

**A Brief History of Nonconformist Protestantism in Penang
and the Mission House at 35 Farquhar Street¹**

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The old Brethren Mission House still stands at 35 Farquhar Street, a colony of bats its only residents. Not far from this simple two-story structure is the Protestant cemetery (1789-1892) where many of Penang's early European residents are buried, including Sir Francis Light, prominent lawyer Jonas Richard Logan, and missionaries Thomas Beighton, Johann Georg Bausum, and Maria Tarn Bausum. Restored by the Penang Heritage Trust in 1993-1994, the Protestant cemetery is site location 9 on Penang's American Express Heritage Trail 2, and tourism websites urge visitors to explore its frangipani-shaded paths.² Although the Brethren mission continued one of the oldest Christian missions in Asia, all but a few Penangites have forgotten the historical significance of the now-derelict Mission House, and to date no one has stepped forward to restore it.

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² See, for example, the official website of Tourism Penang (2006).

When the London Missionary Society (LMS) commenced work in Penang in 1819 with educational outreach to Chinese and Malays, Penang became one of the earliest mission stations in Southeast Asia. But when the Nanking Treaty opened up the possibility of missionary work in China, the LMS closed their missions in Penang, Malacca, Singapore, and Java and shifted their work to the newly opened Treaty Ports. For the next twenty-seven years, the property that the LMS missionaries had developed remained in the control of independent nonconformist Protestant missionaries supported by diverse evangelical groups, including the London-based Chinese Evangelisation Society, George Müller's Scriptural Knowledge Institution in Bristol, the Society for the Promotion of Female Education in the East, and Echoes of Service in Bath, which supported missionaries associated with the Brethren movement.

But in 1870, the LMS directors decided to sell the property, revoking an earlier agreement that so long as it was maintained without any financial commitment from them, it could continue to be used for missionary purposes. Determined to rescue the mission, the Brethren missionary fought the sale and redevelopment of the property, and managed to retain control of one plot of land that had been bought by an earlier missionary with his own funds, and had not been transferred to the control of the LMS directors. There, Penang's nonconformist Christians built a new Mission House in 1876. Consequently, the Brethren Mission House may be seen as the legacy of the London Missionary Society's early mission effort and of the Brethren movement in Penang, whose missionaries directly continued the evangelistic work that the LMS missionaries had started in 1819.

In this paper, I trace the history of non-conformist Christianity in nineteenth century Penang, and in particular the events that led to the dismantling of the LMS mission and the building of the Brethren Mission House in 1876.

The London Missionary Society in Penang

The history of nonconformist Christianity in the Straits Settlements is closely bound with the history of the introduction of Christianity to China. The London Missionary Society was formed in 1795, and sent its first missionaries to Tahiti in 1796. But they soon took as a goal the evangelization of China. Their first missionary to East Asia was Robert Morrison (1782-1834), who went to Macao in 1807, and in 1809 nearly went to Penang, where he concluded there would be fewer obstacles to his work. But he married and stayed in Macao, and William Milne (1785-1822) joined him there in 1813. Morrison's linguistic accomplishments as a Bible translator were exceptional, and his wife's *Memoirs of the life and labours of Robert Morrison* (Morrison 1839) became a model for missionary endeavour.

But because of continued opposition to missionary work, Morrison and Milne decided to establish a base outside of the political boundaries of China for the work of translation, publication, and education. They looked to Southeast Asia, where many immigrant Chinese already lived and worked under the umbrella of colonial control: the British had established George Town on Penang Island in 1785 as a port intermediate between India and China, and Sir Stanford Raffles took control of Malacca and for a time Java (1811-1818) from the Dutch, before founding Singapore in 1819. Because of its large Chinese population, the LMS missionaries considered Batavia (Java) as a possible base for their work, but decided upon Malacca as the more convenient site. The Ultra-Ganges mission opened in 1815, and the staff undertook extensive translation and printing work, opening the Anglo-Chinese College in 1820, and establishing missions in Java and Amboyna (1814), Penang (1819), and Singapore (1819).³

³ For a detailed history of the Anglo-Chinese College at Malacca and the Ultra-Ganges Mission, see Brian Harrison's *Waiting for China* (1979)

In part due to internal conflicts with Milne, Walter and Eliza Medhurst of the London Missionary Society laid the groundwork for the Penang mission in 1819, and Mr. and Mrs. Ince and Thomas and Abigail Beighton soon moved there to take up work with Malay and Chinese communities. Walter Medhurst returned briefly to help start a Chinese school, and then in 1820 set up a separate mission there, remaining only until 1821. He then moved to Batavia, where John Slater had established a Chinese mission in 1819, and worked until he relocated to China in 1842 or 1843 (Harrison 1979: 38, 58-9, 62-4, 188-191). In Penang, the LMS missionaries established Malay and Chinese schools and built a mission chapel with support from the government, and also operated a printing press which they used to produce tracts and a Malay translation of *Pilgrim's Progress*. The missionaries also regularly distributed medicines, accompanying the treatments with gospel teachings.

Mission histories often detail the interaction between missionaries and converts, but missionaries and converts lived and worked in a diverse social field that included other Christian churches and missions, and a sojourning European community many of whose members were Protestant dissenters themselves. The East India Company supported an Anglican established church, whose sphere of activity was defined as the settled European community and transient military and naval men and their families. Officially the missionaries had as their sphere of activity the native peoples whom they sought to convert, but they also ministered unofficially to nonconformist Christians resident in their communities, sometimes trespassing on territory that the Anglican chaplain in the employ of the East India Company considered himself entitled to control.

In Penang, the LMS missionaries purchased a Mission House in 1821, and by 1823 had laid the foundations of a new Mission chapel with contributions from 12 Europeans and 10

Malays. In 1824, they continued to raise funds and to plan the chapel, which was to be built with donations of materials and labour, and a promise that the East India Company would supply paint from the company's store at "prime cost."⁴ The chapel opened in 1824 to a 'large and respectable congregations,' including Mr. and Mrs. Clubley (he was a Member of Council), Mr and Mrs. Andersen, Mr. Brown, and the Scott family.⁵ A letter to the LMS director reported that the government (i.e. Anglican) church was lightly attended, but that a "highly respectable and numerous" congregation assembled in the new Mission Chapel.⁶ In 1824, a neighbour, John Anderson, further donated a plot of land adjacent to the chapel on the condition that nothing would be built on it, which gave the chapel an open, breezy setting.

Although the Mission Chapel was ostensibly built for native converts, most of the 'natives' attending were student boarders required to attend services even though they had not been baptized and were not Christian. But a group of Europeans also used the Mission Chapel as an independent, non-denominational church modeled on the primitive New Testament Church. Indeed, as they describe it, their practices resembled those of the early Brethren, which emerged at precisely the same time in Britain.

