John Bastin is Emeritus Reader in the Modern History of South East Asia in the University of London. He was Professor of History and Dean of the Faculty of Arts in the University of Malaya and Reader in the Modern History of South East Asia at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London. He is the author of numerous books and articles on the history of Indonesia, Malaysia and Singapore and is a leading authority on Sir Stamford Raffles. His works include the Letters and Books of Sir Stamford Raffles and Lady Raffles: The Tang Holdings Collection.

Julie Weizenegger trained as a nurse and midwife in Victoria, Australia. She has been a genealogical researcher for 40 years and has a special interest in both Australian and British history. She particularly enjoys interrogating the veracity of historical facts.



When Stamford Raffles married Sophia Hull in February 1817 and a year later welcomed the arrival of his first child, Charlotte, family life looked to be full of happiness. His earlier marriage to an older widow, Olivia Mariamne Devenish, had ended with her untimely death in Java, leaving him bereft of "all that I held dear on earth". Now, settled at Bencoolen as Lieutenant-Governor of Fort Marlborough, he watched with satisfaction the growth of Singapore and the increase in his young family. For all these joys, however, he was also to find that in this "most wretched place", death was never far away.

Drawing on a wide range of sources - including new findings from birth records, marriage registers, letters and wills - John Bastin and Julie Weizenegger make an invaluable contribution to what is known about the members of Sir Stamford Raffles's family.

Rigorously researched and engagingly written, this new book is a superb account of Raffles's ancestry, immediate family and closest relations – and how they connected with one another during each step of his celebrated career.









Cavendish Editions

mc



John Bastin Julie Weizenegger

The Family of Sir Stamford Raffles



An invaluable contribution to what is known about the members of Sir Stamford Raffles's family.

Front cover

Sir Stamford Raffles; (top row, left to right) his father, Captain Benjamin Raffles; his mother, Ann Lyde; his sister, Mary Anne Raffles; (bottom row) his first wife, Olivia Mariamne Devenish; his second wife, Sophia Hull; and his cousin, the Revd. Dr. Thomas Raffles.

Back cover

Raffles originally came from.



John Bastin Julie Weizenegger





© 2016 National Library Board, Singapore, and John Sturgus Bastin Design and layout © 2016 Marshall Cavendish International (Asia) Pte Ltd

Published by

National Library Board, Singapore 100 Victoria Street, #14-01, National Library Building, Singapore 188064 Tel: +65 6332 3255 | Email: ref@library.nlb.gov.sg | www.nlb.gov.sg

and

Marshall Cavendish Editions An imprint of Marshall Cavendish International 1 New Industrial Road, Singapore 536196 Tel: +65 6213 9300 | Email: genref@sg.marshallcavendish.com

Editorial Team National Library Board: Francis Dorai, Veronica Chee Marshall Cavendish Editions: Justin Lau, Benson Tan, Glenn Wray

All rights reserved.

No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, scanning or otherwise, except as expressly permitted by the law, without the prior written permission of the copyright owners.

The publishers make no representation or warranties with respect to the contents of this book, and specifically disclaim any implied warranties or merchantability or fitness for any particular purpose, and shall in no events be liable for any loss of profit or any other commercial damage, including but not limited to special, incidental, consequential, or other damages.

All sources of the images used in this book have been indicated and it is assumed that the remainder are out of copyright and in the public domain. Every effort has been made to trace any copyright holder, but in the event of omissions, please contact the National Library Board. Appropriate credit will be made in further reprints.

National Library Board, Singapore Cataloguing-in-Publication Data:

Name(s): Bastin, John Sturgus, 1927- author. | Weizenegger, Julie, author.

Description: The family of Sir Stamford Raffles / John Bastin, Julie Weizenegger. | Singapore : Marshall Cavendish Editions and National Library Board, Singapore, [2016]

Identifiers: OCN922433063 | ISBN 978-981-47-2176-9 (hardcover)

Subject(s): Raffles, Thomas Stamford, Sir, 1781-1826 -- Family. | Raffles, Olivia Mariamne, 1771-1814. | Raffles, Sophia, Lady, 1786-1858. | Colonial administrators -- Singapore | Colonial administrators -- Great Britain.

