
A VISION OF THE PAST

A History of Early Photography in Singapore and Malaya
The Photographs of G.R. Lambert & Co., 1880-1910

By John Falconer

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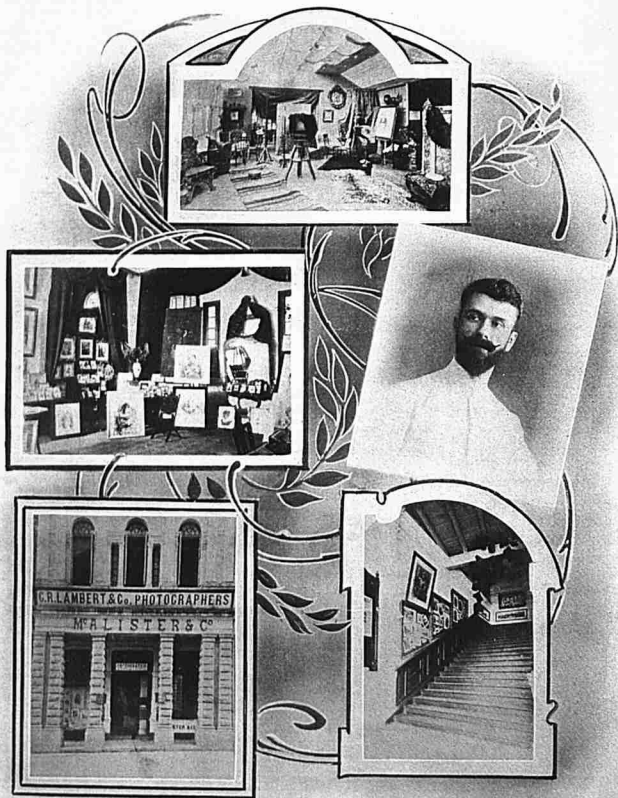
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G.R. Lambert & Co. from *Twentieth Century Impressions of British Malaya*.

NINETEENTH CENTURY PHOTOGRAPHY IN SINGAPORE AND MALAYA

FIRST IMAGES

In photographic history 1839 is celebrated as the year in which the first public announcements of the invention of photography were made, but for the still small settlement of Singapore there were more immediate causes for rejoicing. 'The weather was delightful, cloudy and breezy,' reported the *Singapore Free Press* in its account of the boat races, and other entertainments which ushered in the New Year of 1839. In February, public balls in the town, and parties on board several American ships in harbour, allowed the population a deserved period of self-congratulation at weathering the twenty years since Sir Stamford Raffles had founded the settlement in 1819. These two decades had seen the growth of the community at the mouth of the Singapore River from a collection of fishing villages to a neatly laid-out town of neo-Palladian villas set to becoming the major entrepôt port of the East.

While the newspapers of that year complained of the dangers and inconveniences of life on the island — among them the continuing depredations of tigers — merchants could rest secure in having established the potential of the island, a potential acknowledged a few years earlier by the Indian Government's transfer of administration of the Straits Settlements to Singapore in 1832. This remarkable economic growth in later years was to lay the foundations for the firm of G. R. Lambert & Co.'s comprehensive photographic documentation of Southeast Asia. The growing population was to form the clientele which assured a firm commercial base, while the growth of the town itself and the development of the surrounding areas formed the perfect subject matter for the photographs sold by the firm. Those grandiose public buildings which rose to replace the utilitarian structures of earlier days in the last quarter of the century and the picturesque variety of the races living in Singapore formed the basis of a collection of some 3,000 views which Lambert & Co. were advertising by 1900.

Some years were to elapse before Singapore and its people were to be captured on photographs but the year of photography's public announcement also saw the arrival on the island of the man who was to play a seminal role in its introduction to the settlement. Gaston Dutronquoy arrived in May 1839, not as a photographer but as portrait painter and miniaturist. It was his involvement with the photographic medium with which this history of photography in Singapore begins.

In 1856, some fifteen years after Louis Daguerre's photographic process had been made generally public, Ernest Lacan wrote this enthusiastic tribute to photography's ubiquity and utility:

Photography has traversed the oceans, conquered mountains, crossed continents; there are photographers in Bombay, in Madagascar and in Valparaiso; in addition, according to taste or need, she has accompanied the artist and the tourist into museums and cathedrals, to the depths of silent forests and to the sheer peaks of the Alps and Pyrenees; she has gone with the expert to the precious scientific collections, with the doctor to the hospital, with the magistrate to the prisons, and with the industrialist to the factory: she has shown herself everywhere indispensable, and everywhere she has more than fulfilled her promise.¹

The claims made for photography during this period were perhaps exaggerated, but in one essential way Lacan's optimistic assessment of photography's achievements was fully justified: the invention had caught the imagination of the public and professionals alike to an unprecedented extent, and the spread of the art world-wide was remarkably swift.

After years of obsessive experimentation (much of it in collaboration with Joseph-Nicéphore Niépce) Louis Daguerre had taken his first successful daguerreotype in 1837, although it was to be a further two years before the secrets of the process were revealed to an excited French public in August 1839. Daguerre was only one of a number of experimenters seeking to fix fleeting images, but in terms of historical importance only the Englishman William Henry Fox Talbot can stand alongside him. Talbot's research was contemporaneous with Daguerre's own, and he had in fact succeeded in producing photographs at an earlier date. In addition, his Talbotype or calotype process — which produced a paper negative then printed through to achieve a positive image — laid the foundations of photography as it is still practised to this day.

But for some years Daguerre's process was far more significant on an international scale, and it was the daguerreotype which was most often responsible for making the first images of far-off lands. Apart from technical differences between the two inventions, one major reason for the success of the daguerreotype against the calotype was the restrictive patents imposed by Talbot which greatly reduced the attractiveness of

paper photography except to amateur operators. The daguerreotype on the other hand was given free to the world, although limitations on its use were in force in Great Britain and her colonies. This latter embargo partly explains the dearth of early British daguerreotypists in the colonies.

In the two decades and more of its active use, the daguerreotype was the subject of a great many technical modifications and chemical improvements, but these advances still retained the basic procedures outlined by Daguerre which can be briefly described. To make a daguerreotype, a copper plate with a layer of silver on one side was carefully cleaned and polished and made light sensitive by contact with vapours of iodine. After exposure in the camera, the latent image thus formed was developed in fumes of heated mercury, causing the deposit of microscopic globules of the metal on the plate and giving its distinctive mirror-like impression of light. After fixing, the daguerreotype was then most commonly mounted in a leather or composition frame, with its delicate surface protected by glass. The marvellous sharpness and delicacy of the daguerreotype (unmatched in definition by the calotype) accounted for much of its early fascination, but the process contained the seeds of its own obsolescence. For one thing, the image itself was laterally reversed. But more important was its unique nature, a uniqueness emphasised by the casing and framing of the picture in the manner of a painted work. The difficulties of duplicating the daguerreotype — whether by re-copying or engraving — ultimately led to its being superseded by negative-positive photography on paper.

Photography was of course a technical product of its own time as well as a means of artistic expression and its powers of impartial documentation are closely linked to the great explosion of knowledge, scientific investigation and advances which characterised the mid-nineteenth century. While the possibilities of portraiture with the camera were at first seized upon as the most exciting benefit of photography, it was also immediately appreciated that the recording of foreign scenes and peoples was an important area in which photography's unique attributes could be fully exploited.

European colonial expansion, the growth of scientific research, the study of anthropology and ethnology, and exploring expeditions all found in photography an invaluable medium for bringing back accurate records of distant lands hitherto known only through written description and

artists' impressions — both liable to editing, distortion, subjectivity and exaggeration. While the camera in the hands of the skilled operator is also capable of an equal selectivity, it is difficult to overestimate the impact of photography's sheer authority in presenting authentic impressions of places and peoples to societies increasingly interested in and hungry for such knowledge and a vicarious experience of other cultures.

Photography's particular suitability in this form of documentation was immediately tested. Soon after the announcement of the daguerreotype process, the Paris optical instrument maker J.P. Lerebours supplied a number of artists and writers with photographic outfits manufactured by himself and sent them to take views throughout Europe and North Africa, as well as commissioning views from America, Russia and Scandinavia.

By November 1839 the historical painter Horace Vernet was writing from Alexandria that 'we keep daguerreotyping away like lions', and in April 1840 on his way home with Frédéric Goupil Fesquet, the pair introduced the daguerreotype to Malta, where Goupil Fesquet 'was so obliging as to take the pains to explain the process to anyone asking for information'.² The 1,200 daguerreotypes amassed in this way by Lerebours were edited and 111 subsequently published as engravings under the title *Excursions Daguerriennes: vues et monuments les plus remarquables du globe* (Paris, issued in parts, 1841-43).

Although many of the first photographs taken in various locations around the world during these early years may never be known, some documented landmarks give an overall impression of the speed with which this revolutionary discovery spread. Not surprisingly, news of the technique crossed the Atlantic almost immediately; the first successful daguerreotype in America was taken in September 1839.³ In Asia, the delays of travel automatically introduced a hiatus, but by the end of 1839 the *Bombay Times* had published three long descriptive articles which gave sufficient detail for anyone wishing to experiment with the daguerreotype process to do so,⁴ and earlier in 1839 Dr William O'Shaughnessy in Calcutta had been experimenting with paper photography.⁵

Further east in Australia, the first recorded daguerreotype was taken in Sydney by Captain Lucas of the French barque *Justine* on 13 May 1841, and in December of the following year the first commercial studio was opened by George Baron Goodman.⁶ Some four years elapsed before Hugh Mackay began advertising his daguerreotype studio in Hong Kong



G. R. Lambert & Co., Malay Court of Justice, 1880s.

in 1846,' but it is most unlikely that no photographer had previously visited the area. Daguerreotype outfits were being offered for sale by Thacker & Co. in Calcutta as early as January 1840,' and it seems unlikely that any great length of time elapsed before such a revolutionary apparatus reached Singapore.

While the identity of the first photographer and the contents of his first image of Singapore will never be known with certainty, there does exist a remarkably detailed and accurate description of one of the earliest occasions that a daguerreotype was made in the town. In the *Hikayat Abdullah*, the autobiographical memoirs of Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir (1797-1854), who had come to Singapore a few months after the British landing, the author recounts how the Reverend Benjamin Keasberry, while being given a Malay lesson by Abdullah, showed him a daguerreotype recently made on the island:

... An ingenious device, a copper sheet about a foot long by a little over six inches wide, on which was a picture or imprint of the whole Settlement of Singapore in detail, the shadows appearing in relief. Looking at the picture I saw that it exactly reproduced, without the smallest deviation, the view of Singapore as I knew it. I was greatly surprised and said to him, 'Sir, what is this marvel and who made it?' He replied, 'This is a new invention of the white man. There is a doctor on board an American warship here who has with him an apparatus for making these pictures. I cannot explain it to you for I have never seen one before. But the doctor has promised me that he will show me how it works next Monday.' I was delighted to hear this for I could go and see it with him.'

