who was either the wife of G or R Caunter. Later, when her husband died, she married Captain Thomas Larkins.²¹

However, little is known about the lives and family connections of the early pioneers. Although the famous Scott, Light and Brown families possessed wealth in the town, their family connections with various people in the town is only vaguely known. James Scott had two sons but one of them died at an early age while the other survived until the ripe old age of 83 years.²² The long surviving son, named William, was a philanthropist, well known for his benevolence, hospitality, and charitable works. He had the reputation of being a kind person who had many friends and was well liked in the colony. Unlike his father, James Scott, he had a good relationship with the administration and held several appointments in the East India Company. He was educated at Edinburgh High School and later became a member of the Volunteer Cavalry and Royal Archers of the city of Edinburgh.²³ Most of his inheritance came from his wealthy father, which he later left to the Brown family. He also owned a successful plantation which was the envy of many.²⁴

The members of the Light family did not stay long in the town after their father's death in 1794. His widow, Martina, remarried and one of his sons, named William, pioneered the establishment of the city of Adelaide.²⁵ All his daughters were married to wealthy gentlemen in Madras and Bengal. As for the Brown family members, their activities were not clearly documented. David Brown went into the plantation business but did not survive to see his hard work on his land.²⁶ After his death in 1825, his son was the sole survivor of his estate.²⁷ Not much is known about this son except that he inherited a large spice plantation which was pioneered by his father.

Thus, it can be seen that many families within Penang were interconnected with one another. This human network went beyond the island, covering the wider community of overseas British nationals in all the colonies set up by the EIC. From this big community the Company drew many of its officials, but it also provided a pool of single men and women which made possible ties of marriage which in turn helped to preserve the integrity of the Europeans as a separate social unit.

This social separateness was re-enforced by the distinctive way

of life that they pursued. One area in which the European way of life was perpetuated was in the community's link with the church, as was also the case in Melaka. Although, in sharp contrast to the VOC in Melaka, a strong relationship between the Church and the Company did not exist with the English EIC and in fact the Company's charter prohibited any attempt at spreading religion and giving religious education in the colonies, this did not prevent the European community from exercising their religious rights and making their own provisions for the practice of their religion. Their resourcefulness was quite remarkable in view of the obstacles they faced arising from the charter which took a long time to overcome.²⁸

Challenges to the provision of the Company charter regarding religious proselytizing had been mounted by the English Evangelicals, who were keen to spread the Anglican faith to the EIC colonies, as early as 1793 when they tried, but failed, to change it in the British Parliament. Following that they tried to publicize widely the matter, by drawing public attention, leading finally to the formation of the London Missionary Society in 1795.²⁹ The Society soon tested the East India Company's policy by proposing to send a group of its missionaries to Bengal, but permission for this was refused. In fact it was not until 1813 that the Company's charter was amended so as to permit independent missionary and educational activities in India.³⁰

In the meantime, the European society in Penang could not build a church and had to conduct their activities in makeshift premises. There was also no minister or clergyman for the Anglican faith for some time. As a result, evidence for the activities of the Anglican Church in Penang in the early years is scanty. In 1800, when George Leith was appointed the new Lieutenant-Governor of the island, G. Caunter, who was the First Assistant Secretary, served as the Acting Chaplain for the Anglican faith.³¹ As a Chaplain, Caunter baptized, solemnized marriages, and carried out burial ceremonies for members of the Anglican community in the colony. Thus, the community had to make do with the First Assistant Secretary as their religious leader until 1805 when the first Anglican clergyman, Reverend Atwell Lake, arrived on the island. The first Anglican church, St. George's Church, was built only in 1818, in contrast to the Roman Catholic Church, which was already standing in Church Street long before the Anglicans had their own permanent place of worship.