Classification: LC Classification DS646.26.R3 | DDC 959.57030922--dc23

Printed in Singapore by Markono Print Media Pte Lrd

Contents

List of Illustrations 8

Foreword 12

Preface 14

- Chapter One Sir Stamford Raffles's Father and Grandfather 20
- Chapter Two Captain Benjamin Raffles and the West India Trade 28
- Chapter Three Captain Benjamin Raffles and his Family 44
- Chapter Four Sir Stamford Raffles's First Wife: Olivia Mariamne Devenish 56
- Chapter Five Olivia Mariamne Raffles in Penang, Melaka and Java 78
- Chapter Six Sir Stamford Raffles's Second Wife: Sophia Hull 110

Chapter Seven Lady Raffles after the Death of her Husband 132

Epilogue 152

Notes 154

Bibliography 204

Index 216



CHAPTER ONE

Sir Stamford Raffles's Father and Grandfather



Beverley with St. Mary's Church Contemporary print



Parish Church of St. Mary, Beverley Thomas Allen, A New and Complete History of the County of York (London, 1831)

THE FAMILY OF Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles originally came from Beverley in the East Riding of Yorkshire, where the name in variant spellings appears in the registers of the Minister Church of St. John the Evangelist and the parish Church of St. Mary. A Robert Raffles is recorded in 1513-14 as the Keeper or Governor of Beverley, a position he held in subsequent years even though the post was not sought after as it carried no remuneration. There was a Robert Raffles who was a member of the Beverley Common Council in 1543, and also a 'braseer' (brazier) named Robert Raffulles in 1553. John Raffles or Raffellis was an alderman of the bakers in 1536, and among the 16th-century mayors of Beverley a certain John Raffles was one of the 12 Governors of the town in 1577, who died during his mayoralty in January 1583.1 John and William Raffles are recorded at the time of the latter's death in 1590 as 'pewtherers' (pewterers), suggesting that the Raffles family was well established as brass and pewter makers in the town. There is also a reference to a knight banneret during the reign of James I named Sir Benjamin Raffles.² According to tradition, the family moved from Beverley to Berwick-upon-Tweed, Northumberland,³ possibly due to the ravages of the plague in the early 17th century, particularly in 1610 when many of the inhabitants left the town. It is interesting, in this connection, that there is a reference to Thomas, son of 'Tho: Raffels', in the

baptismal records of Berwick-upon-Tweed as early as 1619, whereas the name disappears entirely from the second volume of the Registers of St. Mary's Church Beverley after 1637.

There were a number of people named Raffles living in Berwick-upon-Tweed during the 17th century,⁴ but at the end of the century, or shortly afterwards, Sir Stamford Raffles's family moved to London. This was said to have occurred during the time of his great-grandfather,⁵ Thomas Raffles, who may have been the person recorded in the Westminster Rate Book for 1717 as a resident in Strutton Ground, a street which ran up to Tothill-fields,⁶ and also in the subsequent Rate Books as a resident in nearby New Pye Street and Duck Lane in the parish of St. Margaret's Westminster, one of the worst slum areas in Westminster in the 18th century, later described by Dickens as the 'Devil's Acre'. It is possible, but not certain, that he was the 'Thomas Raffles, late of St. Margaret's Westminster', who is described as a 'Taylor' in the *London Gazette* of 2 January 1730, and as one of the persons 'being Fugitives for Debt, and beyond the Seas on and before the 1st of February 1728, and having surrendered themselves to the Warden of the Fleet Prison, ... intend to take the Benefit of



St. Margaret's Church, Westminster Photograph by B. Glenn Chandler, Texas

CHAPTER TWO

Captain Benjamin Raffles and the West India Trade



Captain Benjamin Raffles (1739–1811), father of Sir Stamford Raffles *Private collection*

BENJAMIN RAFFLES LEFT SCHOOL when he was 16, and on 12 July 1755 he was assigned for seven years as an apprentice to George Hooper, master of the *Martin*, a ship of some 220 tons built in the previous year on the Thames and armed with six six-pounders.¹ The ship's Lieutenant was Stephen Hooper and her owners included the London merchants, George Hooper Sr., and Jude and William Hooper, so the management of the ship was something of a family affair. The *Martin* was engaged in the 'direct' West India trade out of the port of London, and Benjamin joined the ship a month after her return from Antigua in June 1755. For the next nine years the ship made an annual voyage from London to Antigua, where her cargo consisted of sugar from the plantations of the ship owners, Richard Oliver & Co., one of some 90 London firms operating as sugar factors in the period between 1740 and 1775.² In February 1765 the *Martin* diverted for a single voyage to Jamaica,³ the largest of the British colonies in the Caribbean, but it is unknown if Benjamin was still on board as his apprenticeship had ended two years earlier.