No further information as to the identity of the American daguerreotypist is given by Abdullah. There then follows an account of the taking of a daguerreotype from the top of Bonham's Hill (Fort Canning) which is a surprisingly precise piece of description of what must have been an entirely alien feat of chemical manipulation:

The following Monday I was teaching him when suddenly, at about mid-day, in walked the doctor himself. He was welcomed by Mr Keasberry who introduced me to him saying, 'This is my teacher.' I shook hands with him and we exchanged a few words. Then Mr Keasberry said, 'My teacher here is very keen to see this device of

yours, and to understand how you make pictures of Singapore.' He replied, 'Then he shall see for himself. Let us go to the top of Bonham's Hill for it is there that the apparatus is kept.' At once Mr Keasberry rose and went to call on Mr Stronach ... So I walked up the hill and the others joined us there. I saw the doctor go into a room and bring out a box. The box had an attachment like a telescope. The lens, about the size of a cent piece, could be pulled outwards. It had two components, the larger one inside. This larger lens magnified everything seen in front of it. One side of the box could be opened and closed. Then the doctor went and fetched a metal plate about nine inches long by six inches wide, thin and brightly polished. He rubbed the surface with a certain kind of reddish-brown powder until it was a dull brown all over. Then he took a bowl which had been filled with another kind of powder, black in colour. He held the polished plate about four inches above the powder. After about ten minutes he lifted up the plate, and its colour had turned to a reddish gold. He took the plate and put it into the extensible box, which he then placed with the side of the apparatus with a sliding lens in the direction in which he wished to take the picture. The image of the scene passed through the lens and struck the plate. He said, 'In strong sunlight it takes only a moment, but in a dull light it takes a little longer.' After this he took the metal plate and we noticed that there was nothing visible on it at the time. He then took it to a place in the shade and washed it with a chemical solution. Now he had a kind of frame with a vessel containing quicksilver fitted underneath it. He mounted the plate in position on top of the vessel, about six inches above the surface of the quicksilver. Below the vessel there was a spirit lamp which he lit. The quicksilver soon became hot and gradually its vapour rose and was allowed to condense on the plate for a certain length of time. Now the chemical with which the plate had been treated had etched all the parts on which the light had fallen, while it had not affected those parts on which no light had fallen. After a timed interval the plate was lifted out and at once we saw a picture of the town of Singapore imprinted on it, without deviation even by so much as the breadth of a hair, a fine reproduction of the actual scene. The plate with the picture on it was used as a block, and by contact with its

surface, prints were easily taken which faithfully reproduced the original without variation.

I asked the doctor, 'Is it possible to make larger pictures than the one you have here?' He replied, 'Yes, as large as you like. The size depends on the size of the instrument. If it is large the image received on it will also be large.' This amazing apparatus was originally the invention of a Frenchman. It was then copied by the English and by other European nations. It was only recently that the art of making pictures in this way was discovered, not more than four or five years ago.¹⁰

Although Abdullah's 'four or five years' would imply that this took place in 1843 or 1844, the narrative sequence of the memoir makes a date of around 1841 more likely. His vagueness as to the precise date of the invention of photography is not surprising. In addition, by 1844 the process would have been well enough known not to have aroused such excited interest and long description.

Apart from a few errors, the accuracy of this account shows a remarkable comprehension of the photographic process. The description of the function of the lens and camera, the sensitising of the polished plate in iodine (the black powder), the lack of visible image until development had taken place, all point to the sharpness of Abdullah's observation. One or two statements do indicate some confusion as to the precise nature of the process, such as the lack of mention that the plate would have been protected from extraneous light from the sensitising stage until development had been completed. He also appears to describe the fixing of the image before development and the size he gives for the first daguerreotype was shown seems unusually large, but not technically impossible.

Not surprisingly, Abdullah also discusses the technique in terms of etching and printing, with which he seems to have been familiar. His remarks about using the daguerreotype as a printing block from which further impressions could then be taken probably reflect the comments of the photographer himself — while a number of procedures were developed to produce printable copies from the daguerreotype, these were hampered by various difficulties and the results more often than not destroyed much of the original photographic qualities of the image which had constituted its specific attraction in the first place. The fate of these early images of Singapore is unknown.

The earliest surviving photographic views of the settlement are probably the daguerreotypes taken in 1844 by Jules Itier. Born in 1802, Alphonse-Eugène-Jules Itier joined the French Customs Service in 1819 and in the 1830s was friendly with a number of people interested in scientific pursuits. He would have been aware of the new invention very soon after its announcement in 1839 and was certainly an active daguerreotypist by late 1842. Towards the end of that year he was sent to Senegal and from that journey dates the earliest known daguerreotype by him, a view of the Governor's Palace at St Louis, Senegal.¹¹

On 12 December 1843 Itier left France as head of a commercial mission to China and the Indies, and on 3 July 1844 he arrived in Singapore, where he was impressed both by the outward appearance of the town and by the spirit of commercial enterprise which had transformed the island in the space of two decades. His detailed description of the settlement at the time of his visit is worth quoting as it is both little-known and perceptive in its evocation of the town at an important stage of its development:

After passing the battery which protects the entrance to the town and where a company of Sepoy artillery is on guard, we come upon the small Singapore River, little more than a creek with just enough water to take the boats and lighters transshipping merchandise. This river divides the town into two quite separate parts which are joined by a bridge and a footbridge. Business is carried out exclusively on the right bank [viewed from Fort Canning]; there are the dealers' offices, the godowns, shops and factories; there, a great crowd almost entirely composed of Chinese and Malays busily works: it is bedlam. The houses are in general low but well built in stone and brick, the streets symmetrically arranged and well laid out, with the majority lined with covered verandahs affording protection against the blazing sun. The land on which the business area stands is flat, part of it having recently been reclaimed from the swampy marsh which had to be drained by means of a large canal and then filled in with earth. Surprisingly, however, these works have in no way destroyed the salubrity of the area ... The town of Singapore, built in the middle of a bog is, despite all theories, the healthiest place in the tropics ...

Let us pass to the left bank of the river: the noise has suddenly ceased: the swirl of commerce and the flurry of the worker have been replaced by the silence and peace of the country. Huge

DAGUERRIOTYPE PORTRAITS.

MR G. DUTRONQUOY respectfully informs the Ladies and Gentlemen at Singapore, that he is complete master of the newly invented and late imported Daguerriotype.

Ladies and Gentlemen who may honor Mr DUTRONQUOY with a sitting can have their Likenesses taken in the astonishing short space of two minutes.

The Portraits are free from all blemish and are in every respect perfect likenesses.

A Lady and Gentleman can be placed together in one picture and both are taken at the same time entirely shaded from the effects of the sun.

The price of one portrait is ten dollars, both taken in one picture is fifteen dollars. One day's notice will be required.

London Hotel, 4th Decr. 1845.

Gaston Dutronquoy's advertisement in the *Singapore Free Press*, 1845

mansions lined with columns, vast structures surrounded by gardens and shade, elegant villas, wide sanded roads occupied by graceful palanquins, an ample esplanade whose grass is always green, a beautiful protestant church, a pretty catholic chapel, all these things indicate the nature of this delightful quarter: we are in the European town. It is here that the merchant comes each evening towards five o'clock, to rest from the strains of business and to forget in the pleasures of this elegant luxury, the cares of commerce which must next morning take him once again into the midst of the tumult of the Chinese town...

I remained lost in the thoughts aroused in me by the unexpected sight of the commercial achievement of the English. On this shore where not twenty years ago were grouped a few wretched Malay villages, half fishermen, half pirates, where the virgin forest extended to the seashore, where the tiger hidden in the jungle awaited his prey, where a pirate canoe scarcely disturbed an empty sea, has risen today a huge town, bustling with an industrious population. Here the gardens of sumptuous palaces are spread along the water's edge; here the stranger may take a breath of air at dusk, alone and unarmed, as safe from the tigers which have fled into the depths of the jungle as from the bandits who are kept in check by the vigilant eyes of a tireless police; and this hospitable shore has become the centre for ships of all nations. It is this which has raised the cry of freedom in the hearts of Indo-Chinese populations bowed under the yoke of a commercial monopoly only a short while ago...

During his short stay in Singapore Iiter took a number of quarter plate daguerrotypes (about 8.3×10.5 centimetres). Some of these survive in French collections, including street scenes and an interesting view of the commercial quarter of the town. Iiter himself describes taking a daguerrotype in the 'pagode chinoise', the Thian Hock Keng Temple in Telok Ayer Street:

I had equipped myself with a daguerrotype outfit, and the chief priest allowed me to position it on the altar in order to photograph the interior of the main entrance which was decorated with columns wreathed in granite carvings. The facade is covered with Chinese characters engraved in the granite; the painting blends well with the

sculpture, and the whole is reminiscent of the sort of decoration common with the Egyptians, most of whose temples still retain in the interior the colours which covered the hieroglyphs carved in relief...¹²

Whether this particular photograph, the only one taken by Ilier in Singapore specifically mentioned, has survived has not been established.

These published accounts of some of the earliest photographic activity probably represent no more than a proportion of the work produced. Other visitors passing through Singapore must have acquainted the inhabitants with the marvels of 'the mirror with a memory'. In fact, the first attempt to exploit the camera commercially had been made in Singapore in the year preceding Ilier's visit. In December 1843 the first commercial photographic advertisement appeared in the *Singapore Free Press*:

Mr. G. Dutronquoy respectfully informs the Ladies and Gentlemen at Singapore, that he is complete master of the newly invented and late imported Daguerreotype. Ladies and Gentlemen who may honor Mr Dutronquoy with a sitting can have their likenesses taken in the astonishing short space of two minutes. The portraits are free from all blemish and are in every respect perfect likenesses. A Lady and a Gentleman can be placed together in one picture and both are taken at the same time entirely shaded from the effects of the sun. The price of one portrait is ten dollars, both taken in one picture is fifteen dollars. One day's notice will be required.

London Hotel, 4th December 1843.

From the scattered references made to Gaston Dutronquoy in the literature of the period there emerges the skeleton of a fascinating, lively character turning his hand to a number of occupations in attempting to make his fortune in the bustling Singapore of the 1840s. Dutronquoy arrived in March 1839 advertising himself as a portrait and miniature painter. In May of the same year he opened the London Hotel in High Street which was recorded as being the most spacious of the three such establishments then in operation. In March 1844 the London Hotel was transferred to the building at the corner of High Street and the Esplanade, formerly occupied by the Singapore Hotel¹³ and which was later still to be the site of the Hotel de l'Europe). It was here that Dutronquoy, 'the

spirited proprietor', attempted to revive the fortunes of the town's moribund theatrical society by staging performances in a portion of the building converted into a small theatre, a gesture which the *Singapore Free Press* felt deserving 'of every encouragement from a liberal public'.¹⁴ A further note of public commendation came when, leading a party of French sailors, he saved Mr McMicking's bungalow from destruction during the fire of 1847.