As the ruling group, the elite of the society and being some of the wealthiest people on the island, the Europeans were able to set a high standard in terms of their way of life, just as the Dutch were able to in Melaka. In Penang, the houses owned by the majority of the Europeans were situated on the northern part of the town and mostly built facing the sea. Those who lived near the harbour were able to enjoy the beautiful view of the harbour and the fort. Most of

the houses were very big, elegant and spacious. A description of one such house is given by John Turnbull Thomson, an Englishman who worked as a surveyor in Penang in 1838 to 1841.³² In his book, *Glimpses into Life in Malayan Lands*, he wrote:

"The house belongs to a merchant and planter. It is situated within the precincts of Penang. It is a pillared and verandahed mansion, with ground and upper floor. Green venetians close in the upper rooms, which admit or close out the shifting breezes, at pleasure. A large red-tiled roof of rigidly plain features covers the whole. Various fruit trees are planted in the enclosure or compound, clean gravel roads lead up to the portico, under which the visitor arrives. The front of the house commands a view of the esplanade, the fort, and the harbour."³³

Penang's European community retained more European characteristics this was probably because the English, who made up the majority of the European population. Perhaps, more importantly, many never envisaged spending the rest of their lives in Penang so that although they were far away from their motherland, it was regarded as very important to maintain their European way of life and culture.

Thus, although the European community worked and lived in the east, their orientation was towards the west. Nowhere was this more obvious than in the way they kept in touch with what was happening in Europe. When they started the publication of the only newspaper available to the community for a long time, the *Prince of Wales Gazette*, 99 per cent of the coverage was about the international scene, particularly, news from Europe and the other English colonies.³⁴ The *Gazette*, published in English twice weekly on Wednesday and Saturday, was the European community's window on the world, as it was the only source of news and information for the merchants and the European community as a whole. Local news consisted of government notifications, general orders and advertisements and law reports. The auction of revenue farms, which was attended by the Governor and members of his Council was also reported, with those who succeeded in the bidding meriting a mention. Social events were also reported, such as when a performance was on at the theatre and a review of it was done. Another activity that was reported in the newspaper was the club meetings of the European community. For example, the monthly meetings of the Prince of Wales Island Club, which were held at Nicoll Tavern were published. After 1818 when the Anglican Church was officially opened, the newspaper also published news regarding the Mass and the activities of the church. In addition, advertisements made by the general European public

such as information about the sale of property and rentals available and announcements of births, deaths, engagements and marriages were also given space in the paper.³⁵ The paper therefore showed little interest about the other communities.

Another example of the way the European style of life was preserved was seen in their attire and the style with which they conducted their social life. Thomson provides a good picture of the Englishness of a dinner at which he was a guest:

“...the party proceeds down stairs and enters the dining hall, where the family silver is spread in its full extent and variety. The visitors now advance solemnly to their respective positions. The ladies seat themselves, and the gentlemen follow. Exquisitely white napkins with fancy bread are laid before each chair. If a clergyman be present, in deference to him, a grace is asked for. Different soups in silver tureens, occupy the ends and middle of the table—mock turtle and mulligatawny being the favourites. The native servants, in their gaudy liveries, advance and stand with folded arms behind their masters and mistresses. Now the soups are served, and the clattering of spoons commences; the ice is broken, and the joke, laugh, and repartee go round”.³⁶

The writer went on to describe the after dinner scene noting that the ladies retired to the drawing-room (on the upper floor) the gentlemen later joining them, presumably after smoking a cigar or having a few drinks. Then coffee and tea were served, followed by a piano recital by a young lady. Later on, a dance commenced, ending at midnight. The scene, minus the native servants, could just as well have occurred in England and although Thomson was describing a dinner he attended in the 1830s, it would not have been far from the way things were in the earlier period.

British patriotism was also nurtured. It is not clear when the practice of celebrating important events in the mother country was started, but even the birthday of the consort of the King of England merited a celebration in Penang. Thus, on 25th January 1817, the Governor entertained the European community to a ball and supper in honour of the 73rd birthday of the Queen of England. The Gazette reported the occasion thus:

“On Monday evening the governor entertained the ladies and gentlemen of the settlement with a ball and supper in honor of the 73rd anniversary of her most gracious majesty’s birthday. The spacious suite of room in the mansion of “Suffolk” was brilliantly illuminated and thrown open at an early hour for

the reception of the most numerous assemblage of which our green island has had to boast for many years. An extensive verandah afforded ample space for the accommodation of the dancers while such of the party as gave the preference to cards or chefs, found tables laid for their favorite pursuits in the adjoining rooms. The grateful coolness of the evening tended materially to augment the pleasures of the mazy dance which however was indebted for its unbounded spirit to the unusual number of ladies who graced the party with their preference. Dancing having been kept up to a late hour, after the usual finale of *Le Boulanger*, the company adjourned to the supper-room where they sat down a table full of elegant supper and at an advanced hour of the night retired equally delighted with the festivities of the evening and the urbanity and unremitting attentions of their honorable host".³⁷

At one level, these dinners, receptions and social gatherings were a reminder of home, but at another level, the lavishness of it not only served the function of providing them with entertainment, as only the rich could afford, and the chance to meet, but also of maintaining their status and prestige as the elite in the port-town. At such gatherings, the etiquette was European, as we saw above. However, some Eastern tastes and flavours were also appreciated in the food they served and ate. This was due to many of the European settlers not directly arriving from their motherland but from another base in Asia, usually India, where they had worked or set up their business in ports on the coast of the Bay of Bengal and where they had first acquired a taste for eastern cuisine.

As described by Thompson, writing in 1830, at these parties, the guests were welcomed and entertained according to western standards although some of the cuisine served was a mix of western and eastern dishes.³⁸ Thus a feast could consist of strange combinations of dishes. One selection could include the best fish from the island, Bengal mutton, Chinese ducks, Kedah chicken and ducks from Ligor, Yorkshire hams, Java potatoes and local tapioca while the last course of another menu could consist of rice, curry, *sambals*, Bombay ducks, Kampar roast, salted turtle's eggs and omelettes.³⁹ The meal was usually served with wines and complimented by dessert which could consist of macaroni pudding or custard followed by champagne. According to Thomson, the European merchants and planters who enjoyed lavish dinner parties had grown accustomed to eastern delicacies.⁴⁰ The local fruits were a favourite, but they singled out the *durian* and the jack fruit and *cempedak*, which had very strong smells. Thus, from Thomson's account, it would appear that the European community enjoyed an active social life in Penang of which

the dinner parties were a favourite. Such parties were designed to tickle the palate as well as provide, for the men, an opportunity to keep up with current affairs and news pertaining to daily life in the East.⁴¹

The European community also made sure that they did not miss out on their arts and culture. Thus, plays, dramas and comedies and other types of performances were organized from time to time. When a performance was organized by the official community it was attended by the cream of the European society as happened at a performance reported in the 13th December 1817 issue of the Gazette:

"...on Saturday evening the settlement was again assembled at the theatre by a polite invitation from the officers of H.M. ship, Orlando, to witness the representation of Colman's excellent comedy of the Heir at Law and the mockheroic Farce of Bombasters Furioso...their complete success was fully marked by repeated bursts of applause from the delighted audience who were totally convulsed with inextinguishable laughter. The Governor, Colonel Bannerman, with his family and suite, who honored the theatre with his presence, was received with the usual marks of respect, the guards presenting arms and the band, upon his entrance, playing 'God Save the King', ...among the crowded company were observed, in addition to the Governor, the Members of Council, Sir George and Lady Cooper, one of the Supreme Court Judges at Madras, Sir Ralph Rice, Colonel Loveday, Captain Clanvell, Paterson and Barnard, R.N".⁴²

It seemed that official gatherings such as the performance by the crew of the ship belonging to the British Naval Force and the function in honour of the Queen's birthday, referred to earlier, were only attended by the Europeans in the town. There was no mention in the reports in the paper that the other communities were invited, although it would not have been suitable to invite the non-English speaking communities to an English comedy performance.

Due to the fact that the European community was very small and their social life was restricted to their own group, they probably knew one another. This situation was further assisted by the institution of the club, which was an integral feature of the British colonial scene. The notion of having a club in itself was built around the principle of organizing an association of persons united by a common interest with the object of providing a regular meeting place for conviviality or co-operation. In Penang the European community formed the Prince of Wales Island Club. The club facilitated social interaction and provided a venue away from home where the

Europeans could meet or entertain among themselves. Particularly, for the men, it was a place for recreation and relaxation although the Prince of Wales island Club appeared to have been located at the Nicholl Tavern, another European institution serving the needs of the men who liked to retire to a pub for a drink after a hard day's work in the heat.