On 1 November 1764 he appears for the first time as master of the ship *Morant* sailing from Deal for Jamaica, his seafaring career now conforming to Conrad's 'rhythmical swing' of a seaman's life, with departures from England late in each year carrying iron ware and items of British manufacture, landfalls at Cork in Ireland to collect supplies of linen, butter, cheese and other foodstuffs, and arrivals at the free trade ports of Kingston or Port Morant in March or April before reloading with West India sugar and rum for the homeward passage. The Morant was a vessel of 180 or 190 tons, built in Boston in 1763 and owned by Lawrence Cole & Thomas Bingley Sr., insurance brokers of Exchange Alley, Cornhill, later of 21 Birchin Lane, Cornhill, London.⁴ The ship was in Jamaica in March 1765 and sailed on her homeward voyage in April with a cargo of 50 hogsheads of sugar and two puncheons of rum from the plantation of the absentee plantation owner Chaloner Arcedekne,⁵ arriving at Dover on 24–26 June 1765. On her next outward voyage she sailed for Cork on 14 September 1765⁶ and then to Jamaica on 5 November 1765 before arriving back at Dover on 16 July 1766⁷ and Gravesend four days later. In March and April 1767⁸ the ship was in Jamaica, where Captain Raffles was held responsible for the loss of part of her cargo of sugar due to the negligence of his crew.⁹ She sailed from Jamaica in May 1767 carrying 50 hogsheads of sugar from the Arcedekne

plantation,¹⁰ and arrived at Deal on 10 July 1767.¹¹ On 25 October 1767 the ship was again at Deal and was still anchored there on 3 November before sailing for Jamaica. On her homeward passage she was reported off Cowes on 5 July 1768, and on 17 August of the following year she was off Portsmouth on her return voyage from Jamaica.¹²

Then, possibly as a result of Lawrence Cole's death early in 1769, and the subsequent sale of the ship, Captain Raffles was recorded four months later, in December 1769, as master of the *Caesar*, outward bound for Jamaica, where she arrived in April 1770. On 23 July, on the homeward passage, the ship struck the leeward reef coming out of Port Morant¹³ due to the negligence of the pilot, resulting in her total loss. A report of 28 July from Kingston, Jamaica, citing an extract from a letter from Port Morant,¹⁴ laid the blame entirely on the pilot:

I doubt not but you have heard before this reaches you, of the unhappy Misfortune Capt. Raffles has met with, in the total Loss of the ship Cæsar, which now lies a Wreck on the Leeward Reef, and it is feared no Part of her Cargo can be saved. It was entirely owing to the Unskillfulness of the Pilot (belonging to Mr. Fleming, of Port Royal). Captain Raffles and Captain Dallton's Mate were on board; they both repeatedly told him, he was too near the Reef, but he being mule-headed and obstinate, still persisted. Capt. Raffles was afraid to take the Charge from him on Account of the Insurance. – Thus went as fine a Ship as ever came to the West-Indies.

This was also the conclusion of Captain Raffles's friend and Jamaican plantation owner, Nathaniel Phillips,¹⁵ who wrote to the ship's London owners, Hibbert, Purrier & Horton, on 9 August 1770: 'I am very sorry to acquaint you that the Caesar Cap^t. Raffles's ship was stranded going out of the Harbour the 23^d last Month, owing entirely to the obstinacy & unskilfulness of the Pilot, who ran her on the Lee spit when she was just clear of the Channel. The ship is gone to Pieces, about 60 or 70 Pun^s. Rum, 2 or 3 hhds Sugar & some Mahog^y. Planks, all that is saved of the Cargo'.¹⁶

Captain Raffles's brother Thomas, who at this time was working as a merchant at Port Morant, also recorded details of the incident:

I had a Brother who commanded a Ship which loaded annually at the Harbour where I lived. [H]aving completed his Loading he set sail I think on the 22 June [*sic*] [and] on going through the Channel which leads out into the open Sea & which is very narrow & Dangerous, [h]is Ship solely through the unskilfulness of the Pilot struck upon a rock & in Two hours was bulged & lost all hope of recovery. [T]he lives of the Crew were saved but the Cargo was lost except the Captain's Cabin furniture which in a few Days after was brought on Shore & lodged in my House[,] amongst other things was a Desk & Bookcase the latter of which contained several Religious Books.¹⁷

The remaining cargo and wreck of the *Caesar*, except for 20 puncheons of rum, were sold at public auction, and Captain Raffles left Port Morant for Liverpool in August 1770 carrying the documents necessary to satisfy the consignees and underwriters for a settlement of the insurance claim.

