

Mutiny on the *Fawn*

Alfred Rogers (1818-1851)

Report of a mutiny

In 1851 the *Chinese Repository*¹ reported in their *Journal of Occurrences* that on October 5th a mutiny occurred on the barque² *Fawn* where the captain, his officers, his wife and other passengers were murdered and the vessel set on fire. This captain was 33-year-old Alfred Rogers, 12th of the 16 children of **Mary Ann Blyth** and **Dr. George Vining Rogers**, of West Meon, Hampshire. This mutiny and the trial of the perpetrators was reported in much detail in newspapers all over Britain and its colonies.

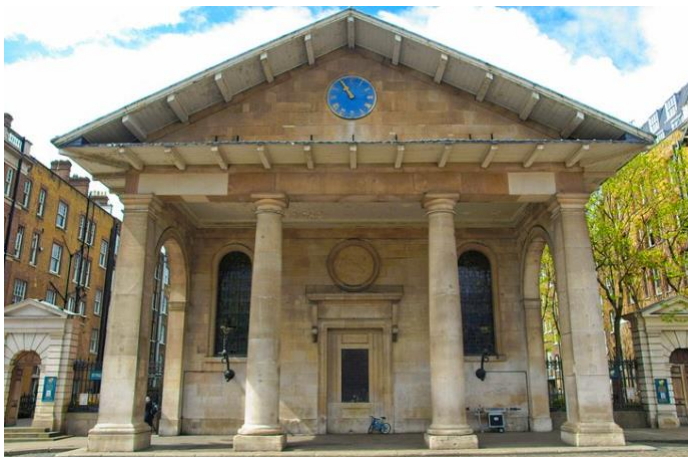
Life at sea in his blood

Alfred was probably educated at a school in nearby Bishop's Waltham where many of his brothers had also been students. But unlike his brothers who followed careers in medicine, commerce or the church, Alfred chose a maritime career, following in the footsteps of the maternal side of the family: his grandfather **John Blyth**, was a petty officer in the Navy, an uncle, also named John Blyth, was a midshipman on *The Africa* (died at a young age of yellow fever and was buried at sea), and his great-uncle, Samuel Blyth, was a superintendent at Sheerness Dockyard in Kent.

Apprenticeship to Dudman

In 1834 at the age of 16, the register of the Port of London Indentures of Apprentices for the Merchant Navy shows Alfred was apprenticed to a captain Robert Dudman, for 4 years. The Dudman family had been part of the London maritime scene since the 18th century - as ship-builders and merchant sea captains, and one of them at least, had a reputation for brutal treatment of crew³.

No further official records of Alfred have been found until his marriage to Mary Ann Relf⁴, at St. Paul's, Covent Garden⁵, London in February 1847. On his marriage certificate he gives his occupation as 'Gentleman', even though at this point in time he would not yet have been a captain, but maybe a 1st or 2nd Mate. Little is known about his wife whom he may have met through family connections - a Mary Ralf⁶ was a governess at his sisters' school in Alton⁷ in 1841. A letter his mother wrote to Mary Ann seems to indicate, by the news it contains, that Mary Ann knew all the Rogers associated with Alton.



St Paul's, Covent Garden London where Alfred and Mary Ann married in 1847.
Source: planetware.com