On July 11, 1826, they adopted "Rules and Regulations Mutually agreed upon at the Formation of the Independent Church, Mission Chapel Prince of Wales Island." In those the participants observed:

That on a serious perusal of the New Testament it appears to us, that the primitive churches were voluntary Societies of men and women, who having believed the Gospel

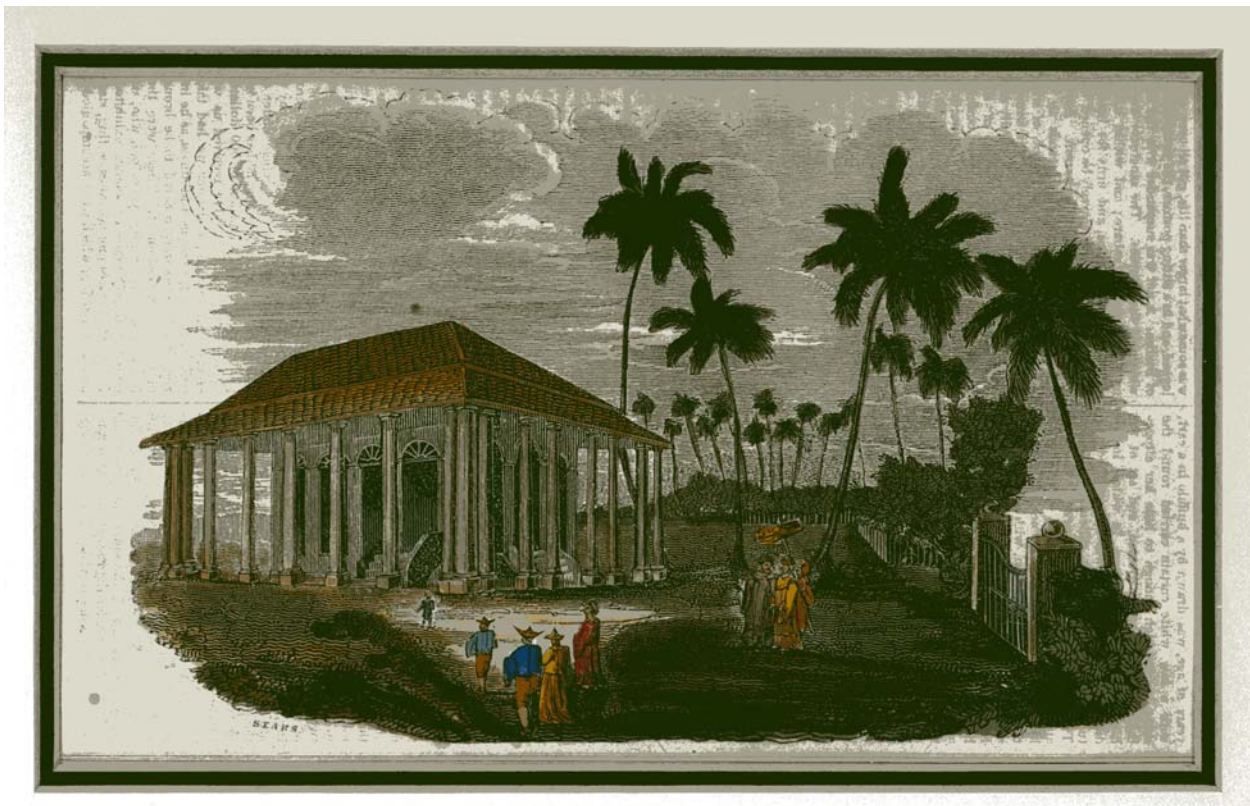
⁴ Letter from Ince to Hankey, 30 January 1824 (CWM/LMS Incoming letters, China-Ultra Ganges. Penang [abbreviated below as "LMS, Penang"]).

⁵ *Prince of Wales Island Gazette*, Letter from A. B., 23 June 1824 Vol. 10, No. 50; enclosure in letter to Hankey (LMS, Penang).

⁶ Letter from J. Rodyk to Hankey, 30 June 1824 (LMS, Penang).

of Christ, did according to his revealed will form themselves into religious communities, that they seriously engaged to unite in maintaining the truth, and worship of God; to walk in all ordinances and commandments of the Lord blameless, and to endeavour to promote each other's growth in faith and holiness.

They also propose to administer the Lord's Supper to their members, and to cooperate in "relieving the poor saints." The new Mission Chapel drew participants away from the Anglican Church and chaplains, some of whom were very conservative in their values, and was a source of friction between the mission and chapel.



Etching of the Penang Mission Chapel, circa 1824,
(Published in "The Society's Mission at Pulo Pinang or Prince of Wales Island,"
London Missionary Society, *Missionary Sketches* No. XXXVII)

Repeatedly the Anglican chaplains challenged the mission chapel since it was the chaplain's duty to minister to the European community, including both the local elite and transient military personnel and their families. In 1838, for example, the Episcopalians "powerfully counselled" Europeans to keep to their own church, and Beighton commented that to do otherwise might make it appear that these Christians had become Methodists, "which would not do at all."⁷ The missionary had established an evening service that proved popular with the European community, and the chaplain further scheduled a competing evening service. Although eminent supporters Sir William and Lady Norris continued to attend the Mission Chapel, many heeded the chaplain's call, and numbers dropped, so that most who attended were soldiers and their wives.

Chinese and Malay Education

Although the missionaries looked after the spiritual needs of the European community, their primary mission activity focused on education, and they opened Chinese and Malay schools, first for boys, and later for girls. Their first Chinese schoolhouse was a Tua Pek Kong temple, where in 1819 they initiated classes for Hokkien and Cantonese speaking students. The missionaries proposed to offer a New System of Education that included teaching in the vernacular, an emphasis on exegesis and comprehension rather than rote learning, and some training in mathematics and geography. But the missionaries were distressed when they observed that on entering the temple the students bowed to the idol and prayed for assistance in learning to read.⁸ More seriously, although they taught their Christian catechism to the students, they also were forced to teach the Chinese classics using a set of standard books since no one

⁷ Letter from Beighton to Ellis, November 1838 (LMS, Penang).

⁸ Letter from Beighton to Hankey, 20 April 1819 (LMS, Penang).

would attend their schools unless this were included on the curriculum. But the contradiction between the Confucian and Christian teachings continued to trouble the missionaries.

Samuel Dyer (1804-1843), a Congregationalist who had been educated at Cambridge and ordained in London, worked with Hokkien speakers in Penang from 1827 until 1835; his wife, Maria Tarn Dyer (1803-1846) also learned Chinese, and established a girls' school in Penang. On his arrival in Penang, Samuel Dyer learned to his dismay that he would be unable to prevent the Chinese school masters from teaching students the Confucian classics. He found the Confucian classics to be 'pernicious,' and expressed his pain at knowing that the fourth sentence in the first book that the students read was "nature originally good," which the Chinese commentary explained was true "of every man's nature when born into this world." The Protestant Christian view was, of course, fundamentally opposed to this perspective, and they proposed instead "natural originally bad" since all were born with original sin that Jesus Christ removed for Christians by his death on the cross. Mr. Dyer hired rooms in town for the schools so that he and Mrs. Dyer could better superintend them, proclaiming that "I would rather be without schools altogether than teach 'We cannot rightly serve men, how then can we serve God.'"⁹ Despite his repulsion, students at the mission school continued to memorize Confucius in the morning, and to recite Christian doctrinal teachings in the afternoon.