As no blame could be attached to him in the loss of the *Caesar*, Captain Raffles was restored in 1771 to the command of the *Morant*, now owned by Clarke & Co., London. Subsequent shipping reports place the *Morant* at Jamaica in July 1771 and at Dover in September 1771. She sailed again for Jamaica in December 1771 and arrived at Port Morant in April 1772. On 25 June 1772 the ship passed Gravesend on her homeward passage from Jamaica and two days later entered the port of London. It was her last voyage under Captain Raffles's command, as the ship was advertised for sale in the *Public Ledger*, London, on 25 July 1772:

For SALE by CANDLE. At NEW LLOYD'S Coffee House, in Pope's Head Alley, Lombard Street. On Wednesday, the 19th July, at One o'Clock in the Afternoon The Good ship MORANT, Plantation built Burthen One Hundred and Eighty Tons, more or less, is sheathed, and remarkably well sound in all Manner

CHAPTER THREE

Captain Benjamin Raffles and his Family



Ann Raffles (née Lyde) (1755–1824), mother of Sir Stamford Raffles *Private collection*



Thomas Stamford Raffles (1781–1826) Engraving by C. Thomson after a miniature portrait in the possession of his mother

THE END OF Captain Raffles's involvement in the West India trade in 1800 resulted in considerable financial hardship for his family,¹ for his wife Ann Raffles, his 19-year-old son, Thomas Stamford Raffles,² and his four daughters – 16-year-old Harriot Raffles,³ 15-year-old Leonora Raffles,⁴ 11-year-old Mary Anne Raffles,⁵ and 7-year-old Ann Raffles.⁶ Judging by an advertisement in *The Times* on 10 May 1800, the first consequence of his retirement was the sale of the leasehold of the family home at No. 10 Camden Street, Islington, described as 'A Genteel, Substantial DWELLING-HOUSE, pleasantly situate, ... containing two rooms on each floor, a neat garden, offices, and arched cellaring, lett to Captain Raffles, tenant at will, at a net rent of 25£. per annum, held for 63 years, at a low ground rent'. The house seems to have been occupied by the family during the previous couple of years, and although it is difficult to determine precisely the times and places of Captain Raffles's residence in London, the birth dates of his children provide some clues. Thus

46 The Family of Sir Stamford Raffles



Islington, London, about the time when Sir Stamford Raffles was living with his family at No. 10 Camden Street *W. Thornbury and E. Walford*, Old and New London *(London, 1879–85)*



Church of St. Dunstan in the East, London, where Captain Benjamin Raffles's second child, Ann, was baptised in September 1779 *W. Thornbury and E. Walford*, Old and New London (*London, 1879–85*)



The Church of St. Benet Fink, London, where Captain Raffles's daughter Elizabeth was baptised in 1787 *W. Thornbury and E. Walford*, Old and New London (London, 1879–85)

when his second child, Ann, who was born on 27 August and baptised on 26 September 1779, was buried in the following year at St. Dunstan in the East, a parish church on St. Dunstan's Hill, halfway between London Bridge and the Tower of London, his nearby residence was No. 149 Fenchurch Street, where he is recorded in that year as having taken out insurance. On 4 June 1783, and also in June of the following year, when his son Thomas Stamford Raffles was three years old, he was assessed for land tax in the parish of Hornsey, Middlesex, a district of Haringey in north-west London, some six miles from Charing Cross. Two years later, in 1786, there is another insurance record showing that he was living at No. 17 Throgmorton Street, London, with a similar record of 22 October of the following year confirming his place of residence and his occupation as a 'Mariner'. Moreover, in March of that year his daughter Elizabeth was baptised at the nearby Church of St. Benet Fink in Threadneedle Street. He moved from there some time afterwards, as he was visited by Nathaniel Phillips during the first half of 1789 at his new address of Walcott Place (later New Road), Lambeth,⁷ the baptism of his daughter Mary Anne in June 1789 at St. Mary's Church Lambeth, and the death of his daughter Elizabeth at this address on 3 March 1791, confirming the fact.



Church of St. Michael and All Angels at Eaton Bishop, where Sir Stamford Raffles was re-baptised on 4 July 1784 *Reproduced by permission of Jonathan Billinger, UK Beach Guide*



Mary Anne Raffles (1789–1837), sister of Sir Stamford Raffles Miniature portrait by E. Nash (?)

The house at Walcott Place in Lambeth provided a relatively long period of residence for Captain Raffles's family since it was from this address on 9 March

CHAPTER FOUR

Sir Stamford Raffles's First Wife: Olivia Mariamne Devenish



Olivia Mariamne Raffles (1771–1814) Miniature portrait by Andrew Plimer, London, 1805

RAFFLES'S APPOINTMENT AS Assistant Secretary of the Prince of Wales Island government was officially announced on 8 March 1805, and six days later he was married at the parish Church of St. George, Bloomsbury, to a widow named Olivia Mariamne Fancourt, who was nearly 10 years older than him. She was born on 16 February 1771, the illegitimate daughter of George or Godfrey Devenish¹ of Casheltauna Four Mile House,² County Roscommon, by an unknown Circassian woman. Although she grew up in Ireland, she was probably born at Madras in India, but there is no record of her birth or of her father having lived there. In a letter to the Scottish poet and orientalist John Leyden in August 1808, she refers to a brother,³ who is assumed to have been Lieutenant Christopher Devenish, who was born in 1757-8. He studied at Trinity College Dublin from 1 November 1774 and was appointed a Cadet in the Bengal Army six years later.⁴ He died at Madras in 1783 and probate on his Will was granted on 11 March 1784, but the name of his father is recorded as William Devenish of Roscommon, not George or Godfrey, so the mystery surrounding Olivia's birth remains unresolved.