How far his attempts to set up as commercial photographer were successful, however, is unknown. His advertisement only remained in the *Singapore Free Press* for a month,¹⁵ and Dutronquoy's protestations that his results were truly 'free from all blemish' suggest public disillusion with previous poorly executed work, whether by Dutronquoy himself or another photographer. The 'complete mastery' which he boasts over the chemistry of the process may also have been an exhibition of bravado which did not long survive public scrutiny of the results, and for a period photography appears to have been relegated to the background of his activities. It is also possible, of course, that in the circumscribed society of Singapore his name became quickly known and he felt no need to advertise, finding customers among his acquaintances and the patrons of his hotel. If such were the case, however, it seems likely that results or evidence of his work would have survived, but this does not appear to have happened.

It is certain though that Dutronquoy did not entirely abandon photography, for some five years later he made a further attempt to supply the town with a resident photographer:

DAGUERREOTYPE

Likenesses, in colours, taken in four seconds, every morning, from the hours of 7½ to 9½ Sundays excepted — Apply to the Proprietor of the London Hotel.

Parties desiring their likenesses to be taken must give one day's notice of their intention, and appear in dark clothes.

This advertisement, which appeared in the *Straits Times* from the 25th October 1848 until the following January, suggests that Dutronquoy had continued to take photographs in the intervening years, if only on a part-time or amateur basis, and that the lack of competition in the

settlement together with improvements in his own technique had inspired him to attempt to enlarge his clientele by advertising again. The technical advances revealed in the difference in wording between the two advertisements would also have made a daguerreotype portrait session more attractive to potential customers: the required exposure for a portrait has dropped from 'the astonishing short space of two minutes' to a mere four seconds, indicating that Dutronquoy had kept abreast of the optical and chemical advances in the photographic world that had so radically reduced the time the sitter needed to hold a pose. The ability to produce hand-colour daguerreotypes, a technique requiring considerable skill would also, even to a trained artist, have required a great deal of practice.

Dutronquoy's fate is unknown. In 1851 business was prospering sufficiently for him to be able to open a branch of the London Hotel in James Guthrie's old house at New Harbour, specially catering for invalids and well-placed to secure patronage from visitors landing at the recently built P & O wharves. There then seems to have been a downward turn in his fortunes which sent him on a prospecting trip to the Malayan mainland. The last we know of him is Charles Buckley's statement that 'he disappeared, mysteriously, murdered it was whispered, whilst gold digging up in the Muar'.¹⁰ This must have been around 1857, since an advertisement dated 8th September, 1857 was lodged in the *Straits Times* for some months formally notifying the public of the winding up of the estate of Gaston Dutronquoy, 'the above named insolvent of Singapore'.

In October the London Hotel was taken over by Madame Esperanza and re-opened as the Hotel de l'Espérance. A second London Hotel was opened by Gaston's son S. Dutronquoy in Gemmill's Buildings, Bonham Street in 1858 and was managed by the widow and son of the pioneer photographer, hotelier and prospector.

While Dutronquoy's own photographic activities may have been at best sporadic, it appears that his studio in the London Hotel was at least put to some use by another photographer, by name Saurman, who placed the following advertisement in the *Straits Times* of 1 May 1855:

The subscriber is prepared for a short time to take portraits, &c. at the family residence upstairs, London Hotel, rainy days excepted, the rooms being too damp; those who cannot do so during the week, may do so on Sundays. Hours of operation from 10 a.m. to 3 p.m. — For sale, one instrument complete, very best, with chemical.

optical, photographic instructions; also what is highly necessary on aberration and light. Lockets and brooches on hand for sale.

SAURMAN. Artist, &c.

The depressed tone of this advertisement — issuing the none too inviting proposal to visit his damp studio while putting up for sale what were presumably the tools of his trade — makes perhaps a fitting close to the first chapter of the not eminently successful attempts to introduce commercial photography to the settlement.

The activities of Gaston Dutronquoy and Jules Itier represent all that is at present known of the work of photographers in the Singapore of the 1840s. Although some undocumented daguerreotyping almost certainly took place, it seems likely that amateur photography would have been on a very limited scale. On the 4th of November 1845, for instance, C.V. Mennecken & Co. advertised for sale in the *Straits Times* a recently imported 'Daguerreotype Apparatus, complete with frames'. The placing of an advertisement for an individual item such as this indicates that cameras were objects of some rarity at the time. The fact also that the advertisement continued to run until March of the following year in turn suggests a lack of any great interest in photography, possibly due to disillusion with earlier results produced in the town, or to the daunting difficulties of mastering the craft without expert tuition. Certainly, however, a few more intrepid enthusiasts attempted the task, at least in later years, as is illustrated by the sale of 'a superior daguerreotype and photograph apparatus' offered by S.M. Puckridge in 1857 on behalf of 'an amateur ... proceeding to Europe'.¹¹

The early 1850s were even more sparse in terms of photographic representation in the town than the 1840s had been. While for a part of each year from 1853 a visiting daguerreotypist was resident in Singapore, doing as much business as possible before moving on to new markets, there appears to have been insufficient recurring customers to support the permanent business of a local operator. The first of these visitors was H. Husband who arrived in early January 1853 and set up his studio offering for 'but a short time ... coloured daguerreotype likenesses in the best style' from his studio at 1 Hill Street opposite the French Church.¹²

Husband remained only until the end of February and was followed the next year by 'C. Duban, Daguerrean', who offered the public a greater range of services:

DAGUERRETYPE

The public are respectfully informed that the undersigned has opened his establishment at Mrs Clark's residence, Beach Road, Campong Glam, where he is now prepared, on rainy, cloudy, or sunny days, from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m., to take portraits, copies, views, &c., &c., from the size of one-sixth of an inch, to one foot square, in such a superior and artist-like style hitherto unequalled. The chemical process is entirely new; the instruments of that description, and of the largest size, as to produce the finest and sharpest impressions of the human features.

Those Ladies and Gentlemen who may wish to patronize the advertiser, are respectfully solicited to call at their earliest convenience, as the undersigned intends to depart, by the next steamer, to Batavia.²⁰

Some of the improvements made in the process and incorporated into professional practice can be deduced from this advertisement, although it is doubtful whether any of Duban's procedures were in reality entirely new. Increased sensitivity of the plates and new lens designs now allowed portraits to be taken in the duller light and also permitted the making of unusually large pictures, although daguerreotypes of such dimensions would have required longer exposures and would have been more suitable for landscape rather than portraits. Such large plates would no doubt also have been considerably more expensive than the \$6 quoted for his smaller portraits, and daguerreotypes of such a size are a great rarity even from locations where photographic output was prolific. Duban's 'superior and artist-like style' evidently met with some success, however, since 'in consequence of the liberal patronage he has hitherto experienced from the Gentry of Singapore',²¹ he delayed his departure until the 15th of June.

The arrival of J. Newman in 1856 signalled the most successful attempt yet made to popularise the daguerreotype in Singapore, even though it came at a time when the process was being swiftly superseded by photography on paper in Europe. Newman appears to have been an American, and his advertising approach is characterised by a much more positive and aggressive attempt to catch the public's eye. It was in America, moreover, that the daguerreotype had proved most successful and where production had become organised along much more cost-

cutting lines than elsewhere, so much so that the process remained commercially viable and popular well into the 1860s when it had fallen into virtual disuse elsewhere. Newman inserted the first advertisement for his American Photographic Rooms in Church Street, Campong Bencoolen (next door to Mr Woodford's) in the *Straits Times* of 23 September 1856:

FOR A SHORT TIME ONLY

Mr J. Newman begs to inform the public that he will remain a short time at Singapore, and recommends all those who wish to have their portraits taken to avail themselves of the present opportunity. By his new process Mr N. can take likenesses, which for style of execution and finish cannot be surpassed by any taken in England, France, or America.

Mr Newman begs to state, that by his process of taking portraits the image is fixed upon the plate by means of chloride of gold, at a very high temperature, and judging from past experience he has every reason to believe that his portraits are imperishable. Likenesses daily taken in all weathers, from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m., Sundays excepted.

N.B. Daguerreotypes, paintings, drawings, &c., copied. A cloudy day is quite as favourable as clear weather. In dress, avoid white, light blue and light pink — Mr N. would recommend a dark dress. Specimens can be seen at the stores of Messrs. Cursetjee & Co., S.M. Puckridge, and Mr Newman's Photographic Rooms.

Mr Newman, in soliciting the inspection of the public, begs to draw attention to the fact, that his scale of charges places it within the reach of all.

Likenesses taken for Drs. 3.25 and upwards, including morocco case.

With many of the early travelling photographers such protestations of a very short visit were intended mainly to stimulate a swift response from potential customers and to gauge quickly the extent of the market, and Newman was a not uncommon example of an operator whose departure was delayed for as long as there was a living to be made in Singapore. Like Dutronquay and others, Newman also gave advice to sitters as to the most suitable clothes for portraiture since the daguerreotype, with its bias to the blue end of the spectrum could, unless care was exercised, produce

unexpected and displeasing results. What to the eye might be a dress of moderately dark blue could result in an over-exposed and featureless expanse of glaring white in the final image. Such problems could also extend to the features of the sitter, a ruddy complexion appearing harsh and dark in contrast to its surroundings, and for this reason it was a common practice to apply white face powder to increase the daguerreotype's response to such areas. Newman's use of heated gold chloride to tone and protect the vulnerable surface, a procedure introduced by Hippolyte Fizeau in 1840, was standard practice among many photographers but may have been new to Singapore. Since it softened the often cold tones of the untreated plate it may have been popular with customers.

The quality and value of Newman's work evidently secured customers. His advertisements for the remainder of the year advise first 'that he will not close his rooms before Saturday 15th November',²² and then omit even this notice of departure. In December he was able to reduce his prices still further, 'by nearly 25% so as to come within the reach of all',²³ expressing fulsome gratitude for the encouragement his efforts had so far received:

Mr Newman in returning his sincere thanks to those ladies and gentlemen, who have so liberally patronised him, begs to inform the public that no pains or exertions will be wanted on his part to merit a continuation of those favours which since his arrival have been so liberally extended to him...²⁴

On 13th January 1857 Newman left Singapore on the steamer *Hooghly* for a short visit to Malacca, 'by request of a few gentlemen of Singapore',²⁵ presumably to fulfil a photographic commission, and this appears to be one of the first recorded instances of photography on the Malayan mainland. He returned at the end of the month eager to make known not only the success of his trip but also to advertise his new equipment:

Mr Newman ... has returned from his tour in the Straits, where he met with unbounded success. He can now afford to take portraits superior to those yet taken, having just received from England a superior camera of a description which has not yet been seen in the East. Mr N. begs to inform the public that he has been to great expense to provide the same, and he will be ready to take portraits on Friday next, the 30th instant...²⁶

The nature of this new camera is unknown. While it is tempting to speculate that Newman now intended using the wet collodion process instead of the daguerreotype, it seems unlikely that, if such were the case, he would not have made some mention of the fact that he was now in a position to take photographs from which any number of paper prints could be obtained. Newman remained in Singapore until at least October 1857 when, presumably having exhausted the supply of new customers, he departed into obscurity.