Meanwhile, the LMS missionaries' efforts at Malay education faced similar obstacles. Their first schoolroom was a mosque, but by 1821 the LMS mission had five Malay schools. But when they circulated an advertisement for one of these schools, Beighton reported, the parents wanted to know if the children "were to be allowed to read the Koran, and it appeared that if the Koran was to be treated with so much disrespect as to be denied a place in the school,

⁹ Letter from Dyer to Hankey, 9 May 1828 (LMS, Penang).

no children would be allowed to attend.”¹⁰ As with the Chinese school, they had no choice but to compromise, teaching the Koran through the medium of Arabic, and Christian scriptures in the Malay vernacular.

Their work included translation into Malay and Chinese and printing: Beighton, who supervised the Penang mission until 1844, focused on the study of the Malay language, and translated *Pilgrim's Progress* into the vernacular, albeit with great difficulty. The mission also published tracts in Malay, some of which had been written by Malays. Beighton and Ince included in their 1821-2 Report to the LMS directors one tract that they had authored.¹¹ This tract addressed a remarkably condescending message to the natives of Penang, whom they claimed had “erred exceedingly” in bowing down to idols of wood. The tract explained that when gentlemen in Europe heard of this, they felt great concern, and sent off a “company of artificers to teach the inhabitants to cultivate land and to build houses, so that they might obtain food and live comfortably in the world.” The tract continued with a long criticism of idols that “have eyes but cannot see, ears but cannot hear,” etc., wooden idols that the Europeans threw into the flames, or sent to Europe to show people the foolishness of people in these islands. Finally, the “True God” ordered a very large church to be built to show the people how to worship god.

The End of the LMS Mission

The 1842 Nanking Treaty opened treaty ports in China to British residents, and in December 1842, Dr. Legge, Samuel Dyer, and John Stronach sold the Anglo-Chinese College Building in Malacca, the dwelling house, and other property, handing over control of the Mission

¹⁰ Report to LMS directors, 1821-1822 (LMS, Penang).

¹¹ Report to LMS directors, 1821-1822 (LMS, Penang).

Chapels at Malacca and Batavia to the care of Trustees. In 1843 they relocated the Anglo-Chinese College to Hong Kong, and most of the LMS missionaries shifted their activities from Penang, Malacca, Singapore, and Batavia (where Walter Medhurst had worked for decades) to Hong Kong and newly-opened free ports like Shanghai, Foochow and Amoy (Xiamen). Although they continued to support a Malay mission in Singapore for a few years, the LMS dedicated their financial resources to the evangelization of China, and left others to take up the work in the Straits Settlements and Java that they had begun decades earlier.

Although the missionaries who had studied Chinese language moved to China, some of the LMS missionaries had worked with Malay-speakers, albeit with limited success with Muslim Malays. The directors resolved to continue the Malay mission in Singapore, and to leave the station under the control of Benjamin Peach Keasberry (1811-1875), who had been born in India and raised in Batavia, where he studied printing and bookmaking with the LMS missionary William Medhurst. But the LMS also supported Thomas Beighton, who had worked in Penang with Malays since the establishment of the Penang mission in 1819, and he was shocked to learn in 1842 that the LMS Directors had resolved that even as a Malay station, Penang was to be given up.

When he learned the sad news that the Malay department at Penang would be terminated in 1842, he begged them to be allowed to continue his work, declining to retire and return to England.¹² He offered to continue to work on reduced salary, and Alexander Stronach maliciously wrote to say that he could afford to do this since he has unreported income from looking after five half-English girls in his house as boarders.¹³ He also feared losing the mission's printing equipment, which Stronach planned to transfer to Singapore so that Keasberry

¹² Letter from Beighton to Tidman and Freeman, 21 October 1842 (LMS, Penang).

¹³ Letter from A. Stronach to Tidman and Freeman, 27 June 1843 (LMS, Penang).

could use it. Twice he wrote them to say that local people have paid for it, and that “The Press is the society’s property for local purposes at Penang.”¹⁴

Alexander Rodyk wrote the directors in his defense, praising Beighton’s mastery of the Malay language, and claiming that although there had been no conversions, nonetheless the Malay Mission had enjoyed some successes, among which he counted the missionaries’ having inspired a passion for learning and reading in their students, and the facilitation of cross-cultural understanding. He pleaded for continuation of the mission:

The apparent failure or want of success of the Malay Mission, is no argument I respectfully submit for its abandonment...mountains of difficulties have been overcome, prejudices removed, facilities in the attainment of the languages, ... insights into the literatures of the Countries, the character of the people, also the mode of dealing with them have been extensively acquired. As regards Penang, by the instrumentalities of the Malay mission, a desire and a thirst for reading, for books and for knowledge generally, has been created, and a large portion of the rising generation setting at nought their forefather’s prepossessions for the Koran now feast upon the Scriptures who are able to make them rise unto Salvation.

Let one entreat the Directors not to disregard the day of small things among the benighted Malays—a spirit of inquiry has evidently gone abroad, suffer it not to be quenched.

He concluded with a proposal that the Chinese mission be at Singapore, and the Malay mission at Penang.¹⁵

¹⁴ Letter from Beighton to Tidman and Freeman, 24 June 1843 (LMS, Penang).

¹⁵ Letter from A. Rodyk to LMS Foreign Secretary, 11 July 1843 (LMS, Penang).

Indeed, Beighton was proud of his work with the printing press, which he used to print a variety of locally-authored Malay tracts, and he claimed that his correspondence with a Muslim priest showed that his tracts had had an impression. “The Press is too powerful an engine for him to cope with—I have sent him the *Pilgrim* as promised.”¹⁶ But he died in 1844, and his widow wrote to the Directors to report that their decision about the Penang Mission had made “a great and lasting impression on his mind,” ruining his health.¹⁷

When their letter announcing the termination of the Penang Mission arrived, Beighton had printed a translation of the first part of *Pilgrim’s Progress* up to Vanity Fair, and wanted to print it as quickly as possible so as to “not leave the *Pilgrim* in that disagreeable place.”¹⁸ Before his death he had worked day and night to finish his translation of the second part, taking the story to the episode in which Christiana arrives in House Beautiful, and Mrs. Beighton oversaw the production, which had been printed but was still unbound. Meanwhile, only after his death did a letter finally arrive from the directors approving his continuing the Malay Mission in Penang.

Mr. Bausum and Independent Faith Missions

When the LMS mission’s Chinese work in Penang and Singapore ended, John Stronach and his assistant William Young, departed from Singapore for Amoy, and his brother Alexander Stronach joined him from Penang soon thereafter, abruptly abandoning Penang’s Chinese boys’ school, even though the students were under long-term contracts that undoubtedly should have been binding on him. In January 1844, Mrs. Stronach and her sister-in-law kept the girls’ school open; some of the Chinese boys whom Alexander Stronach abandoned went to the Free School,

¹⁶ Letter from Beighton to Tidman and Freeman, 2 September 1848 (LMS, Penang).

¹⁷ Mrs. Beighton to LMS directors, 19 April 1844 (LMS, Penang).