According to her great-granddaughter, Charlotte Louisa Hawkins Dempster (1835 -1913),⁵ Olivia as 'a young girl' went 'to join some relations in India', and sailed on board the East Indiaman Rose, possibly on the ship's maiden voyage in February 1787,⁶ though her name is not among the passengers nor is there any record in the Court Minutes of the East India Company of her having been granted official permission to proceed to India. The ship was commanded by John Hamilton Dempster (1750–1800),⁷ a younger half-brother of George Dempster (1732–1818), laird of Dunnichen in Angus, Scotland, and a long-serving Member of Parliament for the Fife and Forfar Burghs.⁸ Captain Dempster was then 37 years old, and was married to Jean Fergusson (1766-98),



Charlotte Louisa Hawkins Dempster (1835–1913), principal informant on the early life of Olivia Mariamne Raffles *C.L. Hawkins Dempster*, The Manners of My Time (London, 1920)

58 The Family of Sir Stamford Raffles



Harriet Dempster, the illegitimate daughter of Sir Stamford Raffles's first wife, Olivia *Miniature portrait by Andrew Plimer, London, 1805*

daughter of Charles Fergusson (1740–1804) of London.⁹ Although more than twice her age, Captain John Hamilton Dempster is said by Charlotte Louisa Hawkins Dempster to have become intimate with Olivia during the voyage, which 'resulted ere long in the birth of a little girl, Harriet Milton Dempster'.¹⁰

The *Rose* arrived at Madras on 2 June 1787, so that if the story is true, Olivia must have given birth to her child later that year or early in the following year. The birth is not recorded in the Madras records and Olivia is not listed among the Madras inhabitants, though the early manuscript lists of the names of this period do not include those of widows or unmarried women. Five years later, on what was expected to be his final homeward voyage from India, Dempster may have taken the child with him when the *Rose* sailed from Madras for London on 4 March 1793 since Charlotte Louisa Hawkins Dempster records that he had her expensively educated at a school at Musselburgh, near Edinburgh, and brought her up as his ward.¹¹ Following his death in October 1800, when his ship *Earl Talbot* was lost in the South China Sea,¹² and the death of his only son George on 17 April 1801, Harriet inherited the estates of Skibo, Over Skibo and Pulrossie in Sutherland in which he had invested, with his brother,



St. Mary's Church, Fort St. George, Madras, where Olivia Devenish married Assistant Surgeon Jacob Cassivelaun Fancourt in 1793 Coloured aquatint by J.W. Gantz, 1841, reproduced by permission of © The British Library Board, P708

his profits from the India and China trade. Before that, in the expectation of securing marriage for his natural daughter, Dempster had taken Harriet with him on the *Earl Talbot* as far as Bombay, where, not yet 14, she married on 17 January 1801 William John Soper (baptised on 8 December 1763), a 37-year-old senior merchant in the service of the East India Company, who was Marine Paymaster and Commissioner of Customs at the port of Surat.¹³ Subsequently, Soper added by Royal Licence the name of Dempster to his own when his wife inherited the Scottish estates.¹⁴

After parting from her daughter, Olivia married at Madras on 26 May 1793 an Assistant Surgeon on the East India Company's medical establishment named Jacob Cassivelaun Fancourt. The marriage took place in St. Mary's Church before witnesses whose names are not given in the official transcript from the church records. He had earlier married a widow named Ann Carlos in St. Michael's Church, Crooked Lane, London, on 28 August 1785, but she died on 3 March 1790. Two and a half years later, on 11 August 1792, he was appointed, on the nomination of the Chairman of the East India Company, Sir Francis Baring (1740–1810), as Assistant Surgeon at Madras, with assignment

CHAPTER FIVE

Olivia Mariamne Raffles in Penang, Melaka and Java



Fort Cornwallis, Penang Aquatint by J. Havell from Colonel James Welsh, Military Reminiscences (London, 1830)



View from George Town to the Kedah Coast Aquatint from James Wathen, Voyage to Madras and China (London, 1814)