Newman's departure concludes the history of the daguerreotype in Singapore. Although his advertisements indicate some success in popularising photography on the island, the overall picture is one of sparse activity largely attributable to the economics of daguerreotype photography. In America, with a population to sustain a large portrait industry, the craft could be run along mass production lines and in the early 1850s it was estimated that no fewer than 10,000 people earned their livings as daguerreotypists, with possibly half that number again involved in the business of manufacturing plates, chemicals and other apparatus.²⁷ Prices for portraiture dropped sharply in consequence of business competition and improved production methods, so that a cased daguerreotype portrait, hand-coloured, could be purchased for as little as fifty cents. It will be recalled that Dutronquoy's first advertisement of 1843 quoted prices of from \$10 to \$15, and although this had dropped to \$6 and upwards by the time of C. Duban's visit in 1854, and to \$3.25 during Newman's stay in 1856, the price was by no means cheap and may well have deterred potential customers.

Human vanity also played its part in increasing the photographer's difficulties. Sitters, more used to the flatteries of the portrait painter, found in the daguerreotype an uncompromisingly accurate rendition of their features, a representation often made more daunting still by the necessity of remaining perfectly still (clamped at the neck by a head-rest) for the duration of the exposure. What profit, allowing for such wastage, these prices allowed the photographers themselves is unknown, but it is likely that they operated on small margins and hence on a tenuous economic basis, with further problems caused by the uncertain delivery of essential chemicals and other supplies.

Some idea of the initial required investment in equipment can be gained from the catalogue of the suppliers Horne, Thornthwaite and

Wood of Newgate Street, London who in 1852 offered daguerreotype outfits of varying degrees of sophistication for between six and fifteen guineas. Silvered plates, which were not included, cost a further £1-12s-0d per dozen and quarter plate morocco cases, two guineas a dozen. While no doubt suitable for amateur requirements, such a basic outfit would not have met the needs of the professional photographer. The considerably more expensive set of equipment for such an operator is worth listing in full for the insight it gives into the difficulties of photography during the daguerreotype period:

Estimate for complete Daguerreotype Apparatus, suitable for the professional photographer, consisting of a large-sized camera and compound lens for large views, portraits and groups; small size camera, with large aperture and short focus combination of lenses, for taking portraits up to 4 inches by 3 inches in dull weather;

polishing lathe, with series of circular buffs; three hand buffs; set of metal plate holders and supports; heating stand; large bromine and iodine apparatus and set of frames; set of plate boxes to hold two dozen each; table stand for camera on rollers; adjusting chair, with head rest; adjusting head rest, with heavy iron foot for full-length portraits, &c.; large mercury box for the different sized plates; lantern, with yellow glass shade; metal still and worm tub for obtaining distilled water; a large and small gilding stand; stoneware barrel and cock for holding distilled water; porcelain dishes; filtering stand; funnels and filtering paper; spirit lamp; set of daguerreotype colours and brushes, and flexible India-rubber bottle; glass measures; two painted backgrounds, &c., &c., with full supply of all the necessary chemicals, polishing materials, &c., complete, £110.²³



Four views of Singapore in the 1870s by unknown photographers. From left, Telok Ayer Street, Tanjong Pagar, the Esplanade and the Singapore River.

ITINERANTS AND TRAVELLERS



Arbinoe. Portret.

Photographer unknown, Cabinet portrait, 1870s.

After 1851, with the publication of Frederick Scott Archer's wet collodion process, the demise of the daguerreotype became inevitable, although it continued in use, particularly in America, for a further decade. Photography whose end result was a print on paper was not new, dating as it did back to Talbot's calotype, but its use had been far more widely applied to amateur and consciously artistic photography than to commercial portraits. Beautiful work was produced in the East using various kinds of paper negative and print chemistry — particularly in India where it reached great heights in the mid-1850s in the work of such photographers as Linnaeus Tripe, John Murray and Robert Tytler. But photography on paper outside the sub-continent before the appearance of Archer's process was rare, and no evidence for its use in Singapore has been traced.

Prints from calotype negatives, while unequalled in the delicate tonal delineation of broad masses of light and shade, were often found unacceptable by customers who sought the accuracy often regarded as synonymous with the photographic duplication of 'reality' so startlingly apparent in the daguerreotype.

Much early paper photography also had the not entirely unjustified reputation of being impermanent and prone to fading. The waxed paper process, which increased the transparency of the paper negative and hence its ability to record fine detail, was introduced by Gustave Le Gray in 1851 and for some years vied in popularity with the wet collodion process, but its long exposure times and other disadvantages ultimately led to the supremacy of Archer's method.

The wet collodion process, or wet plate process as it was also known, revolutionised nineteenth century commercial photography. It presented a system combining the advantages of both the calotype and the daguerreotype and effectively sounded the death knell for them both. As a negative-positive process it permitted unlimited printing from the original negative, and being made on a perfectly transparent glass support made possible a resolution of detail previously unattainable. The wet plate process was thus called because all the operations — from the coating of the plate with collodion, sensitising it with silver nitrate, exposing in the camera, through to development — all had to be completed before the plate dried and lost its sensitivity.

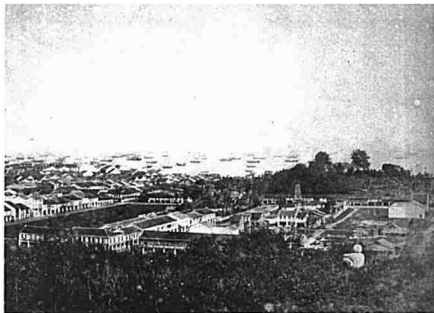
The commercial advantages were immediately apparent. Any number of prints could be ordered for friends and relatives from the most successful results of a portrait session, and bulk orders could be supplied at terms attractive to photographer and customer alike. Perhaps more important in historical terms is the stimulating effect wet plate photography had on the documentation of landscape, architecture and ethnography, subjects which previously would have been economically justified only when undertaken as a specific commission.

This period marks the beginning of an era which saw the detailed recording of the topography and peoples of Singapore and surrounding areas which reached its zenith in the work of such firms as Lambert & Co. In addition, speculative photographic trips could be mounted to areas as far afield as Sumatra, Borneo, Siam and even China, the results of which formed the basis of a stock of negatives which could be drawn upon for sale to residents and visitors alike for years to come.

In Singapore, the wet collodion process was introduced commercially by Edward A. Edgerton. On opening his studio in February 1858 he pointed out the shortcomings of the daguerreotype in comparison with his own work:

Photographic and Stereoscopic portraits on glass or paper, by the most approved processes of this beautiful art, never before introduced here, being much superior to the reversed and mirror-like metallic plates, of the Daguerreotype, are taken by Mr EDGERTON, at his residence in Stamford St., between Hill and Armenian, the only house facing the Convict Lines, and the Canal.

Very superior instruments, material, &c. have been lately received from London and Paris for this method of obtaining a life-like and permanent portrait; not liable to be injured by the changes of the climate as is so generally the case with Daguerreotypes, combined with portraits and including animals, &c.



Views of the settlement of Singapore by unknown photographers, 1860s. From left, Chinatown as viewed from Pearl's Hill and the Singapore River.

... Charges from \$2 to \$75.

... Instruction in the art given to amateurs and instruments, &c., supplied.

Wanted an assistant who understands colouring.²⁷

Early interest led Edgerton to enlarge his business and by April 1858 he had opened a refurbished studio in partnership with a Mr Alfred:

A suitable place for taking portraits at No. 3 Armenian Street, corner of Stamford Street (opposite Mr Edgerton's former residence) has been erected, and every arrangement made at a great expense, to give general satisfaction and secure a faithful, pleasing and permanent likeness...²⁸

Perhaps initial interest waned or the partnership proved unsuccessful, for by December Edgerton was again working alone, offering photographs at reduced rates from his New Photographic Rooms at the south-west corner of Commercial Square (Raffles Place).²⁹ By June 1859 he appears to have ceased trading as a photographer and is next heard of as editor, in 1861, of the *Singapore Review and Monthly Magazine*.

Although his own business was shortlived, Edgerton was the forerunner of the line of photographers who established a more permanent footing in the settlement. Edgerton was followed by Thomas Hermitage, formerly of London, who opened his studio at 3 Queen Street on 20 August 1861, offering 'portraits on glass or paper' as well as 'views of Penang and Singapore, a large selection taken on plates 12 x 10 inches...at \$4 per copy large size.' The opportunities for bulk purchase offered by the collodion process can be seen in the price structure outlined by Hermitage:

Gentlemen wishing to have their dwelling house, (family group taken at home) godown or any particular view taken, can have it done at the above rates — providing — if only for the stereoscope — copies to the amount of, at least \$16 are taken. — If for large size plates, copies to the amount of, at least \$30 are taken. The amount being made up in any way from T.H.'s stock of general views...³⁰

Hermitage was only a temporary visitor and was in turn succeeded by the French photographer O. Regnier who briefly maintained a studio at Redan Cottage, Oxley Road at the end of 1861, 'for the purpose of taking views' and to sell copies of photographs he had recently taken in China.³¹



Four views of Singapore ca. 1870 by unknown photographers. From left, the old tree at the Esplanade, Cairnhill, Crane's bungalow at Tanjong Katong and Hindu Temple on South Bridge Road.

Singapore was also the home for a time of John Thomson, one of the most justly celebrated of nineteenth century photographers. Thomson's fame rests largely on the massive photographic documentation which he made of China and the Far East between 1868 and 1872, the results of which were published in four large volumes of collotype reproductions as *Illustrations of China and its People* (1873-74); although the volume of memoirs covering his travels, *The Straits of Malacca, Indo-China and China* (1875), records something of his time in Singapore and the Malay peninsula, this period remains the least well-documented of his career.

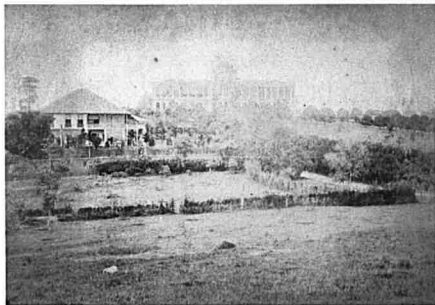
Thomson was born in 1837 and raised in Edinburgh and states that he first visited Singapore in 1861.³⁴ This appears to have been only a fleeting visit, perhaps cut short by illness, and it was only in the following year that he became resident on the island. John Thomson was preceded in Singapore by his brother William who ran a ship chandlery business in Battery Road and was himself also a professional photographer, setting up in this latter field in the partnership of Sack and Thomson, Beach Road, probably in 1860 and certainly by 1861. This partnership was short-lived, however, and in the 1862 directory W. Thomson is listed by himself in the photographers' section. It was presumably William Thomson who inserted the advertisement in the *Straits Times* of 3rd May 1862 announcing that 'Mr J. Thomson, Photographer, will arrive here in June'.