The social life of the European community living in a colonial town far away from the European social environment was not as bad as some might have anticipated. As Garnier rightly described, "the social life must have been very pleasant at that time and one finds that many of one's preconceived ideas of life in the East in those days have to be revised and life was not the exile that one sometimes imagined it to have been".⁴³ In fact, for some, life was probably even better than they were accustomed to in their homeland. As the elite, they had the best of everything. The hot climate was a drain on their energies, but they developed a hill station called Penang Hill to which they could escape temporarily from the stifling heat. They had servants, and in the early years before slavery was banned, some even had slaves at their beck and call. Moreover, much went on in Penang to keep life interesting. The visit of the HMS *Orlanda* is a case in point. For many, their world was not only limited to Penang as the opportunity to travel was wide open. The good life to be had in Penang was noted by an author in the following terms: "...there was much coming and going. People went to Calcutta, Madras, Malacca, Bencoolen and further afield to the Cape and to China on business or for health — not perhaps for pleasure!".⁴⁴

Some planters who had stayed in the country for a few decades were very well acquainted with the natives and Asian communities on whom they depended to do much of the labouring work involved in their estates or plantations.⁴⁵ As a result, such men often understood and perhaps even admired aspects of multi-ethnic cultures and beliefs. They were close to their neighbours who were mostly Malays, Indians and Chinese. However, it was not only in the employer-employee relationship that some understanding and even affection were cultivated. Some of the Europeans and Asians were very close friends and understood each other very well.

The relationship of inequality between the Europeans and Asians, as noted above, in the manner with which the Asian guests at the planter's party were treated, was that of a master and his underlings. This approach was also seen in the way some Europeans treated their Asian wives or mistresses as is evident from the wills they made. For example, Thomas Layton, who registered his will in September 1806 gave most of his money to his natural son while his mistress, a Burmese lady, was to inherit her choice of ten of his slaves. The money from the sale of the rest of the slaves was to be divided

equally between the mother and the son. Layton also willed his clothes and household furniture to his mistress but wanted his gold watch to go to his nephew. A slaughter house was to go to a Joseph Porter, "for his kind services". Thus most of the valuable property was not given to the Asian mistress despite her having given him a son.⁴⁶

The European attitude to their Asian mistresses appeared to have been one in which they kept some distance from them. Mathew Shepherdson, in his will, merely referred to "the mother of my children" when referring to his mistress, and Christopher Smith gave most of his wealth to his European family and close friends, bequeathing only SpD1000 to one mistress and SpD240 per year to the other for the maintenance and education of his child by her.⁴⁷

Conclusion

Due to the information gaps in the sources it has not been possible to provide a much fuller picture of the European community in Penang. Nevertheless, from what can be discerned, Penang, whose newness tended to amplify a small European community which is isolated from the other Asian communities. Therefore these groups of people tend to live in isolation from the rest of the community due to their upbringing and world view which is different from the rest. The small number of the community sometimes makes life difficult for those that live together with their Asian partners. Skin colour still plays an important factor in the social mixing and also could be an important element for ones future career.