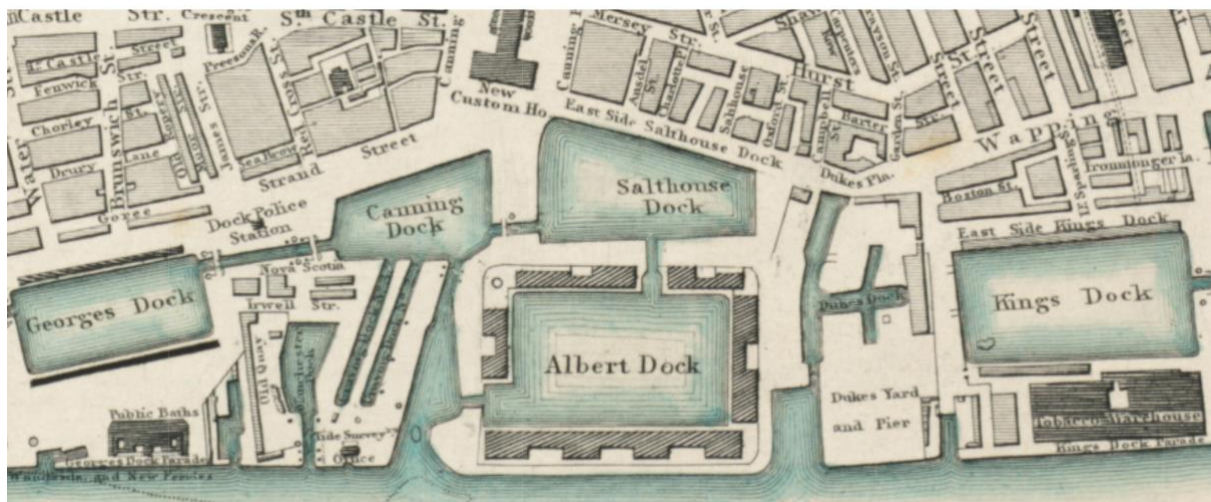
Salthouse Dock, Liverpool

After their marriage in 1847, Alfred and Mary Ann travelled by train from London to Liverpool where Alfred became employed on a newly built vessel, the barque *Walter Morrice*⁸ moored at Salthouse Dock. This was an interesting time to be in Liverpool, especially around the docks. The previous year the new Albert Dock had been built to the west of Salthouse Dock. Using the latest hydraulic machinery and newly built warehouses situated right at the dockside, incoming ships were unloaded at Albert Dock then moved around to Salthouse Dock for reloading with export goods, enabling a much more efficient management of the large numbers of ships and their cargo primarily from China and the East Indies. 1847 also celebrated the opening of Liverpool's first floating landing stage⁹, and increased competition between rail and canal transport¹⁰. It was also the peak year of Irish immigration (escaping the potato famine) and the condemnation of 5,000 cellar dwellings in Liverpool officially being declared unfit for human habitation. Also, Charles Dickens was performing in town at the Theatre Royal in Williamson Square. This city would have been overflowing with the hustle and bustle of trade, immigrants, wealth and poverty. A letter to his mother, written by his brother Richard after visiting Liverpool in June that year says: 'Liverpool is more like London than any town I ever saw it is now in a bad state through the crowds of Irish that come over; their Poor Rates are 7% in the Pound to support them & hundreds are dying of Typhus fever.'¹¹



The barque Walter Morrice calling for a pilot off Point Lynas. Oil painting on canvas by Samuel Walters (1811-1882). Source: mutualart.com

Alfred sailed on this ship from Liverpool in 1847.



Above: Liverpool docks (part of) 1849 Source: Society for Diffusion of Useful Knowledge – James Mickelburgh historic-liverpool.co.uk

Letters to mother

That year, Alfred wrote to his mother in West Meon. Firstly, before leaving London, and then one whilst on board the *Walter Morrice* docked at Liverpool, which begins:

'Thou Mother of Mothers,
You gave me my being & in giving me that you have made me to be the child that has found one that he Loves Poor dear old Mother - Not that the old is disrespectful but it is the title of Fondness from a child who when he thinks how much he has done & often to annoy^[sic] you weeps for sorrow May the Father God in Heaven more than prepare you for his Mansion that you may smile when you hear the name of Christ shouted then in strains of Glory.....'¹²

What had he done? Maybe referring to his teenage years or perhaps more recent behaviour (he is now nearly 30 years old).

At the same time Alfred wrote to his brother Frank on September 20th¹³ letting him know that they sail the next Saturday (September 25th) and letters will find him via Calcutta Post Office. Calcutta¹⁴, now Kolkata, was the capital of the British Indian Empire developed by the British East India Company, and was his base until his tragic death a few years later.