¹⁸ Letter from Beighton to Tidman and Freeman, 24 June 1843 (LMS, Penang).

but he reported that more had gone to study with Johann Georg Bausum (1812-1855), a German missionary who took over the educational work of the LMS mission in 1844.¹⁹

Few details are available concerning his early training or support, but Mr. Bausum had carried on a “flourishing school” with Chinese and Malays in Province Wellesley since 1837. When the opportunity to teach in Penang presented itself, he expanded his sphere of work. Meanwhile, after her husband’s death in Macao in 1843, friends in England asked Samuel Dyer’s widow, Maria Dyer, to take over the Chinese girls’ school in Penang. After Miss Grant came to Singapore with support from the SPFEE to take over the boarding school she had formed (Noel 1847: 209-10), Mrs. Dyer moved from Singapore to Penang with a few possessions and teaching instruments. A few months later she wrote to the LMS Directors to report that Bausum had proposed to her, describing him as a missionary who “during the whole of this time, lived by faith, on the promise of God for his daily supplies, and God has always given sight to his faith by supplying his every need.”²⁰ After she married Bausum in 1845, she received funding from ‘friends’ in England, but made no further requests for funding from the London Missionary Society.

Meanwhile, Mrs. Beighton was unable to sell the mission property, and Gottlieb wrote to the LMS directors to advise them that if what has been bought by local subscription was subtracted, then only the Mission House would be left for sale. One of the two schools was built by Mr. Dyer at his private expense, and the other by the Penang Christian Association, and both,

¹⁹ Johann Georg Bausum was born in Germany on 8 June 1812 at Rodheim vor der Höhe, near Frankfurt am Main, and baptised Lutheran. Few details are available concerning his training as a missionary or possible affiliations. Frederick A. Tatford identifies Mr. Bausum as a missionary from the Swiss Assemblies, and erroneously claims that he started work in Penang in 1855, which was in fact the year of his death (Tatford 1984: 167). The entry for Samuel Dyer in *The Blackwell Dictionary of Evangelical Biography, 1730-1860*, identifies Bausum as a Congregational missionary (Sunquist 1995:338), but he did not appear to claim an denominational affiliation and appears to have worked as an independent missionary during his years in Province Wellesley and Penang. See also R. G. Tiedemann’s entry on the Ricci Roundtable website (Tiedemann 2006a).

²⁰ Letter from Maria Dyer to Tidman and Freeman, 31 January 1845 (LMS, Penang).

he added, would be very useful for a Protestant missionary or missionary society. He recommended Mr. Bausum and his wife, who was after all the widow of one of their missionaries. In 1846, the LMS decided in Mr. and Mrs. Bausum's favor, and allowed them to continue to use the mission premises in Penang.

While the transfer was being discussed, Beighton's son John wrote to the LMS directors to describe the LMS property holdings in Farquhar Street and Beach Street.²¹ These included:

The Mission House, combining a Library, Printing and Bookbinding Apparatur, and outhouses, a garden and grounds;

The Chapel with furniture, organ, silver communion service, grounds planted with cocoanuts and plantain trees.

Half-dozen school houses.

Brick building in Beach Street

Pulau Tikus – attap houses

Large piece of land at Province Wellesley.

The LMS directors allowed Bausums to make use of the property in exchange for its upkeep.²² He soon wrote to inform them that he had purchased a parcel of land to expand the school at his own expense, "which parcel of ground you will allow me to present to your Society as a small addition to the Mission Premises."²³ But he never transferred the land into the control of the LMS directors, and it was this contested property that finally passed into the control of the Brethren mission movement.

²¹ Letter from John T. Beighton to Read, 19 December 1845 (LMS, Penang).

²² Bausum acknowledges this agreement in a letter to Tidman, 7 November 1846 (LMS, Penang).

²³ Letter from Bausum to LMS directors, 1 August 1846 (CWM/LMS Home Property Deeds. Ultra Ganges [abbreviated below as "Property deeds, Ultra Ganges"]). In 1870, Abraham Logan notes that the property that Bausum had bought had been promised to the purchaser if the LMS could prove title, and that Bausum had bought the property to expand the school on 27 December 1847 (letter from A. Logan to the LMS directors, 21 April 1870 (LMS, Property deeds, Ultra Ganges)).

Maria Bausum died in 1846, and Mr. Beighton's widow, Abigail, returned to England. But another missionary, Jemima Poppy, had come to Penang in 1845 to work in the field of women's education. Jemima Poppy (1818-1869) was baptized at Earsdon, North Shields, United Kingdom, and was working as a school mistress in Maidenhead when she was accepted by the Society for the Promotion of Female Education in the East (SPFEE). SPFEE was an interdenominational society staffed by women and employing only women agents whose main object was the establishment and superintendence of schools in China, India, and other Asian countries, including the Straits Settlements. The groups' first missionary, Eliza Thornton, went to Malacca in 1836, and in 1844, they dispatched Jemima Poppy to Kalimantan (Borneo) to assist a female missionary, Mrs. Emma Thompson, at a school for Dyak girls in Karangan (Noel 1947: 44-51). But Mrs. Thompson died, and in 1845 Jemima Poppy moved to Penang.²⁴ She married Mr. Bausum in 1848, and ran the girls' school that Maria Dyer had founded (and Mrs. Beighton had continued) until her departure for China in 1856.

Mr. Bausum had worked in Penang as an independent faith missionary on the model of Brethren missionary Norris Groves and China Inland Mission founder James Hudson Taylor. On that basis, he and the new Mrs. Bausum negotiated with the LMS directors to have continued control of the LMS property in Penang. Later that year Mr. and Mrs. Bausum received the welcome news that the Directors would allow them to continue to use the mission premises.²⁵ In 1850 Mr. Bausum built a new girls' schoolhouse to the East of the Mission house.

Although the LMS directors had given Mr. and Mrs. Bausum their approval to use the property in 1846, a favor granted in light of Mrs. Bausum's earlier contribution as Samuel Dyer's wife, and although they allowed Mr. Bausum to remain after her death, no financial

²⁴ I am grateful to Pip Land for supplying this information.

²⁵ Letter from Bausum to Tidman, 7 November 1849 (LMS, Penang).

support was forthcoming from them. Bausum ruefully noted in a letter, the fact of “his being obliged some years ago to throw off all party connection and to act independently” acted detrimentally on funds.²⁶ Undoubtedly, his financial situation was precarious. Mr. Bausum applied to the Church Missionary Society, but they refused him aid; he made overtures both to the Established Church and to the Free Presbyterian Church for a formal affiliation, but neither alliance bore fruit. Finally, he sought and received support from the Chinese Evangelization Society in 1853.

Although he applied to both churches for ordination, Bausum encountered significant obstacles in cooperating with Episcopalians and Presbyterians. In 1847 he reported that although the Established Church would be willing to help him financially, they would only do so if the native church conformed to the Episcopal/Anglican form of worship. He was unwilling, commenting that “it is not the mode or form but the true conversion of lost sinners to the all sufficient Saviour Jesus Christ which I endeavour to effect.” He considered being ordained in the English Church, but when he studied the book of Common Prayer, he found that he disagreed with the Anglican teachings on Baptismal Regeneration, which he considered to be irreconcilable with the Bible. Consequently, he withdrew from communion with the Anglicans, and withdrew his application for ordination.²⁷

In 1849, he faced a new crisis when the Penang Chaplain proposed to purchase the mission premises. Bausum opposed the sale of the mission property to the Episcopalians, noting that Scotch residents and other dissenters in Penang had promoted the building of the chapel, “and all who contributed, did aid to erect a dissenters, and not an Episcopalian place of worship.” Consequently, he decided to appeal to the Free Church of Scotland “that they may be induced to

²⁶ Letter from Bausum to Tidman 23 March 1855 (LMS, Penang).