Notes

- ¹ Nordin Hussin, *Trade and Society in the Straits of Melaka; Dutch Melaka and English Penang 1780-1830*, Copenhagen: Nias Press, 2006, pp. 184-192.
- ² *Ibid.*, p. 295
- ³ See, C.D. Cowan, "Early Penang and the Rise of Singapore 1805-1832", *JMBRAS*, 23(2), 1950, pp.5-6.
- ⁴ Nordin Hussin, *Melaka and Penang 1780-1830: A Study of two port towns in the Straits of Melaka*, Amsterdam Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam: , 2002, p. 371.
- ⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 338-339.
- ⁶ Nordin Hussin, *Trade and Society in the Straits of Melaka*, pp. 298-299.
- ⁷ The will of Francis Light, IOR/L/AG/34/32/1.
- ⁸ See, List of Roman Catholic inhabitants men, women and children in Prince of Wales Island in December 1788 in appendix to consultation 10th April 1789 in the Straits Settlement Factory Records G/34/3. The majority of them were Portuguese-Eurasians. In this list there are eight persons with the family name Rozells and all of them came from Siam. This indicates that Martina Rozells also came from Siam and she must have been a Catholic too.
- ⁹ R. Montgomery Martin, *History of the British Possessions in the Indian and Atlantic Oceans*, London: Whittaker, 1837, p. 10.
- ¹⁰ The will of Thomas Layton registered 28th September 1806, in IOR/L/AG/34/32/1.
- ¹¹ The will of Mathew Shepherson registered 12th November 1807, a mariner born at Ramsgate in Kent, England, in IOR/L/AG/34/32/1.
- ¹² The will of Christopher Smith, 11th December 1806, in IOR/L/AG/34/32/1.
- ¹³ Notices of Penang, in *Journal of Indian Archipelago*, vol. 5, 1851, pp. 93-119 where, for example, it was remarked in a report written by Major Macdonald, the second Superintendent of Penang, that James Scott's adoption of the Malay way of life was an "unpleasant thing".
- ¹⁴ Keppel Garnier, "Early Days in Penang", *JMBRAS*, vol. 1, pt. 1, 1923, p. 8.
- ¹⁵ Nordin Hussin, *Trade and Society in the Straits of Melaka*, pp. 298.
- ¹⁶ Keppel Garnier, "Early Days in Penang", pp. 8-9.
- ¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 9.
- ¹⁸ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 10.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*
- ²¹ Nordin Hussin, *Trade and Society in the Straits of Melaka*, pp. 298-299.
- ²² John Turnbull Thomson, *Glimpses into life in Malayan Lands*, Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1984, pp.231-235. See also the will of James Scott, registered in the Registry of Wills, in IOR/L/AG/34/32/1: "Be it known that by letter from Edinburgh dated March last, there was then and there alive and in good health, three sons and five daughters, residing

with their aunts and my sisters Mary and Barbara, now it is my intent to leave to seven of these children ten thousand Spanish Dollars each and to my oldest son William the residence making him my successor in trust all and several my estates real or personal”.

²³ Ibid., p. 232.

²⁴ Nordin Hussin, *Trade and Society in the Straits of Melaka*, pp. 299.

²⁵ A.F. Steuart, *The Founders of Penang and Adelaide*, London: Sampson Low, 1901, pp. 28-38. See also the will of Fancis Light in IOR/L/Ag/34/32/1.

²⁶ A.F. Steuart, *The Founders of Penang and Adelaide*, London: Sampson Low, 1901, pp.28-38. The author writes that: “The late David Brown stood alone in 1810 as a spice planter on an extensive scale and instead of finding encouragement in the sympathy of those around him, he was considered by many to be in search of an El Dorado and no one ventured to follow his steps...”, p. 133. See also the will of John Brown registered on the 25th July 1808, in, IOR/L/AG/34/32/1.

²⁷ R. Montgomery Martin, *History of the British Possessions in the Indian and Atlantic Oceans*, p. 133.

²⁸ Nordin Hussin, *Trade and Society in the Straits of Melaka*, p. 300.

²⁹ For details on the work of the Anglican Church missionary in India and in the East see for example Brian Harrison, *Waiting for China: The Anglo-Chinese College at Malacca 1818-1843, and Early Nineteenth-century Hong Kong*; Hong Kong University Press, 1979; William Milne, *A Retrospect of the First Ten years of the Protestant mission to China*, Malacca: Anglo-Chinese Press, 1820; Robert Morrison, *Memoirs of the Reverend William Milne*, Malacca: Mission Press 1824. See, also, Council of World Missionary Archives of the London Missionary Society Ultra Ganges in SOAS Library.

³⁰ Brian Harrison, *Waiting for China*, p. 3.

³¹ Keppel Garnier, “Early Days in Penang”, p. 8.