Alfred's letters, whether to his mother or brother, are almost entirely full of religion, and sound irrational and melodramatic to modern ears. He mentions such things as the 'poison shafts of the Evil Destroyer', the great 'I am' (an Old Testament reference for God), the 'Mansion of Christ', and after extolling the virtues of his parents, that 'we are the children of the good & Pious'. He refers to his wife as 'a Christian a little saint a good kind gift from God himself' and reveals how worried he was that she might not have accompanied him to Liverpool and aboard ship. But he rarely writes anything about where he is or the things he's been doing.

Ship's Mate

Another letter¹⁵ to his mother written the following year, is from the 'Isle de France' (named Mauritius by the British since 1810). Alfred was probably stationed at Port Louis¹⁶ and his ship may have been used for the importation of exploited cheap labour¹⁷ to work the sugar cane plantations, and/or used to export sugar to Britain. Until the opening of the Suez Canal (1869), Mauritius was strategically positioned for the British to control Indian Ocean trade.

In this letter, following his usual excessive religious ravings, he briefly mentions he is mate of a ship in Calcutta, earning £100 a year. It is clear he is working on merchant vessels employed by the British East India Company¹⁸ carrying trade between India, China and other major Asian ports. A letter¹⁹ written from his mother in 1851 is addressed proudly to 'Captain Alfred Rogers, Barque Fawn, c/- J Lyall and Co. Calcutta'. The Lyall family were listed by the East India Company and India Office as merchants and agents of Bengal: Lyall, James and Co. Partners, J. Lyall,



Letter addressed to Alfred from his mother in 1851, a letter he didn't receive. Source: *The Family Papers of J.E. T. Rogers*.

sen., J. Rennie, and J. Lyall, jun.²⁰. Eventually Alfred was promoted to Captain and all seemed to be going well.

The mutiny and trial

The mutiny, the subsequent trial by jury, and the execution of the main perpetrators was reported in much detail by various British and colonial newspapers. Below is a summary of the sequence of events, as much as can be gleaned from these various reports.

Maiden voyage

The *Fawn*, a British merchant vessel, owned in Calcutta, was on its maiden voyage from there to Hong Kong where its cargo for the return journey included 25 hogsheads of beer²¹; 50 mil. cigars; 417 piculs²² of sapan wood²³; 360 piculs Adelaide copper²⁴; and a quantity of unspecified China merchandise. It was on this return journey, in the Straits of Malacca, when Alfred, Mary Ann, the First Mate John Whiteside Tolson, Second Mate Francis Russell Woollet, Mr Elphick a horse-groom, and Mary Ann's sister Mrs Bechem, a widow with her young son, met their terrible deaths.

On the Hooghly River at Calcutta
c1850s-1870s. Photo: Francis Frith.
Source: oldindianphotos.in



The crew deserts

On the return journey from China, the *Fawn*, although a new vessel, had to stop for about 3 weeks at Singapore for repairs and finally departed that port on September 28th. Prior to this date, Alfred's Bengali crew, for some reason, refused to continue the return journey to Calcutta, even though they were due to receive four months' pay on arrival back in India. Their departure was never explained in the reports²⁵. Alfred subsequently took on 29 new crew, mostly Malay and Javanese seamen (known as lascars) and paid them two months in advance. They were said by the shipping master who supplied them, to be 'a very superior set of men'²⁶ - they had experience of sailing on British ships and apparently had never received any complaints. The shipping master also warned Alfred the Malays were more difficult to discipline than Indian seamen - in other words, would not accept the harsh treatment often meted out to Indian crews.



A lascar sailor. Source:
Jaffer, Aaron *Lord of the Forecastle*.

Corporal punishment

About 6 days into the return voyage, an altercation occurred when the Barra-Tindal (a lascar petty officer²⁷) Kachong, was caught smoking in the fore-hatch by the First Mate, Tolson, who pointed out to him the potential fire-hazard. Tolson decided to punish Kachong in front of the whole crew, including Alfred and his wife, by beating him with the knotted end of a rope. This was given not only as a warning but also to humiliate the Tindal in front of his men, and it seems Alfred had given his approval to this flogging. All the reports said the mutiny that followed was revenge for Kachong's public punishment.