²⁷ Letter from Bausum to LMS directors, 31 May 1849 (LMS, Penang).

lay the case before the committee of Foreign Missions, hoping that they will be led to extend their efforts to Penang and ordain me as one of their missionaries for this place.”²⁸

But to his disappointment, the Presbyterians decided instead to dispatch their own minister to Penang, and Bausum agreed to allow the Presbyterians to share the premises with them, noting that since the Presbyterian families have contributed to the building of the chapel, he assumed that the LMS directors would have no objection. But when the new minister arrived, Bausum determined that he could alleviate his financial problems by charging the Presbyterian congregation a monthly rent for use of the premises. They protested vehemently, claiming that the chapel was intended for the use of any Protestant congregation with their own minister; he countered that it was built for the agents of the LMS, “who were appointed to labour here among the Chinese or Malays.”²⁹

Meanwhile, the Anglican minister again offered him assistance, but on condition that the Presbyterians discontinue having services in the Mission Chapel. He turned again to the LMS, begging the directors to assist them by taking subscriptions and donations on their behalf as the Chinese Union at Hackney did.³⁰ They agreed to so do, and he was fortified in his negotiations with the Presbyterians by being able to claim this connection.

The Chinese Union was an evangelistic society that Charles Gützlaff and seven Chinese formed in 1844. Gützlaff argued that the most valuable assistants would be native evangelists, and in 1850 he traveled widely in Europe to secure support for his evangelistic program. The society raised funds to train Chinese colporteurs to carry tracts and New Testaments to the interior of China, and the Chinese workers had reported spectacular successes. Inspired by

²⁸ Letter from Bausum to LMS directors, 31 May 1849 (LMS, Penang).

²⁹ Bausum to the Presbyterian committee (n.d.), enclosed in letter from Bausum to the LMS directors, 4 February 1852 (LMS, Penang).

³⁰ Letter from Bausum to the LMS directors, 31 July 1852 (LMS, Penang).

Gützlaff, in 1850 British evangelical Christians formed the Chinese Society for Furthering the Promulgation of the Gospel in China, and Adjacent Countries, by Means of Native Evangelists, which they soon renamed the Chinese Evangelization Society. But in 1851, the Chinese Union faced scandal when it was revealed that some of the Chinese colporteurs had deceived Gützlaff, reselling the tracts and New Testaments to the printer rather than itinerating and distributing them in inland China. Because the CES directors found it impossible to cooperate with the Chinese Union, the connection was broken in 1852.³¹

The founders of the Chinese Evangelization Society formed the society with the object of promoting the work of evangelization “by means of Medical and other missionaries, native evangelists and colporteurs; by printing and circulating the Scriptures and religious tracts.” They described the society as “unsectarian in its constitution, and managed by persons of evangelical principle and personal piety, belonging to the church of England, and to other sections of the Church of Christ.” Among their first projects was printing 10,000 copies of a corrected edition of Dr. Gützlaff’s Chinese translation of the *New Testament*.³²

The CES supported William Lobscheid in Hong Kong in 1853, and James Hudson Taylor, and Rev. Arthur Taylor soon followed in 1854. But according to their 1853 *Annual Report*, among the first applicants to the CES was Mr. Bausum, who applied to them for assistance in the training of four native evangelists, three Chinese boys in his school and a young Malay, whom the CES directors hope with some day “enter their native land as heralds of the gospel, and aid in

³¹ For a brief history of the Chinese Evangelization Society (CES), see Tiedemann (2006b).

³² Chinese Evangelization Society 1853: 2.

the glorious work of putting down the strongholds of Satan.”³³ In their fourth annual report, the directors describe their aims in supporting these young Christians:³⁴

The Board continues the support of the four native youths under the charge of Mr. Bausum. The accounts received of their progress are satisfactory; they go out into the neighborhood of Penang, speaking to the people of the glad tidings of salvation. It is hoped that one day some, if not all, these youths will enter China as heralds of peace. From the difficulties of the language and the peculiarities of the Chinese people, the Board looks to a native agency as the most efficient instrument for the evangelization of China. The present aspect of the country, its politics and religious excitement, induce a strong hope that the day is approaching when many will throw off idolatry and become preachers of the gospel to their countrymen. The Lord appears to be preparing wonderful things for China that such vast numbers should, at the bidding of one man, cast away their idols and worship one Supreme Being, is indeed marvelous in our eyes.

In 1852, Bausum submitted a “Report of the Protestant Mission School in Pinang” for the previous year which listed as major subscribers to the Mission School the East India Company, E. A. Blundell (who served as Colonial Governor from 1855-1859), the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, and a number of Penang’s leading citizens. In that report, Bausum described his activities as including not only the education of 78 boys, but also two services in Malay every Sunday and the distribution of Bibles and religious tracts donated by various religious tract societies (Bausum 1852: 3-4)

On Bausum’s sudden death in 1855, lawyer Jonas Daniel Vaughan reported to the LMS directors that Mrs. Bausum had been left destitute since he had mortgaged a failed nutmeg

³³ Chinese Evangelization Society 1853.: 5.

³⁴ Chinese Evangelization Society 1854: 10.

plantation for \$1000. He added that Mrs. Bausum wished to stay to continue her work at the girls' school, which was supported by a Lady's Society in England (probably the Society for the Propagation of Female Education in the East), and which was built in part on mission property and in part on a piece of land bought by Mr. Bausum.³⁵ Meanwhile, the Penang mission now had three trained native evangelists, and Mr. Vaughan proposed that these be confirmed as ministers, and that the LMS consider dispatching an ordained missionary to Penang, but they declined the proposal.

Meanwhile, Mrs. Bausum developed a severe and chronic throat infection that left her unable to speak above a whisper.³⁶ In 1856 she wrote to the LMS director to advise him that she had found a teacher for the girls' school, and that she was about to leave Penang for Ningpo. There she joined two stepdaughters, Maria and Burella Dyer, who were teaching in a school run by Miss Aldersley, who before moving to Ningpo had run a girls' school in Java with support from the Society for the Promotion of Female Education in the Far East (Noel 1847: 242-255).³⁷ Mrs. Bausum later married Dr. E. C. Lord, a Baptist missionary who also was the United States Consul in Ningpo.³⁸

The Chinese Evangelization Society found new missionaries for the Penang Mission, and dispatched Dr. and Mrs. Pruen, and Miss Chandler. Miss Chandler was the daughter of a surgeon at Bristol who went to Penang with support from the Society for Promoting Female Education in the East, and was appointed together with Mrs. Pruen to superintend the girls'

³⁵ Letter from J. D. Vaughan to Tidman, 19 August 1855 (LMS, Penang).