³² John Turnbull Thomson (1821-1884) was born in north England on 21st August 1821. After completing a course on mathematics at Aberdeen University, he went to Penang in 1838 (at the age of 16 years old) and later became a surveyor. He explored the island extensively and travelled widely in the peninsula. His book, *Glimpses into life in Malayan Lands* was a personal account of his experiences on his travels. For further details, see the introduction to his book: John Turnbull Thomson, *Glimpses into life in Malayan lands*, Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1984 (first published in 1864), pp. v-viii.

³³ John Turnbull Thomson, *Glimpses into life*, pp. 31-32.

³⁴ *The Prince of Wales Island Gazette* was first published on 1st March 1806. Its last issue came out on 21st August 1827. For further information, see, Patricia Lim Pui Huen, *Singapore, Malaysian and Brunei Newspapers an International Union List*, Singapore: Singapore Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1992. See, also, Ibrahim Ismail, “Early printing in the Straits Settlements by Missionaries of the London Missionary Society”, Unpublished MA Thesis, University College, London, 1980.

with their aunts and my sisters Mary and Barbara, now it is my intent to leave to seven of these children ten thousand Spanish Dollars each and to my oldest son William the residence making him my successor in trust all and several my estates real or personal”.

²³ Ibid., p. 232.

²⁴ Nordin Hussin, *Trade and Society in the Straits of Melaka*, pp. 299.

²⁵ A.F. Steuart, *The Founders of Penang and Adelaide*, London: Sampson Low, 1901, pp. 28-38. See also the will of Fancis Light in IOR/L/Ag/34/32/1.

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- ³⁵ For example, the gazette of Saturday, July 19, 1817 published government advertisements, personal and private advertisements, such as a list of real estate for sale, rental and hire, will disputes and claims, articles for sale, proclamations by the government, naval register, and brief news regarding shipping. This issue contained four pages; the first page was devoted to local news while the other three pages gave coverage to overseas news, especially England, Europe and other British colonies, particularly, Calcutta and Madras. There was also a report on a session of the British Parliament.
- ³⁶ John Turnbull Thomson, *Glimpses into Life in Malayan Lands*, p. 33.
- ³⁷ *The Prince of Wales Island Gazette*, 25th January 1817.
- ³⁸ John Turnbull Thomson, *Glimpses into Life in Malayan Lands*, Here again the author describes that: "All having arrived, the first difficulties of the host commence. The ladies and gentlemen are apportioned, and their rights of precedence weighed with the strictest regard to rule, not always giving entire satisfaction to the ladies", p. 33.
- ³⁹ *Ibid.* pp.33-34.
- ⁴⁰ John Turnbull Thomson, *Glimpses into life in Malayan Lands*: Where he remarks: "Here he is introduced to the hostess sitting in state. Compliments are passed, and mine host asks him if he has brought his white jacket. If so, he retires, and dons the easy, cool, upper dress of India. Other visitors arrived, and the same process is gone through. Such gentlemen as have brought their ladies, hand them over to the obliging care of the hostess and her maid servants or ayahs. Sherry and bitters stand on a side table for the gentlemen to partake of, and whet their tropical appetites.", p. 32.
- ⁴¹ *Ibid.* p. 34.
- ⁴² *The Prince of Wales Island Gazette*, Saturday, December 13, 1817.
- ⁴³ Garnier, "Early days in Penang", p. 10.
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.* p. 10.
- ⁴⁵ *Ibid.* The author described that: "The European proprietor or planter, and especially he whose family has been long resident in the country, generally maintains a good understanding with his tenants or neighbours. The tenants and neighbours may be Hindoos, Mussulmans, or Buddhists, without producing either dislike or prejudice. If his family be of good repute, tradition upholds his favourable influence; his creed may be opponent to theirs, yet they forget the naserani, and see only the European gentleman, liberal in sentiment, superior in understanding, just in dealing, and affable in intercourse. These qualities, when they exist, easily win the affection of an unsophisticated race — simple in mind, credulous, superstitious, sensitive to kindness, and patient under injury", p. 78.
- ⁴⁶ The Will of Thomas Layton registered 28th April 1806, in, IOR/L/AG/34/32/1.

- ⁴⁷ The Will of Mathew Shepherdson registered 12th November 1807, in, IOR/AL/AG/34/32/1.