The Strait of Malacca, where somewhere between Singapore and Penang (Pinang, George Town) the mutiny occurred. Source: researchgate.net

Murder of Alfred and his officers

The mutiny began on a drizzly dark night just at about 1am on October 5th, when Alfred was sleeping on the poop-deck²⁸ in his chair. Kachong, with the help of two other crewmen, Sedin and Abdulrahmin, using iron bars attacked Alfred and threw his body overboard. Shortly after Alfred's murder, Elphick the horse-groom was also attacked and thrown overboard. Kachong then informed the rest of the crew he was taking over the vessel and all were expected to obey him as captain or face death. He then changed the course of the ship.

As the morning progressed the First and Second Mates Tolson and Woollet had barricaded themselves in a cabin for several hours until Kachong ordered the crewmen to break in. After demanding and receiving bundles of money, clothing and valuables, Tolson was assaulted, chased, then attacked again and thrown overboard and Woollet also attacked and thrown overboard.

The passengers remaining were Alfred's wife Mary Ann, and Mrs Bechem and her child. The ship employees not involved in the mutiny included the captain's butler Francis Paive, the captain's cook Anthony, cuddy-servants²⁹ Ahmeer and Allee, and another servant Moroh and his wife (unnamed in the reports). All were aware of the captain's and mates' murders and the general mayhem and dangers on deck. When they dared to appear on deck, Ahmeer and Paive were struck by crewmen but not killed. Mary Ann was seen crying and begging Kachong and his accomplices to save all their lives.³⁰

The rape and drowning

At the trial it was revealed that Mary Ann had been raped by two of the mutineers, Sahat and Sedin, who had been seen 'lying with her'³¹. When she was brought up on deck from her cabin she was described as being 'senseless and scarcely breathing, her eyes were closed and blood streaming from the lower part of her person'³².

Crewmen were directed to place Mary Ann, her sister and the child, the butler Francis Paive, the cuddy-servant Allee and Moroh's wife, into a quarter-boat and to lower it into the water. However, on descent, the boat became unbalanced, overturned, and Mary Ann, her sister and the child were drowned. Paive, Moroh's wife and Allee were able to save themselves by grabbing onto the ropes. It was reported that Moroh's wife helped save Allee. Mrs Bechem having to hold her child, and Mary Ann being apparently semi-conscious would not have been able to save themselves.

Escape and arrest

Although the *Fawn* was carrying valuable cargo³³, it was set on fire and eventually grounded at a place called Bruas near Penang where about 19 crew and Kachong went ashore. (Reports noted later that a ship the *Rajah* had observed the *Fawn* on fire but did not sail closer to investigate if there were any survivors, such as the drowning women, that could be rescued.) The remaining crew took a longboat to Singapore and anchored nearby at Passir Panjang for the night. However, when all were asleep three of the crew³⁴ immediately went ashore and reported the incident to the Resident Councillor who commenced a police investigation and search. Five³⁵ of the crew were found and arrested and the ship's carpenter³⁶ handed himself in. A reward was issued to apprehend the remaining crew who, by October 30th, were all found and imprisoned awaiting trial.

Charges of piracy and murder

There were two trials by jury conducted by the Recorder³⁷ Sir William Jeffcott at the Penang Court House. After proving that the *Fawn* was a British ship and therefore the accused were to be tried under British law, all the prisoners were charged with piracy and murder. The first trial on November 24th was of the 'ringleaders' - the Barra Tindal Kachong, a lascar Sedin, and the seacunny³⁸ Abdulrahman - all pleaded not guilty. The trial went from 11am to 7pm and was regarded as being extremely long. The jury only took a few minutes to find the three men guilty. Then on November 25th thirteen of the crewmen were also charged, all also pleaded not guilty. This trial was even longer going until about 8pm or 9pm but with the jury taking about 15 minutes to find them all guilty. Some reports gave the names of the accused crewmen who were referred to in court only by numbers. Their names were Cassim, Allam, Mohammed Sahad, Mohammed Kechil, Etam, Assan, Tamah, Etam, Ammah, Amin, Katchil, Mohammed and Kadir.