³⁶ Letter from Mrs. Bausum to Tidman 21 December 1855.

³⁷ The Dyer sisters had returned to England for their education, but in 1853 had moved to Shanghai to teach, and in Ningpo, Maria Dyer had met and married CES missionary J. Hudson Taylor. According to family records, she went first to England, then went to Ningpo at the urging of her two stepdaughters, Maria Dyer and Burella Dyer, who invited her there to take over the operation of a girls' school. A letter from Maria Bausum to her aunt and uncle indicates that Mrs. Bausum was with her in Ningpo in July 1857, which suggests that she first went to China.

³⁸ I am grateful to Daniel Bausum, the great-great-grandson of Jemima Poppy, for information about this stage of her life.

school.³⁹ They reached Penang in October 1856, and in the following year Mrs. Pruen reported to the Directors of the CES that theirs was the only Protestant female school in Penang, and that although the girls came from “many nations,” they almost all understood Malay.⁴⁰

Of the mission work Dr. Pruen wrote that of thirty adults baptized by Mr. Bausum, fifteen had returned to China and fifteen remained in Penang. Of eleven additional converts baptized by them, four had returned to China. The Chinese evangelist supported by CES continued to teach at the school, which with ninety-two students including thirty-two boarders was full. But he pled for additional support for the boys’ school.⁴¹

But even this work was evanescent: by 1857, Miss Chandler had married and retired from the work, and in 1859 Dr. Pruen died. Meanwhile, the Chinese Evangelization Society was deeply in debt, and disbanded in the same year. Nonetheless, in the final issue of the *Chinese Missionary Gleaner*, the directors reported that Mr. and Mrs. Chapman of Bristol were on route to Penang accompanied by Miss O’Callaghan and Bee, a Chinese Christian girl. They mention that “Mr. and Mrs. Chapman go out from the church assembling in the Bethesda and Salem Chapels; but have no connection with any Society.”⁴²

From Bristol and Amoy to Penang

Although Echoes of Service did not yet exist in 1860, the Scriptural Knowledge Institute founded by George Müller and Henry Craik in 1834 supported the work of Mr. and Mrs. Chapman, who are regarded as the first Brethren missionaries in the Straits Settlements. In 1859, the Chapmans sailed to Singapore from Bristol—Müller’s base, and the site of the original

³⁹ *Chinese Missionary Gleaner*, Vol. II No. XVII, 1 May 1857: 66.

⁴⁰ Dr. and Mrs. Pruen received no salary from the CES Board, but offered his ‘gratuitous service,’ and Mr. Ball raised money for the passage (*Chinese Missionary Gleaner*, Vol. II No. 17, 1 May 1857: 66).

⁴¹ *Chinese Missionary Gleaner*, N.S., Vol. III No. 27, 1 March 1858: 33; *Chinese Missionary Gleaner*, N.S. Vol. III No. 29, 1 May 1858: 60.

⁴² *Chinese Missionary Gleaner*, N.S. Vol. IV No. 44, 1 October 1859: 103.

Bethesda Gospel Hall. They traveled with Miss O'Callaghan, whom the Chinese Evangelization Society sent to continue education work in Penang in the girls' school that Maria Dyer had founded (Thiran 1990: 21).⁴³ They stopped in Singapore to visit with entrepreneur Philip Robinson, then continued to Penang in early 1860⁴⁴ There, they took possession of the former LMS properties, including the Farquhar Street mission house and two school buildings, which the LMS allowed them to use rent-free.⁴⁵

Meanwhile, English Presbyterian missionary Alexander Grant arrived in Singapore from Amoy in 1860, and then went to Penang, where he stayed with the Chapmans at the Mission House. Mrs. Grant recalled in a letter to *Echoes* that on his arrival in Penang from Singapore in 1860, Grant stayed with the Chapmans to recuperate from an accident, and there contracted typhoid. Grant shared Brethren views on adult immersion baptism, and in Penang finally acted on these convictions: "On his recovery, while standing watching a baptism taking place in the sea, he resolved to be baptized; accordingly he forthwith walked down into the water and by baptism publicly confessed his burial and resurrection with Christ." But by taking this decision, he severed his relationship with the Presbyterians, formally leaving the Amoy Mission in 1861.⁴⁶

⁴³ By 1867 Miss O'Callaghan had moved to Malacca, where she engaged in active evangelism, commending her converts to Singapore's assembly for baptism. But when a Dutch evangelist visited in 1870, claiming that the Lord Jesus had already come again in South Africa, she followed him there, leaving Malacca with no Nonconformist European evangelist for many years (Assembly Record Books, 17 February 1870: 100-101).

⁴⁴ Although the exact date of their arrival is unknown, Mrs. Chapman wrote to George Müller from Singapore on 19 January 1860, which suggests that they probably arrived in Penang in 1860 (Muller 1860: 63).

⁴⁵ When Chapman left in 1868, he reported that the Mission House, two schools, and chapel all were in good order (letter from Chapman to LMS directors, 7 April 1868 [LMS, Penang]).

⁴⁶ "Our Departed Brother Alexander Grant," Lucy A. Grant, *Echoes of Service*, March 1914, 104-6. The account of these events is sketchy, but the Presbyterian mission considered him one of their own until 1861. According to Mrs. Grant, as the result of his aunts' influence, he apparently was quite "exercised on the subject" of adult immersion baptism, and had never baptized an infant himself. He himself reported that he had left Amoy "abruptly," which suggests that as a consequence of his views he may have found himself at odds with his mission superiors. According to F. Roy Coad, Chapman was a Presbyterian minister, and Grant a Presbyterian missionary, and they worked together in Penang to found a congregation, only later linking with the Brethren (Coad 1968:199). He does not give any sources for this information, which appears to be contradicted by the fact that after undergoing immersion baptism, Mr. Grant broke off from the Presbyterians in 1861. Meanwhile, histories of Presbyterian

After Grant joined the Chapmans in Penang, he worked among Hokkien-speaking Chinese and English until 1867.

Undoubtedly, Mr. Chapman was deeply influenced by George Müller's model of living by faith, which in turn had been inspired by Anthony Norris Groves' pamphlet, "Christian Devotedness" and by the Pietist practices of August Hermann Francke (1663-1727).⁴⁷ Chapman's "Second Annual Report of the Income and Expenditure of the Protestant Mission School," for example, was directly modelled on Müller's autobiography, *A Narrative of Some of the Lord's Dealings with George Müller*. Between 1837 and 1886, Müller published six installments of this work, an abridged version of which remains in print (Müller 1984). In the autobiography, Müller explained his decision to "cast himself upon God," using prayer to raise funds to support his orphan houses, publication, and mission efforts. In story after story he recounts the experience of profound financial difficulties that put his orphanages at risk. Instead of seeking wealthy patrons, he prayed over his situation, and invariably received the needed funds in a timely fashion.