The Singapore that Thomson found on his arrival by the mail steamer *Emeu* impressed him as favourably as it had done his photographic predecessor, Jules Itier, as a centre of remarkable growth over a short period of years, with a no doubt ready market for his output:

Not many years ago it was a mere desolate jungle-clad island, like hundreds of others in the Eastern seas ... When I first saw it in 1861 I was startled by the appearance of the European town, and since that time it has been yearly registering its substantial progress in steadily increasing rows of splendid docks, in bridges, in warehouses, and in government edifices...³⁵

He therefore lost no time in advertising his photographic studio:

Mr J. Thomson, Photographer, has arrived by the mail of this day and will open his Photographic Room at Captain Leisk's, 3 Beach Road on Monday 16th; orders left at 3 Battery Road will meet with attention.
Singapore, 12th June 1862³⁶



Photographer unknown, Government House, 1869/70.

Thomson arrived in Singapore equipped not only with the technical and artistic skill which separates his work from that of the majority of his contemporaries, but also with a knowledge of the latest advances in commercial photography in Europe. Thus, shortly after his arrival in the settlement, he was able to advertise a range of services previously unavailable and possessing the sort of novelty value designed to attract new customers:

Mr J. Thomson, is now prepared to take micro-photographs for charms from any 'carte de visite' portraits done by him, also to copy likenesses microscopic size.

Photographs of all kinds taken, including album portraits, stereoscopic and large views."

The chronology of Thomas's movements during his stay in Singapore is not entirely clear, since at least part of his time was spent in travelling on the mainland. In his memoir Thomson himself states:

During the ten months I spent in Penang and Province Wellesley, I was chiefly engaged in photography — a congenial, profitable, and instructive occupation, enabling me to gratify my taste for travel and to fill my portfolio, as I wandered over Penang settlement and the mainland hard by, with an attractive series of characteristic scenes and types, which were in constant demand among the resident European population..."

These ten months may well, however, represent the aggregate of a number of journeys using Singapore as a base both to replenish supplies and to market the result of these trips. Certainly a visit of unknown duration was made in the first half of 1863, since his return to Singapore from Penang on the steamer *Clanalpine* was announced in the *Straits Times* of 1st August of that year, and a short advertisement stating that 'Mr John Thomson will shortly return from Penang' on 20th February 1864 clearly marks the end of a second journey. For these photographic expeditions Thomson trained

... two Madras men, or boys as they were called here, to act as my printers and assistants, the Chinese having, at that time, refused to lend themselves to such devilry as taking likenesses of objects without the touch of human hands. Moreover they, as 'Orang puth'

or 'White men', shrunk from having their fingers and much-prized long nails stained black, like those of the blackest of 'Orang etam' or black men. My Klings, on the other hand, were of the colour of a well-sunned nitrate of silver stain all over..."

A good deal of Thomson's time on the mainland was spent travelling in Province Wellesley, visiting planters (many of them Scottish like himself) and being involved in the sort of mishaps and incidents which make up much of any travel writer's account in a largely undeveloped area. He also ventured further up the mainland, travelling on the government steamer to Kedah where he met the Rajah, 'a young man, a fine specimen of his race...a wise and careful ruler', and also visiting Malacca, where he stayed only briefly, finding it, despite its historical associations 'neither an interesting nor a profitable field' for the photographer.

In Singapore itself Thomson maintained his studio in partnership with his brother William who no doubt looked after the business while he was travelling. On his arrival on the island in 1862, Thomson had made his home at no. 3 (Transit Lodge) Beach Road and it was here that he opened his first studio. But in late 1863 or early 1864 he moved to Helston Lodge in Killiney Road for a year or so. A further move to Battery Road was made in 1865 and this probably coincided with John Thomson's departure, the studio moving into the same premises as the ship chandlery and watchmaking establishment. Thomson left Singapore for Siam in the latter half of 1865 and thus ended his connection with the island apart from one brief visit while *en route* for Hong Kong in 1867. It has been speculated that before he left Thomson disposed of his photographic business to the firm of Sachtler & Co., but in fact Thomson Brothers continued trading as photographers for some years and were listed as such in the directory until the end of the 1860s, although by this time William Thomson also appears to have left Singapore.

Whatever the advantages of the colodion process over its predecessors, photography still remained a calling demanding a patience and skill difficult to comprehend today. All these difficulties were compounded in tropical climates where heat, humidity and uncertain chemical supplies all conspired against the photographer. One of the best practical guides, both to the problems and compensations of photography in the East, was provided by John Thomson himself, who gave the benefit of his experience of four years' photography in Southeast Asia in a series of

articles entitled *Practical photography in tropical regions*, published in *The British Journal of Photography* in 1866.⁴⁰

Well aware of the often disappointing results of photography in the harsh, vertical light of the tropics — 'the leprous-looking prints...with blank lights and shadows' — Thomson remained convinced of the possibility of achieving artistic images:

...providing the right time be chosen for lighting the subject, and the chemicals are modified to suit the climate, as fine results may be obtained in the tropics as in temperate latitudes — pictures possessing soft yet brilliant lights and broad shadows, full of detail.

The first step was early rising to take advantage of the softer light and oblique shadows of the morning to capture 'the wonderful harmony which is characteristic of the wildest jungle and forest scenery of the tropics':

The early morning has...many advantages. The temperature is lower, and for an hour or two nature enjoys the most perfect repose; there is not then a breath of wind to stir even the restless leaves of the "people" tree, the most delicate stem of long grass bending under the weight of its feathery flower might be photographed without a head-rest; in short, morning is the time when the finest atmospheric effects may be caught...For the reproduction by the camera of these dim distances, where the broad lights on the palm trees and the deep shadows in the masses of foliage are softened down to a dreamy indistinctness by the mist, and where the foreground objects stand out in well-defined relief, not only is the most delicate manipulatory skill called into play, but nice artistic discernment in the operator; so that the picture when finished may look like nature, and not like simply a fogged plate. Such pictorial effects as these can only be seen and dealt with by the early operator, who will find that he has not only chosen the best time to obtain manageable lights and shadows under which the most attractive features of tropical landscape scenery are brought out, but, in nine instances out of ten, it is the only time during the day when he can operate with comfort, and without risk of sunstroke or solarisation to his photographs.

Working with noxious chemicals in the confined space of a portable

dark tent, the organisation of porters and transport, the importance of equipment designed to withstand the rigours of extreme heat and humidity, the inevitable delay in obtaining replacement parts and the deterioration of chemicals are all subjects dealt with by Thomson, together with practical processing formulas for use in the East. These hints relate largely to work in the field, but as Thomson well knew, the commercial photographer based in a European settlement 'will find that portraiture forms an important branch of his business, and one in which he ought to excel', and he therefore devotes some space to studio practice which no doubt reflects in general terms the sort of set-up utilised by the more sophisticated Singapore photographers.

Thomson was acute enough to appreciate the prime importance of establishing a relaxed atmosphere in which to operate, not only by general demeanour and conversation, but also in practical matters such as separating the studio itself from the evil-smelling chemicals of the darkroom. At a period when the sun supplied practically the only light source for photography, studios were often glorified glasshouses with elaborate systems of baffles and blinds to control the level of illumination. In temperate conditions this caused few problems, but the bright tropical sun necessitated modifications aimed at ventilation for the subject's comfort and control of the strength of illumination to mitigate the harsh contrast of the light. Thomson's own studio therefore introduced a smaller area of exposed glass, together with increased ventilation by the creation of gentle draughts and the insertion of removable windows:

To reduce the intense glare of light to its minimum, all the glass is obscured with oil paint of a faint blue colour, and covered with moveable blinds both above and at the side. A very good arrangement for producing intense softness is to stop off the light from the west, only admitting sufficient to illuminate a reflecting screen placed on the right of the sitter...

By the time of John Thomson's departure in 1865 the firm of Sachtler & Co. — the first of the long-lasting Singapore photographers to demonstrate the potential of the collodion process as a commercial method of working — had been in business for some three years. The date of the founding of the firm has not been established with certainty, but it was probably only shortly before they issued a ten part panorama of Singapore



Sachtler & Co., Panoramic view of Singapore, 1863. A portion of Sachtler & Co.'s ten section panorama of Singapore from the spire of St. Andrew's Church.





Sachtler & Co., street scenes from the album *Views and Types Of Singapore, 1863* (above).
Photographer unknown, probably Sachtler & Co., Cricket match at the Tanglin Barracks,
1869-70.

from the tower of St. Andrew's Church in 1863, photographed for presentation to Governor Cavenagh. We have no knowledge of the original Sachtler, but in July 1864 the business was taken over by August Sachtler in partnership with K. Feilberg,⁴¹ and operated from a studio in High Street near the Court House. In the following year Feilberg went to Penang where he set up a branch house. Sachtler and Feilberg, with E. Hermann Sachtler, presumably a brother of August. This appears to have survived until 1867 when Feilberg set up independently and Hermann Sachtler returned to Singapore after a period of absence, probably in Europe.

Sachtler & Co. offered a large variety of Singapore views for sale and were also among the first photographers in the town to supply prints from a wide area of Southeast Asia. As early as 1864 they were able to supply the results of an expedition in and around Sarawak,⁴² and by 1874 this range of illustrations comprised a comprehensive selection of photographs from the whole of the archipelago, with 'views and types of Borneo, Java, Sumatra, Saigon, Siam, Burmah, and Straits Settlements'.⁴³ Material from these travels was no doubt among the prints in the album containing numerous portraits of the natives, and views of the Straits which the firm sent to the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1867. On Hermann Sachtler's return to Singapore the business seems to have moved for a period to his residence in Battery Road, but in 1874 they returned to High Street, fitting out 'Sachtler's Photographic Rooms' at number 88, opposite the Hotel de l'Europe and hence in a prime position to capture the passing tourist trade, then beginning to expand with the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869.