WITH SUCH POMP AND CEREMONY Olivia was introduced to her new life in an island with a small European and Asian population, very different from her experience of living in India with her first husband. She had barely recovered from the long voyage from England when she was required to nurse a recently arrived invalid who had been found in dire circumstances by her husband. The newcomer was the Scottish poet and orientalist, Dr. John Leyden (1775–1811), who had landed at Penang with three servants on 22 October 1805 aboard a Parsee brig from Quillon in south India with the intention of studying Malay and recovering his health. He had arrived 'terribly ill', and had taken accommodation in a naval tavern, 'ringing with the vociferation of tarpaulins, the hoarse bawling of sea-oaths, and the rattling of the dice-box',¹ where his condition attracted the sympathy of Raffles, who took him home to be cared for by Olivia. The three quickly forged bonds of the most intimate friendship and affection, leading Raffles to declare later that Leyden was 'my dearest friend, and I may truly say that while I looked up to him with all the admiration and respect which his wonderful Talents and glowing Virtues were calculated to command ... I felt towards him the most brotherly affection -'.²

80 The Family of Sir Stamford Raffles



Strawberry Hill, Penang Aquatint by W. Daniell after Captain Robert Smith (1821)

Leyden was a product of the Scottish Enlightenment, a friend of Francis Horner, Thomas Campbell, Richard Heber, Alexander Murray and (Sir) Walter Scott, with whom he had collaborated in the compilation of the Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border (Kelso, Edinburgh, 1802-3). He had also published in his own name A Historical & Philosophical Sketch of the Discoveries & Settlements of the Europeans in Northern & Western Africa, at the Close of the Eighteenth Century (Edinburgh, 1799), inspired by the adventures of his fellow Borderer, Mungo Park (1771-1806), and Scottish Descriptive Poems; with some Illustrations of Scottish Literary Antiquities (Edinburgh, 1803), as well as his popular poem, Scenes of Infancy: Descriptive of Teviotdale (Edinburgh, 1803). After obtaining a medical diploma from the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh, and the degrees of A.M. and M.D. from the University of St. Andrews, he was appointed by the East India Company to the medical establishment at Madras, where he worked for a year from August 1803 in the General Hospital before serving as medical assistant and naturalist on the Commission to survey the Mysore provinces.³ Leyden's principal interest was in Indian and Oriental languages, and it was his desire to investigate Malay and the Indo-Chinese



Dr. John Leyden (1775–1811) Lithograph by W. & A. Johnston after a sketch by the Hon. George Elliot on board HMS Modeste in 1811



Sir Gilbert Elliot (1751–1814), 1st Earl of Minto Engraving by W.J. Edwards after a painting by George Chinnery

languages that drew him to Penang. His scholarly example and encouragement served as the spur for Raffles to pursue more seriously his own study of Malay, which helped ensure his future promotion. His translation of the Maritime Code of the Malays, which was published in Calcutta in volume XII of the *Asiatick Researches*, was the direct result of Leyden's encouragement.⁴

Leyden proved to be a welcome guest for Olivia while he remained in her care, providing agreeable and intelligent conversation of a kind not found in the limited society of Penang. He was closer to her age than her husband was, but he was not physically attractive, with wild dark staring eyes, a pointed nose, and sandy-coloured hair. His broad Scottish accent and loud grating voice, which rose when he became excited into shrill 'saw-tones', was not pleasant on the ear, and he talked endlessly, leading the Governor-General Lord Minto to declare, 'I do not believe that so great a reader was ever so great a talker before'.⁵ He was boastful of his own achievements, and was offensive to strangers. His manners, Sir Walter Scott wrote, 'revolted the fastidious and alarmed the delicate',⁶ but Scott also noted that despite his lack of social graces he seemed to find particular favour with the female sex, including Jane, Duchess of Gordon

CHAPTER SIX

Sir Stamford Raffles's Second Wife: Sophia Hull



Lady Raffles (1786–1858) Replica of a miniature portrait by A.E. Chalon, 1817



The Crescent, Cheltenham Aquatint by J. Bluck after T. Hulley

RAFFLES ARRIVED IN LONDON on 16 July 1816 and took up rented accommodation at No. 23 Berners Street, but in August, in order to recover his health, he moved for a time to 'a very capital house' at No. 3 The Crescent in the spa town of Cheltenham with his sister Mary Anne, his aide-de-camp Captain Thomas Otho Travers, and his friend William Brown Ramsay. Shortly

after his arrival, he met the 31-year-old Sophia Hull,¹ second eldest of a large family of 15 children of James Watson Hull, a former Factor in the service of the East India Company, and Sophia (née Hollamby),² whom he had married in Bombay on 20 November 1783.