In the 1862 report, Chapman noted that he objected to the previous practice of supporting the schools through subscription, preferring "a more excellent way," namely "to look to Him alone, for the means to carry it on" (Chapman 1862: 2). Rather than a tidy list of distinguished donors, he supplied a diary of his accounts. He had started the year in a financially precarious state, with only \$77.42 in hand, but had prayed to the Lord, and received a stream of donations,

missions do not report supporting missions work in Penang or Malaya at this time (see, for example Band 1948 [1972]).

⁴⁷ In 1695, Francke had established orphanages in Halle, Germany that provided the model for the orphanages Müller established in Bristol, and he made similar use of autobiographical writings to fund raise for his efforts. In the 1860 Report of the Scriptural Knowledge Institution, Müller reports providing £285 in support of the Penang mission, a sum that included the cost of transportation for the missionary and his wife from England to Penang (Müller 1860: 41). For a detailed explication of Müller's approach to financing the Scriptural Knowledge Institution, see Neil Summerton (2003)

always in time to meet his expenses. In the middle of this record of donation after donation he exclaimed, “Thus the Lord answers our prayers again and again, asking in the name of Jesus” (Chapman 1862: 3-6). His 1865 report similarly exults in his success in living by faith: “Dear Christian reader, observe what a variety of ways the Lord has in sending us in means [*sic*]. I have no care, that is, no anxious care or concern about means whatever; simply, in answer to prayer, the Lord disposes the hearts of one and another to give; asking in the name of Jesus, the Son of God” (Chapman 1865: 7).

The Brethren missionaries described their activities in letters to George Müller, excerpts of which he published in his annual reports on the orphan houses that he managed in Bristol and missionary work supported by the Scriptural Knowledge Institution for Home and Abroad that he and Henry Craik had launched in 1834. In their letters to Müller, Chapman and Grant reported that they continued the girls and boys schools that the LMS missionaries had started and also held meetings for Bible study three times a week. The missionaries reported frequent baptisms, often of senior students in their schools.

Everyday evangelical activities included frequent itineration, and Chapman and Grant travelled to villages both on Penang Island and on the mainland, distributing tracts in Malay, Chinese, Tamil, Hindi, and English. The missionaries also evangelized the captains and crews of the boats in Penang’s harbour, offered medicine to opium addicts, and distributed tracts to the inmates in Penang’s Debtor’s Prison (Müller 1862: 59-61). In 1865, a visiting Christian captain wrote to Muller, describing the mission at Penang:

With the exception of the missionaries, the church consists of native Christians, Chinese (principally), Malays and Klings, numbering 67 adults with 30 communicants in the schools. There are 45 boys, boarders, 20 girls, boarders, 20 day scholars, and 5 native

teachers; 55 men and 12 women have been baptized. The women are not so seriously inclined as the men; the generality of them think they have no aim or object in life except to get married and have children. One Chinaman in particular appears very serious; he walks a distance of 10 miles to meeting every Sunday morning. The others are very attentive during worship, and the singing is very good: the words in their own tongue are set to psalm tunes (Müller 1865: 59).

In 1866, the Chapmans visited England, leaving Grant in charge of the mission. When they returned, they brought three new recruits: Mr. and Mrs. William Macdonald and Miss Lucy A. Judd.⁴⁸ The following year, Mr. Grant and Miss Judd married, and moved to Singapore. In August 1867, the Singapore Records reported that “Brother and Sister Grant labourers in the Gospel arrived from Penang, intending to make this place their abode for a time, with a view to labour both amongst Chinese and Europeans.”⁴⁹

Crisis and Change, 1870-1880

Evangelical and educational work continued uninterrupted in the London Missionary Society property in Penang for twenty-five years after Mr. Beighton’s death in 1844 and Mrs. Beighton’s return to England in 1846. As I discuss above, oversight of the Mission House and boys’ and girls’ schools passed first to independent missionary Mr. Bausum (1844-1855), Maria Dyer Bausum (1843-46), and Jemima Poppy Bausum (1845-1856), then to Dr. and Mrs. Pruen (1856-1859) and Miss Chandler (1856-1857), independent missionaries supported by the Chinese Evangelization Society, and finally Mr. and Mrs. Chapman (1860-1868), Miss

⁴⁸ “More than five years ago, Mr. and Mrs. Macdonald went out to Penang, in company with Mr. John Chapman (who had laboured there for some years) and others. After a while the rest of the party left Penang for other places, but this brother and sister have remained here, occasionally visiting Singapore, from which this letter was written” (Editorial preface to letter from William Macdonald, Singapore, *The Missionary Echo*, March 1872, 36).

⁴⁹ Assembly Record Books, entry for 11 August 1867: 55; see also Macdonald, n.d., *The Missionary Echo*, December 1872: 153-54; Tatford 1984:167.

O’Callaghan (1860-1870) and Mr. Grant (1860-1867), independent missionaries supported by George Müller’s Scriptural Knowledge Institution in Bristol. From them control passed to Mr. and Mrs. Macdonald, who arrived in Penang in 1866 and remained there for forty-four years until his death in 1911.

The London Missionary Society had stipulated that these evangelical missionaries could make continued free use of the mission premises provided that they looked after its upkeep. When Mr. and Mrs. Macdonald arrived, they undoubtedly believed that this agreement would persist, but they soon found themselves allied with the Penang nonconformist Christians to seek to prevent the LMS from selling the property for private development.

In 1867, Colonel Anson wrote to the Director of the London Missionary Society and sent him a map of the mission property, complaining that a piece of the property was ‘empty and untidy,’ and asking if they would allow Penang to build a library there. The property had been donated to the mission on condition that it remain undeveloped. The donor, Mr. Andersen, had built a seaside house facing his brother’s house on Farquhar Street, but with the demolition of that house and the donation of the land to the mission, he protected an unobstructed view of Penang Hill, and ensured the free circulation of air both for his residence and the Mission Chapel. Col. Anson pointed out, however, that the seaside house now was owned by a Chinese merchant, and that in his view this agreement was no longer binding. Meanwhile, he offered the opinion that “The people who now have the use of the Chapel and other buildings do not, as far as I can learn, succeed well with their mission. Indeed, I don’t think it is a very desirable one, so far as I can judge of it.”⁵⁰

⁵⁰ Col. Anson to Ellis, 10 November 1867 (LMS Property deeds, Ultra Ganges).

The LMS Director apparently knew nothing about how the LMS had disposed of the property, or who occupied it. He wrote to Mr. and Mrs. Beighton's son, who advised them that the deeds were in possession of the Society's lawyers, who had received them from Mr. Chapman in 1867. The LMS Directors obtained information about the value of the property, and took steps to sell it.