Conflicting evidence

There was conflicting evidence from the co-accused and other witnesses about how and with what Alfred was killed, one saying beaten with crowbars, others saying with axes. As well there were different versions of how Tolson and Woollet were killed and

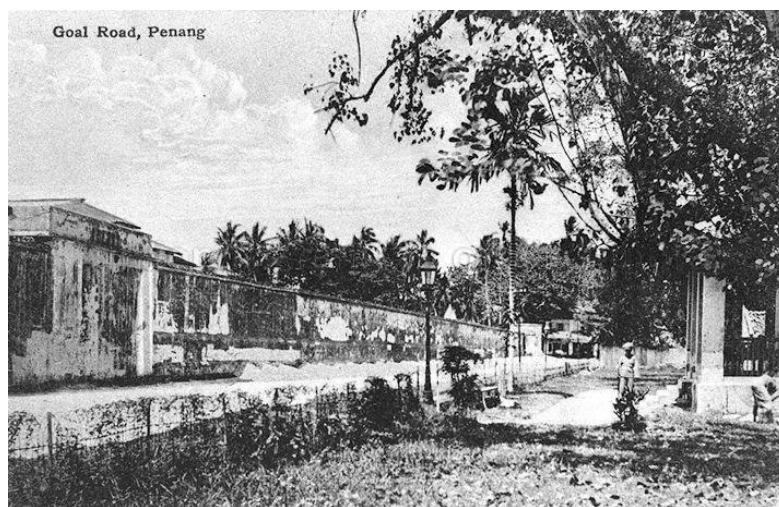
by whom. Evidence was given by a police constable that, on arrest, Sedin was found with items stolen from the *Fawn* - a gold watch, 5 sovereigns and 1 guinea, and Kachong had 4 pairs of black-cloth trousers and a waistcoat. Paive, the butler, gave evidence these items were Alfred's. Kachong said he bought the clothing in Adelaide.

Death sentence

On November 27th sentencing took place at the courthouse packed with Europeans and 'other inhabitants' of Penang. Kachong, Sedin, Abdulrahmin and Sahad were all given the sentence of death by hanging, the first three for piracy and the murders. Sahad was singled out for not only aiding the others, but also for the rape of Mary Ann: the judge said 'you have committed the brutal crime of violating the person of the lady and that at a time after the murder of her husband, when she was laboring under the greatest sorrow.'³⁹ The other twelve prisoners were sentenced to transportation for life to Bombay, the judge believing that they were led by the ringleaders to commit piracy but an example still had to be made of them.

Executions

Details of the hangings, which took place inside Penang Gaol in front of a large European crowd, were reported in the press, describing how the four men ascended the scaffold, their crimes being read in English and Malay, each man's last request and their final prayers. Also reported was that due to the ropes being badly adjusted, two of the men 'lingered for some time'. Sahad requested his body be given to his mother, but the report stated the bodies were all buried outside the gaol compound⁴⁰. News reports also stated the men confessed their crimes after their sentencing.



Road beside the gaol at Penang where Kachong, Sedin, Abdulrahmin and Sahad were executed. Source: Singapore Government nas.gov.sg

Racism, religion and intolerance

In referring to the mostly Malay crew and the mutiny, sensationalised news reports used emotive language such as 'cold-blooded and inhuman atrocities' 'cool determination to destroy human life' 'vile treachery and inhuman barbarity' and that the ringleaders 'possessed of a spirit almost demoniacal', as well as 'the character of the Malays for savage brutality and murderous propensities have long been known'⁴¹. The

Penang Gazette report written two days after the executions stated 'Unceasing efforts we understand were made to convert these misguided and unhappy men to Christianity, but without avail.'⁴²

In one particular report, Alfred was described: 'The captain, it appears, was rather of an irascible temper, and what is termed a strict disciplinarian.'⁴³ Thinking back to Alfred's letters he wrote to his mother and brother, and his eccentric and passionate references to his religion, it is difficult to imagine he had any respect or tolerance for non-Christians. Some evangelical captains would subject their mostly Muslim and Hindu crews to Christian rituals spoken in English, and often resented Muslim rituals as well as

requirements regarding halal food preparation and storage on board ship⁴⁴. British attitudes stemming from their belief in their own superiority of race and religion would have fuelled any animosity that arose between English officers and the lascar petty officers and crew.