By the time he retired in 1786 to Belvidere, Drumbo, near Lisburn in Ireland, Hull had amassed a considerable fortune and was known locally as 'the Nabob'. He served as a Justice of the Peace in the counties of Antrim, Down and Meath, and in 1789 as High Sheriff of County Down. He was a Captain in the Drumbo Independent Volunteer Company, but in 1793 he left Ireland and settled his family at Petergate in York, and later at Great



Captain Thomas Otho Travers (1785–1844) Private collection

Baddow, near Chelmsford in Essex, where he took an active part in local affairs as a Justice of the Peace, a Captain in the Great Baddow Volunteer Company, and from March 1803 as Deputy Lieutenant of the county. In 1816 he left Great Baddow to settle at No. 349 The High Street, Cheltenham, possibly in order to give his daughters the chance of finding marriageable partners among the hundreds who flocked to the fashionable town every season. Sophia's younger sister, Mary Jane, had already married Peter Auber (1788–1848), Assistant Secretary of the East India Company, at Great Baddow in December 1815,³ and the move to Cheltenham soon proved successful, as Sophia met Raffles in August 1816 and was married to him six months later, while the second-eldest daughter, Alice Watson Hull, became engaged to Captain (later Lieutenant-Colonel) Richard Zachariah Mudge and was married to him on 1 September 1817.⁴ Of the remaining Hull sisters, two remained spinsters,⁵ and the seventh, Elizabeth Mary Ann Hull, later married the Revd. Thomas Page of St. Paul's Church Cheltenham.⁶



St. Marylebone Parish Church Engraving by W. Wise after J. Coney

Raffles and Sophia Hull were married on the morning of 22 February 1817 at the New Parish Church, Marylebone, by the Revd. R.H. Chapman in the presence of her father, James Watson Hull, her sister, Alice Watson Hull, and Raffles's sister, Mary Anne Flint, all of whom signed the marriage register. They immediately left for two days at Henley-upon-Thames, from where Raffles addressed a letter to his cousin, the Revd. Dr. Thomas Raffles, informing him of the marriage and assuring him that 'neither Rank fortune or beauty have had weight on the occasion'.7 Captain Travers described Sophia in his Journal at this time as 'amiable affectionate sensible, personable, tho' not very

handsome, with a good figure[,] extremely well brought up and possessing many amiable qualities both of head and heart –',⁸ and the British naval surgeon, Dr. Joseph Arnold (1782–1818), somewhat more flatteringly a year later, as 'a very handsome elegant woman, yet ... very delicate, and ... very subject to fainting fits'.⁹ On their return from Henley-upon-Thames the married couple settled to life in Berners Street, with Raffles busily engaged in writing his *History of Java*. The book was dedicated to the Prince Regent, who on 29 May conferred on him the honour of knighthood at a Levee at Carlton House.

Sophia now joined her husband on a seven-week tour of the Continent,¹⁰ accompanied by her brother, William Hollamby Hull,¹¹ her sister-in-law, Mary Anne Flint,¹² Raffles's cousin, the Revd. Dr. Thomas Raffles,¹³ Eliza Ella Torriano,¹⁴ and a maid. They travelled in a carriage accompanied by a courier riding on horseback, the total expenses for the tour, amounting to £1,000, being met by Raffles. They left Brighton on the Dieppe packet in the early hours of 6 June 1817, and after halting briefly at Dieppe they set out for Paris, where they were accommodated at the Hotel Mirabeau in the Rue de la Paix. From there they journeyed to Geneva, where Sophia and Raffles enjoyed fine views across the lake from their hotel, leaving indelible impressions on Sophia, who loved Geneva more than any other city. From Lausanne they set out for Basel and after crossing the Rhine they directed their journey to Frankfurt and on to Cologne, from where they travelled to Aachen, Liege and Brussels. Here Raffles dined with the Dutch Colonial Minister, Anton Reinhard Falck (1777– 1843),¹⁵ and two days later with King Willem I. They returned to Ramsgate on 25 July and arrived in London on the following morning, Travers recording in his Journal that he never saw Raffles looking better and Lady Raffles 'also seemed very much improved in appearance -'.¹⁶

Preparatory to their departure for Bengkulu in west Sumatra, where Raffles was to take up his appointment as Lieutenant-Governor of Fort Marlborough, Sophia joined him in a series of farewell visits to their relations in England and Ireland. On 11 August they left London to visit Raffles's uncle, John Raffles,¹⁷ in Birmingham, and after travelling through the Lake District they stayed for a week with the Revd. Dr. Thomas Raffles and his wife in Liverpool.¹⁸ They then journeyed north to Edinburgh and Glasgow, and visited Archibald, 9th Duke of Hamilton and Brandon (1740–1819), the father of Raffles's friend

CHAPTER SEVEN

Lady Raffles after the Death of her Husband



Bowood House, Wiltshire, the seat of the Marquess of Lansdowne The Revd. Francis O. Morris, County Seats (London, 1880)