It was in 1869 also, shortly after his return to Singapore, that Hermann Sachtler achieved some measure of local fame by his almost miraculous survival after an accident sustained in the course of his work:

He was engaged in taking a photograph of the convent from the base of the steeple on the summit of the tower of the church, when by some means he missed his footing and fell a distance of some thirty feet, on to the roof of the church and rebounding therefrom, to the ground below, more than forty feet. He was picked up senseless but not dead, and we are glad to hear that, though his arm is broken and he is severely bruised, there are hopes of Mr Sachtler's recovery...⁴⁴

As the *Penang Argus* observed, the sustaining of comparatively trifling

injuries after 'such an unpleasant exit from the bell-fry of the French Church' was 'a curiosity, in the line of accidents, which would prove a godsend to a London penny-a-liner'.⁴⁷

For unknown reasons the firm did not long survive its return to High Street, and in June 1874 the whole of the business assets and stock were purchased by Carter & Co., who traded from Sachtler's old studio for a year or so. The equipment and stock which the firm had amassed during the decade of its existence, and which was listed prior to auction, gives an interesting indication of the requirements of commercial photography in the 1870s:

14 complete cameras in different sizes by the best English and German makers.

About 1,500 negatives different sizes all in good order.

Types and views of Siam, Borneo, Saigon, Malacca, Penang, Rangoon, Singapore, etc., etc.

Sanitir and other photographic machines.

A large assortment of frames and gilt mouldings.

Card board paper.

Photographic chemicals.

Photographic furniture, etc., etc., etc.⁴⁸

Two other photographers of note were also active in the mid-1870s, both of whom used Singapore as their main base from which to visit outlying locations. The first of these, Henry Schuren, had previously worked for the firm of Woodbury & Page in Batavia and before this, according to his own advertising, 'had studied photography in the first ateliers of Brussels, Paris and London'.⁴⁹ He arrived in Singapore in September 1873 and, probably with a view to testing the water before committing himself to the capital outlay of setting up a permanent studio, opened for business in a room in the Hotel de l'Europe at the beginning of October, complete with dressing room for ladies to prepare for their sittings. In October customers were invited for portrait sessions 'to send their photographs to Europe for Christmas', these pictures being produced by an unidentified process 'quite different from anything ever offered in the East. For brilliance and finish, these pictures, which will be an ornament to every fashionable drawing room, will recommend themselves'.⁴⁸

After the Christmas season Schuren left in February 1874 for a three month trip to Bangkok, leaving his studio under the management of his assistant J. Huck, and on his return in May opened a studio at 89 High Street. Schuren's reception in Siam had evidently been favourable and he returned from a second trip later in the year with the appointment of official photographer to the King of Siam, an honour held by a number of Singapore photographers in succeeding decades.

It was during his absence in Manila for most of 1875 that his place was taken in Singapore by G.A. Schleesselmann, who opened a studio at 30 Orchard Road on 20th March and offered a series of photographs indicating a previous lengthy tour of the Straits Settlements, Perak, Selangor and Johore.⁵⁰ On the 1st December 1875 Schleesselmann removed from Orchard Road to Henry Schuren's studio in High Street and, 'having taken over the negatives from Mr Schuren, parties can have them by applying at the new address'.⁵⁰ The appropriation of his business produced an immediate response from Schuren who announced his imminent return to Singapore, appealed for the support of his old customers and threatened legal action to regain possession of his property:

H. Schuren.

Photographer to His Majesty the King of Siam, begs to announce to his old friends and patrons that he will soon return to Singapore and hopes that his favourably known work, which has far improved in the past year, will find the same acknowledgement and give the same satisfaction as formerly.

Mr Schuren begs to declare at the same time that on his return to Singapore he will prosecute the persons who have disposed of his negatives (a photographer's most private property) and he hopes to clear up and put in the right light the strange proceedings against his property, left behind in Singapore and disposed of whilst he has been absent and unable to defend himself.

Manila, 9th December 1875.⁵¹

Schleesselmann's rejoinder indicates that Schuren's business had accumulated unpaid debts and that he had acquired the material legitimately. Taking up Schuren's challenge, he pointed out in his reply the circumstances in which he had acquired this collection of negatives and categorically defended his rights of possession:



K. Feilberg, View in Singapore, 1870s.



James Birch, James Birch and Sultan Abdullah at Batak Rabit, 12 April 1874. This print is one of a series made by Birch during his semi-official tour in Selangor and Perak in 1874. As well as James Birch and Sultan Abdullah, Frank Swettenham can also be seen in the photograph standing behind Birch's left shoulder. Birch was murdered in the following year and Sultan Abdullah was later exiled to the Seychelles for complicity in the plot.

To the editor of the *Straits Observer*.

Sir — With reference to an advertisement in the *Straits Times* of the 20th, headed himself H. Schuren, in which he uses threats regarding the purchaser of some negatives that once belonged to him I consider it as a duty to myself to state that they were sold by auction by the order of the Sheriff in obedience to an order of the Supreme Court on the 28th day of May last, and that I am the legal owner of them, having purchased them from the gentleman who bought them at the auction by the Sheriff.³²

Some satisfactory accommodation between the two parties in this dispute must have been reached, since Schuren on his return to Singapore in June 1876 worked from his old studio in High Street before leaving Singapore for good in favour of Bangkok in August of that year.

Whatever the state of his financial affairs, Schuren's technical and artistic competence was not in doubt for he earned a glowing notice in *The Singapore Daily Times* for portraits of a more sophisticated calibre than was probably found in Singapore at that time:

Mr Schuren has shewn us two beautiful specimens of the art of photography, taken by himself, in the shape of *salon* pictures: one being a young lady's photograph, in which the light is thrown on the profile, and, most artistically, on the lace veil which is over a white silk dress, by the system of what is professionally called Rembrandt light. The veil and silk dress beneath are brought out with a perfection worthy of the brush of Millais, and the expression of the features is evidently true to nature. The other is the portrait of a robed priest, who, though in the agonies of composition, is undergoing the ordeal most placidly. The price of pictures taken similarly, or as the sitter would like to be placed, is, with frame complete, \$20 each. Copies \$4 each. It will be seen in our advertisement columns that Mr Schuren has opened a studio here, and will remain for two months. Copies of the *salon* pictures mentioned, have been sent to the Philadelphia Exhibition.³³

Schleesselmann himself was not to remain in Singapore for any great length of time, departing after the auctioning of the contents of his house in High Street in June 1877.

G. R. LAMBERT & CO.

The photographers so far discussed set the scene for the arrival of the longest surviving firm of Singapore photographers — G.R. Lambert & Co. Of the firm's predecessors, only Sachtler & Co. succeeded in remaining commercially active for more than a few years and, as we have seen, few photographers seemed to have considered Singapore as more than a temporary port of call in a peripatetic existence.

But as the 1870s progressed, the growth of Singapore and of traffic through the port offered a more stable commercial environment for the professional photographer, and a number of firms of some longevity set up in business during this and the following decade. By this time also photography had established itself and supplanted painting, engraving and lithography as the standard means of illustration and portraiture. The popularity of such forms of portraiture as the *carte-de-visite* and cabinet photograph¹⁴ — quick and cheap to produce — brought photography within the reach of almost everyone and greatly increased the professional's potential market.

By the early years of the present century Lambert & Co., responsible for the most comprehensive photographic documentation of the topography and peoples of Southeast Asia, had been in existence for over a quarter of a century and had little cause to fear competition over their position as 'the leading photographic artists of Singapore', possessing as they did 'a high reputation for artistic portraiture' and offering 'one of the finest collections of landscape views in the East, comprising about 3,000 subjects relating to Siam, Singapore, Borneo, Malaya, and China'.¹⁵

While much of the early history of the firm is shrouded in some mystery — particularly regarding the personal details of G.R. Lambert himself — certain general aspects of its development are clearly due to the propitious period for commercial photography of the 1870s and 1880s. In addition to the factors already mentioned were further technical improvements. The wet collodion process had advanced considerably in the decades since its introduction. More sensitive plates and faster lenses shortened exposure times, and the greater knowledge of photographic chemistry reduced margins of uncertainty and made the whole procedure a far more predictable and error-free activity. In 1871 the first dry plates, which freed the photographer from the necessity of coating and

developing each negative on the spot, were introduced. Although it was some years before their use became standard, by the end of the century all branches of photography from field to studio work had become immensely simplified and speedier.

The dissolution of the firm of Sachtler & Co., who had for a decade occupied the premier position in the Singapore photographic market, left the field open for an operator with sufficient skill and business acumen to capitalise not only on the growing resident market but also to take advantage of the rapidly increasing numbers of tourists passing through to and from India, Australia and the Far East.

In later years M.C. Moses, proprietor of The Standard Photographic Studio, would advertise that his business had been founded in 1874, the year of Sachtler's closure, but this appears only to relate to his taking over of the watchmaking firm of Captain J.S. Leisk. His photographic activities only appear to have started with the purchase of the negative collections of G.A. Schlesselmann and other earlier workers and the opening of a studio at 19 Battery Road in January 1878.¹⁶ If the earlier date for the setting up of Moses & Co. were accepted, it would appear that they were an older business than Lambert & Co., since the latter in their advertising for many years gave their date of foundation as 1875, a misconception repeated in Arnold Wright's *Twentieth Century Impressions of British Malaya*. Whatever the reason for this mistake, the beginning of G.R. Lambert's photographic activities in Singapore can be accurately dated from an advertisement which appeared in the *Singapore Daily Times* on 13th May 1867:

NOTICE.

The undersigned begs to inform the community of Singapore, that he has this day opened a Photographic Establishment under the firm of G.R. Lambert & Co. in High Street, No. 1.

G. R. Lambert,
Photographer.

Singapore 10th April 1867.

The only personal detail regarding Lambert's background of which we have any knowledge is that he was a German from Dresden.¹⁷ Beyond this even his forenames are unknown. A few tenuous connections might

G. R. LAMBERT & CO.,
PHOTOGRAPHERS TO H. M. THE KING OF SIAM,
ORCHARD ROAD,
SINGAPORE.

Has to inform the public, that they have procured the services of an able Artist, just arrived from Europe, and that they are prepared to execute photos up to life-size in oil or water-colours.

Paints on porcelain in perspective pictures.

Enaille photos. Cassed photos.

Portraits taken daily from 7 to 11 a. m.

Views of houses, etc., etc., taken to order.

Pictures framed in black and gold mountings of all sizes.

Views of Singapore, Siam, Europe, Java and Ceylon always on hand, and for sale at Messrs. JOHN LITTLE & Co.'s.

BY APPOINTMENT TO H. M. THE MAHARAJAH OF JOHORE.
G. R. LAMBERT & CO.,
PHOTOGRAPHERS TO H. M. THE KING OF SIAM,
ORCHARD ROAD,
SINGAPORE.

Studios open daily from 7 to 11 a.m.

Portraits taken in all sizes, in oil and water colours.

Paints on porcelain in perspective pictures.

Enaille photos. Cassed photos.

Houses, Groups, &c., etc., taken to order.

Pictures framed in black and gold, oil-stone.

Changes moderate.

Views and Types of Singapore, Java, Borneo, Siam, Ceylon and India, always on hand, and for sale at Messrs. JOHN LITTLE & Co.'s.