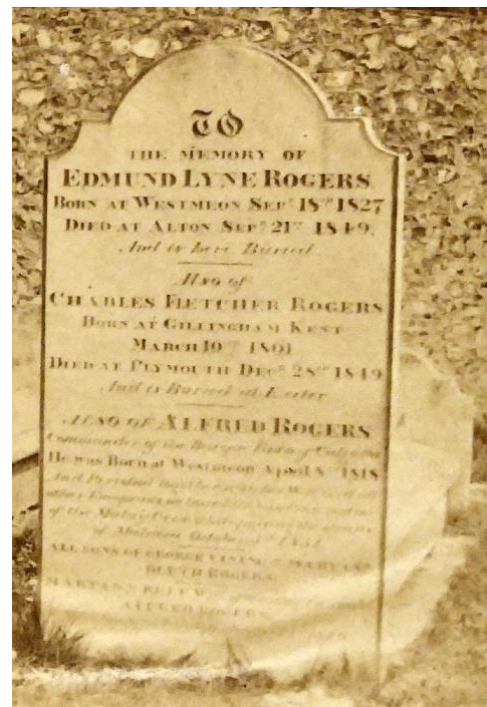
Rape as revenge

Captains' wives often assisted their husbands in the management of the crew. Rape or other violence against white women on the ships may have been committed as revenge on an unjust captain⁴⁵. A newspaper article in the *Straits Times* written almost 100 years later noted that Mary Ann had 'earlier incurred the hatred of the crew. She had exacted from them certain cabin drudgeries which no Muslim would undertake for Christians.'⁴⁶ I wonder how much racism and pure revenge on behalf of the British authorities influenced the judge to grant the death sentence to Sahad for the rape⁴⁷. In England the death penalty was removed from rape convictions ten years earlier⁴⁸.

Back home

The impact on Alfred's family and community on receiving news of the mutiny would have been devastating. By 1851 Alfred's mother Mary Ann Rogers had already suffered the deaths of five of her 16 children, as well as her husband's death, all from disease. But this must have been an especially terrible loss, and presumably she was given the details of how her son and daughter-in-law met their deaths. Amongst the *Rogers Family Papers* at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, I found a newspaper clipping of an item written by Canon Burnham (?) in 1898. Here is an excerpt:

'Here is one reminiscence of Christmas, exactly sixty years ago. I was standing at the window on Christmas Day, 1838, watching the people coming to afternoon church. It came on to snow heavily. A well-bronzed sailor who had been much in tropical lands and was hardly equal to a snow-storm, ran in and borrowed an umbrella of my mother. I knew his family well, but had never seen him before, for he was mostly at sea. He walked off to the church with the lurching gait peculiar to sailors, brought the umbrella back after service, and disappears there and then from my memory. I never saw him again. But in the little churchyard is a headstone which I know well, whereon it is recorded that some years later he and all his crew were murdered by pirates in the Straits of Malacca. We had much sympathy then with his family. They are all passed away now, and the bitterness is passed also.....'



At the bottom of the headstone of his brother Edmund's grave, is a memorial to Alfred and his wife, unfortunately illegible in this photograph, and illegible at the site today. Photo: *The Family Papers of J.E.T. Rogers*.

It was not until 1874 that probate for Alfred's will was granted to his brother Dr Joseph Rogers for effects under £200.

Notes:

1 The *Chinese Repository* was a periodical published in Guangzhou [Canton] between 1832 and 1851 for the use of Protestant missionaries working in Southeast Asia. <https://www.univie.ac.at/Geschichte/China-Bibliographie/blog/2010/06/19/chinese-repository-1832-1851/>

2 A barque (also bark) a small sailing ship of three or more masts with the aftmost mast fore-and-aft rigged and the others square-rigged ([Merriam-Webster.com](https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/barque))

3 In 1829, Captain Joseph Dudman had a reputation as a 'foul-mouthed bully who verged on sadism, sanctioning "some disgusting occurrences" aboard the *Inglis*. When his crew remonstrated with him over their brutalized existences, he saw fit to flog them without mercy. This resulted in a mutiny. *Honourable East India Company Mutinies* <https://weaponsandwarfare.com/2020/08/05/honourable-east-india-company-mutinies/>