SOPHIA COULD NOT CONTAIN her excitement at the prospect of being reunited with her daughter Ella, who was being cared for by her parents, and she and Raffles immediately left Plymouth for Cheltenham, where they arrived on 24 August. They rented 'a snug house', No. 2 Wellington Place, where they remained until mid-November, Sophia having accompanied her husband to London in September for a few days so that he could make his report to the Directors of the East India Company. They stayed at Thomas's Hotel in Berkeley Square,¹ and because of illness she spent much of her time in bed, but her health improved after they returned to Cheltenham. She wrote to Mary Anne Flint on 10 October 1824 informing her that they had been able to collect together a few comforts and were 'endeavouring to gain a little health & strength for our winter campaign'.² At the end of October, Raffles spent a few days at 'Bowood' in Wiltshire, the seat of Henry, Marquis of Lansdowne, where he met again his old friend Thomas Moore, who recorded in his Journal that Raffles had shown him there 'maps of his new settlement at Singapore'.³

On 16 November Sophia and her husband left Cheltenham for London, where Raffles took a short lease on No. 104 Piccadilly, opposite Green Park.⁴ The house proved unsatisfactory, and in February 1825 they moved to No. 23 Lower Grosvenor Street, after Raffles purchased the lease from Sir Humphry Davy (1778-1829).5 In April, preparatory to making a tour along the south coast in 'remarkably fine' weather, they stayed at the Marine Hotel in Brighton, where the Russian Ambassador, Prince Lieven (1774–1839), and his wife, Princess Lieven (1784–1857), were also staying.⁶ In June they attended Mrs. Bennett's Ball, at which the Marquis and Marchioness Lansdowne and Thomas Moore were also present.⁷ In the following month, in accordance with Sophia's wish to



Henry Petty-Fitzmaurice (1780–1863), 3rd Marquess of Lansdowne

134 The Family of Sir Stamford Raffles



'High Wood', Middlesex

live principally in the country, 'tho' not further than from 20 to 40 miles from London', they moved to 'High Wood', a small estate of some 120 acres near Hendon in Middlesex.⁸ Raffles laid out £18,000 for the house and the lands before learning in February 1826 that his bankers in Java had failed, leaving him with a loss of £16,000.⁹ Two months later, in a letter dated 12 April 1826, he received an additional demand from the East India Company for the repayment of £22,272, which included his salary when he was in England in 1816–17 and moneys expended during his missions to Singapore and Aceh in 1819.¹⁰

This totally unexpected demand, together with other growing financial pressures, undoubtedly contributed to his death on 5 July 1826, a day before his 45th birthday. Sophia found his body at the bottom of the spiral staircase at 'High Wood' in the morning, and in the afternoon the celebrated surgeon Sir Everard Home (1756–1832) carried out an autopsy which disclosed, after removing the cranium, that the anterior part of the right frontal bone was twice as thick as the left, that the outer covering of the brain was in a highly inflamed state, and that in the right lateral ventricle there was 'a coagulum of

blood' larger than a pigeon's egg, all pointing to arterio-venous malformation, with resulting haemorrhaging.¹¹ Sophia arranged for his burial at the nearby 13th-century parish Church of St. Mary in Hendon. A month later she wrote to the Revd. Dr. Thomas Raffles:

[A]las Time softens but does not cure my sorrow – & I feel the spark of life so faint within me – I see the hand of God drawing me nearer & nearer to the World of Spirits & this makes me anxious to put my House in order & fulfil the few duties left me to perform – [lest] I should be summoned from this scene of trial to my place of everlasting peace ... my thoughts are so wild & sad – my heart is broken – .¹²

She, in fact, lived for another 32 years though it has to be said that her thoughts were constantly on death and her spiritual reunion with her husband

and children. Religion came to play a central role in her life, which was also sustained by the need to care for her daughter Ella ('Ella Bella'), and her nephew, William Charles Raffles Flint.

One of the earliest reported events in Sophia's life after the death of her husband was a tour she made on 18 May 1827 with a party of friends to inspect the underground excavation of the Thames Tunnel, then being carried out by a private company under the direction of (Sir) Marc Isambard Brunel (1769– 1849) as principal engineer, and his son, Isambard Kingdom Brunel (1806–1859), as resident engineer. The deputy on the project was the Irish civil engineer Richard Beamish (1798–1873), who was apparently a friend of Sophia's, having declined a post at Fort Marlborough offered to him by Raffles in 1818. On the morning of Sophia's tour, the men excavating the Tunnel noticed a disturbance of the ground at Nos. 6 and 7 frames and were reluctant to return to work.



Ella Raffles (1821–1840), daughter of Sir Stamford Raffles *Marble bust, Rome, 1833*