Two of G. R. Lambert & Co's advertisements in the *Singapore and Straits Directory* for 1881 and 1882.

suggest a possible link with the firm of Lambert Brothers, originally from Berlin, who set up as carriage makers, stablers, undertakers and monumental masons in Coleman Street in 1862. Later they moved to Orchard Road, and were for many years situated directly opposite G.R. Lambert's studio. For a short period, indeed, they had adjoining premises, with Lambert's studio at 430 Orchard Road and the carriage works at number 432. Their common German nationality might also suggest a link (although the German business community in Singapore was extensive), as might the fact that J.C. Van Es, who was employed by G.R. Lambert & Co. in the early 1880s later became agent for the coach works in Batavia. Such small pointers offer no conclusive evidence, however, and the suggestion of ties between the two businesses can be no more than a possibility.

G. R. Lambert's early work in Singapore, and the duration of his first residence in the town are unknown. The next reference to his presence in an advertisement which appeared a full ten years later:

Mr G.R. Lambert, Photographer, formerly of Singapore, begs to inform his friends and the public in general, that he has returned from Europe and has opened his Photographic Establishment at Orchard Road, No. 30, (opposite Messrs. Lambert Brothers Carriage Works).

Photographs taken daily from 7 to 11 a.m. Views of private residences taken. A number of fine views constantly on hand.

Singapore, 15th May 1877.¹⁹

Lambert's movements between the placing of these two advertisements have not been uncovered. It may be that his first attempt to set up a studio in Singapore did not prove successful and that he left the colony and only returned ten years later. The wording of his 1877 advertisement seems to imply that his return from Europe was after a shorter absence than ten years, with its references to 'his friends' and the 'fine views constantly on hand', but this is not supported by the directories of the period which do not record him as resident except in 1867-68 and again at the end of the 1870s. The firm's own date of 1875 for the establishment of the business may relate to a short visit in that year which was not of sufficient duration for him to be recorded as a resident, but without further evidence this must remain speculative. The full story will probably never be known.



A selection of Lambert portraits, ca. 1890 to 1910. The same face reappears in a different pose, wearing different clothing or has been captured over a period of years.

From the re-opening of his studio in Singapore in 1877 (in the premises previously occupied by G.A. Schlesselmann and later used for a time by Moses & Co.), Lambert & Co. became a permanent presence until the end of the First World War. In May 1878 he moved his studio 'to the other side of Orchard Road, at the corner of Edinburgh Road'⁵⁹ and later in the year was able to advertise the arrival of new equipment 'especially adapted for photographs of interiors, as drawing rooms' (this would presumably indicate some sort of wide angle lens), and 'a new collection of views and types of Singapore'.⁶⁰ Further expansion of the firm's stock came with a visit to Bangkok in late 1879, from which Lambert returned in February 1880. One of the results of this journey was the taking over of Henry Schuren's mantle as official photographer to the King of Siam, an appointment maintained until towards the turn of the century when the privilege was claimed by Robert Lenz & Co.⁶¹

In common with other photographers using Singapore as a base, Lambert's activities expanded to take in all of Southeast Asia. By 1884 they were offering from their studio at 430 Orchard Road views of the Straits Settlements, Siam, Borneo and other areas, as well as 'portraits ... in the best styles and by instantaneous process'.⁶² Work from the 1870s and early 1880s by Lambert & Co. is scarce and it is difficult to make an assessment of Lambert's individual photographic contribution, since by the mid-1880s his immediate connections with the firm were severed and most of the surviving images were produced by later operators.

In one respect our ignorance of G.R. Lambert, frustrating though it may be, is not crucial to an appreciation of the total achievement of the firm. In common with most long-running photographic businesses with a large output of views, the camera work was in the hands of numerous operators over the years, each no doubt concentrating on the speciality to which he was best suited — be it architecture, landscape, or studio portraiture — and each contributing a proportion of the total output. The name of G.R. Lambert should therefore be seen as a generic title, the overall total of whose efforts produced what in retrospect remains the single most important existing pictorial record of Southeast Asia in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In no real sense can this body of work be regarded as the artistic creation of a single individual; and regardless of its magnificent quality it should not be forgotten that its artistic pretensions were firmly tied to commercial considerations.

Lambert's departure from Singapore is as mysterious as his arrival. According to *Twentieth Century Impressions of British Malaya* he left in 1885, but his residence on the island seems to have been at best sporadic throughout his ownership of the business. He was absent for much of 1881–82, for instance, leaving the firm in the hands of his managing partner J.C. Van Es. Having taken Alexander Koch into the partnership in 1886, he then departed for Europe, although he visited Singapore on at least one further occasion, being listed as a resident in the *Singapore and Straits Directory* for 1890. It appears likely that he still retained a financial interest in the business for several years after leaving Singapore.

Lambert & Co.'s most intensive recording of Singapore and Southeast Asia was undertaken during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. For this, much of the credit rests with Alexander Koch. Koch, also a German, entered Lambert & Co. as an assistant in 1883 or 1884 and in January 1886 was admitted as a full partner.⁶³ Thereafter followed the period of vigorous expansion which in the space of a decade made the firm preeminent throughout the Straits Settlements and Malaya.

Shortly after Koch's arrival, Lambert & Co. left 430 Orchard Road and moved into the studio at number 186 which they were to occupy until the early years of the present century. The increasing importance of Singapore as a major port on the route to the East in these years has already been mentioned and the period saw a vast increase in the output of topographical, landscape and portrait photography. The bustling trade in the purchase of original prints by tourists and others was to last until it was ousted by the spread of the picture postcard, in combination with the simplified technology which encouraged the spread of amateur photography from the end of the century onwards.

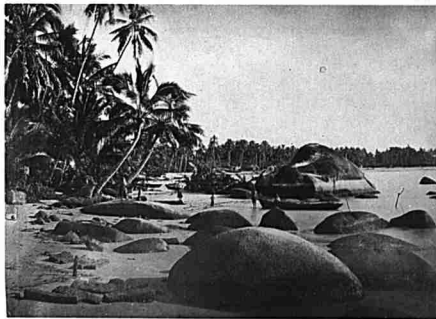
Singapore was by no means alone in experiencing the photographic boom of the 1880s and 1890s, but was particularly favoured by its focal position on the route to the East. The ability of the photographer to be able to supply tourists and residents alike, not only with views of the island itself but of other parts of the East, was an evident impetus to maintain a wide-ranging stock of views from all over those areas from which travellers might like to possess souvenirs.

The subject matter of such photographs inevitably therefore reflects a European view of the East. Without devaluing their importance as historical records, the photographs can in certain respects be seen as a

form of visual propaganda, disseminating an impression of the steady and harmonious growth of the colonial dependencies while largely playing down or ignoring those aspects of life which did not accord with this outlook. The idea of any conscious programme of suppression cannot of course be sustained, the choice of subject matter and treatment being the result of straightforward commercial considerations. But these commercial considerations of themselves pandered to preconceived Western notions of the tropical regions and their inhabitants. The fact remains that in little nineteenth century commercial photography are we shown the more squalid and poverty-stricken parts of towns and cities unless to emphasise specifically the exotic or outlandish. Instead the focus is set on public buildings and thoroughfares and the industries, projects and formal functions which demonstrate most effectively the twin ideals of civic pride

and economic growth marching hand in hand with imperial progress. Attention, too, was paid to the documentation of agriculture, highlighting the economic potential of untapped territories occupied by exotic races.

Another aspect of the Occidental vision of the East is revealed in much of the portraiture of racial types and customs, a photographic genre avidly purchased by European customers. In these photographs a number of attitudes coexisted, among them a reinforcement of the romantic image of the East peopled by mysterious races and spiced with danger, a documentation of the (to Western eyes) barbaric and outlandish lives of remote tribes ripe for the civilising benefits of European rule, and the optimistic Victorian belief in photography's unique advantages in expanding the frontiers of knowledge by the detailed recording of pristine ethnological curiosities as yet unchanged.



K. Feilberg, Lake view in Sumatra, 1870s (left). Sea View, Penang, 1870s.



G. R. Lambert & Co.
 ESTABLISHED 1871

Photographers.
 100, BATTERY ROAD, SINGAPORE.

BATTERY ROAD, SINGAPORE.

The entire collection of Views and Prints, Marine Services, etc., of Singapore, and of Hong Kong, Penang, Malacca, Saigon, Siam, Java, Sumatra, Ceylon, etc.

Use each of Pictures always as best, compare with those best possible.

Every Night, and constant open in absence. Trial of dark room.
 Also: Complete stock of photographic materials.

Regular correspondents at various places, France, Prussia, and U. S. P. Papers of English and Continental countries.

Developing and Printing done for amateurs under European supervision.

41 Framing Department, 19

The best of Mounting comprises over a thousand different patterns.

G. R. LAMBERT & Co.
 ESTABLISHED 1871

Photographers
 100, BATTERY ROAD, SINGAPORE.

BATTERY ROAD, SINGAPORE.

For the latest and largest stock of all sizes in this branch, call on J. B. WOOD, 115, 117, 119.

Artistic, Natural, and Composite Photographs—
 All work in Carbon, Platinotype, and all known methods of process, including the latest produced process for Natural Colour Photographs.

For Annuals, Albums of Views, Typesetting and Mounting Papers, Stationery, etc., call on
 J. B. WOOD, 115, 117, 119.

H. TH. JENSEN, Manager, 100, BATTERY ROAD, SINGAPORE.

G. R. Lambert & Co's studio at Gresham House in Battery Road (above) opened in 1894. The two advertisements appeared in early editions of the *Strait Times Annual*, ca. 1904 and 1908.

While much of this work was done in the field, the transfer to the studio often introduced a stilted air of cultural dislocation, with racial types posed in 'characteristic' activities and lifeless tableaux, or more comically amongst the standard European props, backdrops and furniture of the photographer's studio. Few photographers penetrated beyond this limited vision of other cultures, and while Lambert & Co.'s work is far above the general standard they too succumbed from time to time (particularly in later years) to this dehumanising vision of their subjects.

The propagandist nature of the material thus produced (at least in the use it was put to) is perhaps most clearly seen in the numerous books which appeared towards the end of the century showing aspects of life in Britain's overseas possessions, and in several of which Lambert & Co.'s work was well represented. Such a volume was *The Queen's Empire*, edited by H. O. Arnold-Foster M.P. in the year of the Diamond Jubilee, which contained three hundred photographs from all parts of the Empire, grouped into themes and painting an idealised picture of unity in diversity which bound the colonies together for the greater good of the whole:

It is, however, when we come to those great tracts of Empire inhabited by races of men other than our own that we can look for novelty in all we see, for something strange and something unaccustomed, something different and apart from things with which we are familiar; and we shall not be disappointed. But with all the variety and all the novelty there is yet, happily, one bond of union, one mark of uniformity. In every part of the Empire we shall find some trace of the work which Britain is doing throughout the world — the work of civilising, of governing, of protecting life and property, and of extending the benefits of trade and commerce. Of these signs of our rule every British subject has the right to be proud.²⁴

The dozen or so photographs by Lambert & Co. which appear in this work were clearly selected to emphasise the benefits and opportunities of colonial rule. Landscapes and portraits presented the romance of the East, while views of the tin, coffee and rice industries firmly pointed out their potential to the trader and investor, the whole order being protected by the power of the British administration, illustrated in the photograph of Sikh troopers on parade in Selangor. This propagandist theme was made

more fully explicit in the letterpress accompanying each picture, nowhere more clearly than in the text describing an interior scene in a Chinese house in Selangor: 'The Chinese, who, owing to bad government and extortion, can seldom accumulate wealth in their own country, soon become rich under the protection of British law.'