4 Born in London 1819.

5 St Paul's Church is a Church of England parish church located in Bedford Street, Covent Garden, central London. It was designed by Inigo Jones (Wikipedia)

6 Often misspelled as such, also Relfe and Ralph.

7 His sisters Louisa and Elizabeth Rogers ran a 'Ladies' Establishment' in Alton for many years.

8 The barque *Walter Morrice* was built at Sunderland in 1847, measured 126 feet in length with a 31 foot beam and was registered at 666 tons gross (552 net). Originally owned by Halkett & Co. of London and intended for the Australian trade, she began her career running out to Sydney under Captain D. Morrice.

9 for the Pier Head ferry

10 Due to an Act of Parliament which allowed the Leeds and Liverpool Canal Company to compete with rail transport.

11 Richard Norris Rogers (1825-1910) to his mother Mary Ann Rogers (1783-1873) Thursday 24th June 1847 (Rogers Family Papers, Bodleian Library Oxford)

12 Alfred Rogers (1818-1851) from Liverpool to his mother Mary Ann Rogers (1783-1873) in West Meon 1847 (Rogers Family Papers, Bodleian Library Oxford)

13 Alfred Rogers (1818-1851) from Salt House Dock, Liverpool to his brother Francis Slaughter Rogers (1811-1886) Surgeon Westmeon 1847 Sept. 20 (Rogers Family Papers, Bodleian Library Oxford)

14 Now Kolkata, was the capital of the British Indian empire until 1911, when the capital was relocated to Delhi. Kolkata grew rapidly in the 19th century to become the second city of the British Indian Empire.

15 Alfred Rogers (1818-1851) to his mother Mary Ann Rogers (1783-1873) West Meon 1847 (Rogers Family Papers, Bodleian Library Oxford)

16 Port Louis was selected to house both the main harbor and fort for the island as it was relatively well-protected from strong winds during cyclones by the Moka Mountain Range, (Wikipedia)

17 Indentured workers from India, Eastern Africa, Madagascar, China and Southeast Asia, on extremely low pay and subjected to substandard living conditions and brutal treatment (Wikipedia).

18 English company formed for the exploitation of trade with East and Southeast Asia and India, incorporated by royal charter on December 31, 1600. Starting as a monopolistic trading body, the company became involved in politics and acted as an agent of British imperialism in India from the early 18th century to the mid-19th century.... in the early 19th century, the company financed the tea trade with illegal opium exports to China. Chinese opposition to that trade precipitated the first Opium War (1839-42), which resulted in a Chinese defeat and the expansion of British trading privileges.... Its commercial monopoly was broken in 1813, and from 1834 it was merely a managing agency for the British government of India. It was deprived of that role after the Indian Mutiny (1857), and it ceased to exist as a legal entity in 1873. (Britannica.com)

19 Mary Ann Rogers (1783-1873) and Francis Slaughter Rogers (1811-1886) to their son and brother Captain Alfred Rogers and his wife Mary Ann (nee Relf 1818-1851) on the Barque "Fawn" To the Care of Messrs Lyall and Co. Merchants, Calcutta, India 1851 Sept. 14. (Rogers Family Papers, Bodleian Library Oxford). Possibly the last letter Alfred and his wife received, if they received it at all, as they were murdered several weeks later.

20 They were also part of Lyall, Matheson and Co. Calcutta; McKenzie, Lyall & Co. and Lyall, Brothers & Co. and others

21 Hogshhead is an old English term for a large cask used for delivering beer to a pub or for shipping. It contained no less than 54 Imperial gal (65 US gal) and was in common use in Britain, especially in the 18th and 19th centuries. It was a coopered wooden vessel, barrel shaped, and built of tapered staves held together by iron hoops. <https://beerandbrewing.com/dictionary/luqHfWWkbJ/>

22 Picul a unit of weight, used in China, Japan, and SE Asia, equal to approximately 60 kilograms or 133 pounds

Collins English Dictionary.