When they saw a printed notice that the property was for sale, the members of the Mission Church, supported by non-member signatories, wrote and sent a petition to the LMS, requesting that at least the Mission Chapel not be sold, arguing that the sale of their central meeting place would create exceptional hardships for them. They presented a number of points, many queried in the margins by the LMS director, who did not know from what date these missionaries had taken over control of the premises, or who had given them permission to do so. It appeared that by 1868, the girls' school had been kept open, but the boys' school had closed. As the petitioners described it, their church consisted primarily of "Chinese and East Indian people who assembled in the Chapel for the purpose of religious worship," and that even with no missionary present, they assembled for worship in the chapel three times a week and on special occasions. The petitioners noted that if the chapel were sold, they would not have the means to acquire another building suitable for their assembly, adding that if they were deprived of a central meeting place the native Christians would scatter, and the "blessings which has so far acted upon the work which was introduced into Penang by the Society's means would be greatly lessened."⁵¹

At the time of this crisis, their workers were a missionary—Mr. Macdonald, who was in England at the time—and a Chinese teacher brought up from Singapore, who use a hired house

⁵¹ Petition to the London Missionary Society, 8 May 1869 (LMS Property deeds, Ultra Ganges).

in the “Chinese town” as a preaching place, and also carried out evangelistic work in the country. But the Mission Chapel was, they added, well known, “as a place of reference to strangers in the various parts of the Island of Penang, and Province Wellesley on the occasion of preaching the gospel out of town.” After almost fifty years of evangelistic practice, including open-air preaching, and regular services at the Mission Chapel since 1824, the Christian mission was well-known in the region.

Finally, the petitioners reminded the LMS directors that the chapel was built “with money subscribed in Penang, and for the benefit of gospel work in that place, and will no doubt consider that the Native Church has at the least a moral claim on the Society to be allowed to continue to use the chapel as heretofore.” Despite their petition, on December 15, 1869 the LMS lawyers authorized Penang lawyer J.R. Logan to sell the property if he could obtain \$3000 for it.⁵²

J. R. Logan, reported to the LMS directors that many locals were opposed to the proposed sale, and that many had subscribed to the building of these properties. Meanwhile, he noted that potential Chinese buyers were fearful that if they bought the ground with the Mission Chapel standing on it, “evil would befall them” were they to demolish it. He recommended that they either sell the property to another missionary society, or demolish the buildings before selling the land at auction.⁵³

After J. R. Logan’s sudden death, his brother, Abraham Logan, sold the property at less than its optimal value. But there was a curious problem with the sale. In 1847, Mr. Bausum had bought a piece of land in order to extend the Girls’ School. Although he wrote to the LMS directors to advise them that he intended this property as a “small addition to the mission premises,” he did nothing to formally convey it to the LMS. On his death in 1855 his second

⁵² Letter from Mullens to Woollacott and Leonard, 15 December 1869 (LMS Property deeds, Ultra Ganges).

⁵³ J. R. Logan to Woolacott and Leonard, 27 August 1868 (LMS Property deeds, Ultra Ganges).

wife Jemima Poppy Bausum had inherited it, but she had moved to China and remarried. She had sold other property on her departure, but an extension of the school had been built on this land, which undoubtedly rendered it impossible to sell. Nonetheless, the title remained in her name, and passed to her heirs on her death in 1869.

In 1868, Penang Harbour Master George Felix Gottlieb had written to J. T. Beighton reminding him that a portion of the land on which the girl's school stood belonged to Mrs. Lord, formerly Mrs. Bausum. He recommended that the LMS allow them to preserve the old school buildings, and sell instead the open ground that Mr. John Andersen had given as a gift 40-45 years earlier, which Mr. Chapman had unsuccessfully sought to develop as a hospital for opium smokers.⁵⁴ Ignoring his advice, in 1870 the LMS directors sold the mission property to Mr. David Aitkin without obtaining title to the land that Mr. Bausum had bought and Mrs. Bausum had inherited, leaving it to the new owner to seek a means to establish legal control.⁵⁵

But Mr. Macdonald did not concede defeat, and Abraham Logan wrote again to the LMS directors in 1871 to plead for their help on behalf of Mr. Aitkin, adding that "Mr. William Macdonald still persists in retaining possession of the Girls' School partly built on this piece of ground and partly on the Society's property. He will neither pay rent for it nor permit it to be taken down," even though Mr. Aitkin offered him money for mission purposes if he agreed to leave the property.⁵⁶ But apparently Macdonald finally conceded defeat, since he went to Singapore later that year, leaving the Chinese evangelist Ang Kang Kin and Chiam Kim Kak in charge of outreach to Chinese Christians in Penang.

⁵⁴ Gottlieb to Beighton, 2 November 1868 (LMS Property deeds, Ultra Ganges).

⁵⁵ A. Logan to Woolacott and Leonard, 3 February 1871 (LMS Property deeds, Ultra Ganges).

⁵⁶ Letter from Logan to Woolacott and Leonard, 3 Feb 3 1871 (LMS Property deeds, Ultra Ganges).

Macdonald returned in 1872 to England to seek more missionaries, but also to heighten interest among English Christians in the work in the Straits Settlements. Mr. and Mrs. Macdonald returned to Penang in mid-1874, together with Miss Kidner, who planned to teach girls, continuing the work that Maria Dyer Bausum had started and Jemima Poppy Bausum had continued, although she had no schoolhouse in which to teach them. Although they say nothing in letters published in the *Missionary Echo*, and although details of the transfer are not recorded in the LMS records, in 1875 Mr. Macdonald obtained control of a parcel of land on Farquhar Street, presumably the property that Bausum had bought.⁵⁷

There, the Brethren built a new Mission Chapel in 1876. In celebration of the occasion, Mr. Macdonald published an announcement describing their work “in connection with The Gospel of Christ At Penang Evangelical—Undenominational,” and sent a copy to the LMS Directors, together with a handwritten note. The announcement included the information that they were performing regular services at their new Mission Chapel on Farquhar Street, and also distributing tracts in “various Western and Eastern languages.” The announcement also listed donors to the chapel building fund anonymously, and in his note to the Directors Mr. Macdonald pointed out that their donation of £150 had been entered into the list of contributors.⁵⁸

Conclusion

When they fought to retain control of the property, the Penang Christians petitioners sought to convince the LMS directors that the congregation that met at the old Mission Chapel was “a child of the LMS” and that they were fellow labourers with the society in the “grand and glorious work of the gospel.” With the sale of the LMS property in 1870, they lost the old

⁵⁷ See K. C. Ung (1998:4).

⁵⁸ “The Gospel of Christ Penang Statement by W. Macdonald Missionary,” August 1876. Sent by Macdonald to Millers. A handwritten note adds “Please note your Society’s donation [of £150] entered in the list of contributors No. 21” (LMS Property deeds, Ultra Ganges).

Mission Chapel, Mission House, and the long-established schoolhouses. But they managed to rescue a slice of land on Farquhar Street, where they built a Mission Chapel (no longer extant) and the Mission House at 35 Farquhar Street, which was probably constructed between 1876 and 1878.⁵⁹

With the establishment of the Brethren Mission Chapel and Mission House, the evangelical work that the LMS had started in 1819 continued at its seaside location for another 60 years. In 1938, the Brethren moved to a new Gospel Hall on Burmah Road, and the city demolished the old Mission Chapel when they widened Farquhar Street. Remarkably, the old Brethren Mission House still stands on the small piece of land that Mr. Bausum bought to expand his wife's girls' school, and that Mr. Macdonald later fought for and won, a forgotten trace of the almost 200 year history of evangelical Protestant Christianity in the region.



Old Brethren Mission House, Photograph courtesy of Echoes of Service (no date)

⁵⁹ The first mention of the Mission House appears in the *Missionary Echo* in 1878.

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