23 Sappan wood or East Indian red wood is a multipurpose tree, yielding valuable natural dyes with medicinal plant properties. In India, it is cultivated in gardens and nurseries as a live fence plant in parts of Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and West Bengal.

https://agritech.tnau.ac.in/horticulture/horti_medicinal%20crops_sappanwood.html

24 Copper ore, discovered in many places in South Australia but most notably at Kapunda in 1842 and Burra in 1845,... by 1850 the value of copper production was much greater than that of grazing and agriculture combined <https://sahistoryhub.history.sa.gov.au/subjects/copper-industry>

25 Poor treatment of Asian sailors by the British was also evident in wages paid. Ordinary lascars were paid about 10 rupees (5 shillings) a month, whilst the equivalent British sailor was paid about 90 rupees (45 shillings). Behal, Rana P. and Van der Linden, Marcel: *Coolies, Capital, and Colonialism: Studies in Indian Labour History* (2007)

26 *Moreton Bay Courier* 7/2/1852

27 Equal in rank to a bosun's mate, and superior to the other lascars, except the Serang.

28 A poop-deck is a deck that forms the roof of a cabin built in the rear, or "aft", part of a ship (Wikipedia)

29 Cuddy Servant (waits at dinner, does galleywork: washes dishes, mops floors, sets tables, cleans leftovers, may help cook). <https://scalar.usc.edu/works/the-voyages-of-the-clarence/the-crew-of-the-clarence-in-1864>

30 According to Francis Paive's testimony (*Straits Times* 16/12/1851)

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- 31 Words used by Jeffcott in summing up the case (*Straits Times* 16/12/1851)
- 32 Words used by Jeffcott in summing up the case (*Singapore Free Press & Mercantile Advertiser* 12/12/1851)
- 33 *The Straits Times* (2/12/1851) reported the copper of the Fawn's cargo was salvaged by Malays at Bruas, and half the proceeds of their being auctioned would go to the salvagers.
- 34 (two Bengalees and a Malay)
- 35 (2 Vietnamese and 3 Javanese)
- 36 Ingah Git, a chinaman.
- 37 A magistrate or circuit judge (Wikipedia)
- 38 Seacunny: A helmsman in vessels manned by lascars in the East India trade (Wordnik)
- 39 Reported in the *Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser* 12/12/1851
- 40 *Penang Gazette* 6/12/1851 (reported in the *Straits Times* 16/12/1851)
- 41 *Penang Gazette* 6/12/1851 (reported in the *Straits Times* 16/12/1851)
- 42 *Penang Gazette* 6/12/1851 (reported in the *Straits Times* 16/12/1851)
- 43 *The Morning Chronicle and Commercial Shipping Gazette* 12/1/1852 in a report on the mutiny. Also, in the *Overland Free Press* 4/11/1851
- 44 Jaffer, Aaron: "Lord of the Forecastle", *Serangs, Tindals and Lascar Mutiny 1780-1860* (2015) p159
- 45 Jaffer, Aaron: *Lascars and Indian Ocean Seafaring 1780-1860, Shipboard Life, Unrest and Mutiny* (The Boydell Press 2015) p156
- 46 *Straits Times* 28/7/1949 article by Beda Lim
- 47 Generally, there were rarely any cases of sexual crimes taken to court, probably due to the reluctance of women or witnesses to report them. So Sahad's conviction of rape was uncommon. Jaffer, Aaron: *Lascars and Indian Ocean Seafaring 1780-1860, Shipboard Life, Unrest and Mutiny* (The Boydell Press 2015) p155
- 48 Regulating Sexual Behaviour: The 19th Century (UK Parliament website) - death penalty for rape removed in 1841.

Other resources:

- Birth Death and Marriage certificates - General Register Office England
- British Newspaper Archive
- England & Wales, National Probate Calendar - Index of Wills and Administrations (Ancestry.com)
- England and Wales census records (Ancestry.com)
- Frykman, Anderson, van Voss and Rediker: *Mutiny and Maritime Radicalism in the Age of Revolution: An Introduction* (Cambridge University Press 2013)
- NewspaperSG - Singapore Government Agency website
- *The Family Papers of J. E. T. Rogers* - The Bodleian Library, Oxford