The expansion of the firm under Koch's management is reflected in the number of staff employed in the business, which increased sharply in the mid-1880s. During Lambert's period the studio was run with two European operators and a few native assistants, but by 1891 Koch was employing four photographers in addition to assistants and a clerical staff of three. The studio at 186 Orchard Road had been opened in 1886, and in 1894 this was supplemented by premises in Gresham House, Battery Road, next door to the Medical Hall and situated close to Raffles Place and Johnston's Pier, a position well placed to take advantage of passing trade in the central part of the town.

Some of the increase in staff is accounted for not by business in Singapore itself, but by work carried on outside the island. The first branch studio to be opened was in Medan in northeast Sumatra, a location indicative of the way in which photographers were swift to follow the opening up of new territories to commercial exploitation. By the 1880s the Deli region of Sumatra had become an important centre for the growth and export of tobacco. In 1885 Lambert & Co. set up their first studio in the area, managed first by Heinrich Ernst and followed by H. Stafhell, and from 1888-89 by Charles J. Kleingrothe. This branch was maintained only until about 1891 and the reasons for its closure are unclear. Koch may have felt that with a sufficient stock of views of the island in the firm's portfolio, the expenses involved in a permanent studio were not justified.

His closure of the branch may equally well have been a response to a tendency among the firm's operators to branch out as independent photographers in competition with their former employers once they had settled in Sumatra. Soon after leaving Lambert & Co.'s employ, Heinrich Ernst did precisely this and his firm continued to be active in Lankat up to the First World War. Kleingrothe and Stafhell actually went into business together, a photographic partnership which survived until the closing years of the century and was then continued by Kleingrothe alone until around 1916. One of these three men would have been responsible for the fine series of views of the Sumatran tobacco industry taken in the 1880s.



Turn-of-the-century Lambert portraits.

The mainland Malayan peninsula did not until later years offer the same opportunities for the photographer. Commercial exploitation of the land, particularly tin mining, was largely under Chinese control and the European population was small and scattered. These facts, allied to the endemic political chaos in Selangor and Perak (progressively brought under control after the installation of British residents from 1874), did not present a promising field for the commercial photographer. Activity was restricted until the 1890s to expeditions whose results were brought back to Singapore for marketing. Some mention has already been made of a number of photographers who made such journeys without setting up permanently in the Malay States.

A certain amount of work was undertaken by amateur photographers resident on the mainland. Perhaps the most important, in terms of historical interest, are the photographs of the interiors of Selangor and Perak taken by James Birch, first British Resident of Perak, from 1874 until his murder the following year. Also noteworthy are the photographs of Leonard Wray, who joined the Perak Public Works Department in 1881 and produced a large series of ethnographical portraits, as well as an album documenting public works in the state in the early 1890s. Wray was in addition, the founder of the short-lived Perak Amateur Photographic Society in 1897.

It was not until the formation of the centralised administration of the Federated Malay States in 1896 that Lambert & Co. set up an outlet for their work in the now thriving town of Kuala Lumpur. At first the firm merely retained A.R. Bligh, the Secretary of the Selangor Club, as their agent but in 1899 a branch studio in the F.M.S. Hotel was opened which was maintained for most of the first decade of the present century.

Further north, the existence of a settled business community in Bangkok had encouraged G.R. Lambert on his first visit to Siam in 1879 to 1880. A decade later in 1891 with the closure of the Sumatra branch, an office was opened in Bangkok which was run as an agency by C. Fricker (the manager of Fusio's Dispensary) until its closure in 1900. From that time the most successful photographic business in Bangkok was that of Robert Lenz & Co., which transferred its operations from Singapore at the turn of the century, and survived in Bangkok until 1916.

Little attempt appears to have been made to establish a permanent presence in Penang — although Lambert & Co. marketed a large selection

of views of the island and surrounding mainland — and this was no doubt due to a number of well-established firms which had already monopolised the limited trade of Penang's relatively small population. Penang boasted a number of photographers whose work stands comparison with that produced in Singapore. Lambert & Co. evidently saw little point in entering into competition in this economically more stagnant area. K. Feilberg's early move to Penang in 1865 has already been mentioned in connection with Sachtler & Co., and in the same year he was joined on the island by William Jones who had also briefly worked as a photographer in Singapore in the previous year. While Feilberg eventually returned to Singapore, Jones later went into partnership with A.E. Kaulfuss whose photographic business dominated the Penang trade for a number of years.

August Kaulfuss first came to Penang in 1883 and for several years spent much of his time as a travelling photographer on the mainland, so much so that by 1908 *Twentieth Century Impressions of British Malaya* could record that he had

... traversed on foot the whole of the Malay peninsula, from Province Wellesley in the north to Johore in the south, at a time when there were few good roads and no railways. He explored the country behind the territory of Kedah, prospecting for minerals, and visited Bangkok. He is photographer to H.H. the Sultan of Kedah, and has taken a unique collection of photographs in the Malay peninsula.

Kaulfuss' business did not long survive this notice, but by this time Lambert & Co.'s fortunes were soon to turn and in a few years' time they were in no position to take advantage of Kaulfuss' departure.

The extent of Lambert & Co.'s preeminence in Singapore is perhaps most clearly seen in the choice of the firm as official photographers for all the major political events from the 1890s through to the present century. A trip by G.R. Lambert to photograph Kuala Lumpur in the early 1880s had probably been made at the behest of Frank Swettenham with the intention of recording the look of the town at the beginning of British influence, and a number of other photographs taken during the 1880s were probably made at official instigation. It was natural, therefore, that Lambert & Co., in the person of Alexander Koch, should be selected to photograph the historic gathering of sultans who travelled down to

Singapore to be received by the Duke of Connaught in 1890. The actual taking of the group portrait (see illustration below) is described in the *Singapore Free Press* of 28th March 1890:

... His Excellency gave the orders and arrangements were made with Mr Lambert to photograph a group early on Thursday morning, 7 o'clock being the hour nominally fixed for the assemblage of Rajas and followers to come to Government House for the purpose ... About a quarter to seven Mr Koch of Lambert's came up to choose a suitable position for the photo. It was not possible to have the front of the house as background, the sun having just begun to shine, but the required spot was found at the back of the Governor's Office ... We waited half an hour more and still the Selangor contingent did not appear. Finding that the photographer had some extra plates Mr Rodger persuaded Tungku Mahmoud to be taken alone standing up, and very martial and well he looked, quite the Pahang warrior prince. Next Mr Rodger and Tungku Mahmoud were taken, the former sitting down. Just as this picture was being taken, the welcome sound of wheels attracted our attention...

After eventually settling and posing the Sultan of Selangor, the portraits were taken:

Fear was expressed by the photographer that the fringes of the umbrella would shake and spoil the picture, but it was decided to risk that as without it the picture would have been shorn of one of its most characteristic features. The first group was taken twice ... It is to be hoped that the photograph will be successful, for such a representative collection of Malay Rajas and followers from various states has never before come together for such a purpose, and will probably not be again for many years to come. At any rate the next group of a similar kind ... will feel the loss of the old Sultan of Selangor, the chief ornament of the pictorial record of yesterday's remarkable gathering...

The photograph was a success and was much reproduced in contemporary books. Koch was also to be the photographer for the next major gathering of the Malay sultans when he was chosen as official photographer for the durbar held at Kuala Kangsar in July 1897 to



The camera of G. R. Lambert & Co., left, captured on film while photographing the visit of the Duke and Duchess of York to Singapore, 22 April 1901 (above). The Sultan of Selangor Sir Abdul Samad and group at Government House, Singapore, 27 March 1890 (below). The aged sultan is seated at the centre of the group beneath his state umbrella.

celebrate the formation of the Federated Malay States. As it happens, the *Singapore Free Press'* intimation of the imminent death of Sultan Abdul Samad proved premature, and he was again present with all the other sultans to be photographed by Koch at the durbar. For the second Federal Conference at Kuala Lumpur in 1903 Koch was again the photographer and produced a lavish portfolio of views recording the week's formal and social events.

In April 1901, to celebrate the visit of the Duke and Duchess of York (later King George V and Queen Mary) to Singapore, the Straits Chinese British Association presented the royal travellers with a souvenir photograph album and again Lambert & Co. were the natural choice to produce this gift, which contained:

... about a hundred pictures done in platinotype ... of Chinese street scenes, buildings, interiors of temples, schools, theatres, hospitals, clubs, and children in their lovely New Year dresses. The cover of the album was of black morocco leather, and the four corners were elaborately ornamented with silverwork. The centre had a silver plate, shield shape, on which the inscription was neatly engraved in English letters. The silver clasp was very neatly made with a miniature Chinese lock and key. The whole of the silverwork was of Chinese design and workmanship...⁶

Unfortunately the present whereabouts of this lavish volume, which contained an illuminated address on the first page, has not been traced.

Representatives of the firm also accompanied Sir John Anderson's party which in July 1909 took over from Siam the administration of the state of Kelantan and made an agreement for the installation of a British Agent in Trengganu. As with the 1903 durbar, an impressive album of views was issued, entitled *Kelantan and Trengganu 17th-27th July. Views and pictures of the visit of the High Commissioner H.E. Sir John Anderson G.C.M.G., Governor Straits Settlements*. The photographer who accompanied the tour captured the pomp and ceremony attached to this further extension of British interests in Malaya, from formal group portraits and reviews to scenes of life and landscape in this corner of the East. Ironically however, this event was contemporaneous with the start of the decline of the firm's fortunes.

The rise of the postcard trade in the 1890s (the first local issue of

postcards in Singapore had been in 1884) was a development which could not be ignored by the commercial photographer. By the end of the first decade of the twentieth century Lambert & Co. was offering a choice of 250 different views, with a turnover of a quarter of a million cards a year. The very size of the postcard trade, however, was itself an indication of the decline in demand for original photographic prints from tourists and travellers. This much cheaper form of reproduction — which were often pasted into albums just as prints had formerly been — inevitably brought about a downturn in the firm's income.

This period also saw the rise of the amateur photographer (the Singapore Amateur Photographic Society having been formed in 1887) and competition from this source forced another change in emphasis in the firm's activities, with advertising directed as much at catering to amateur needs (the selling of films and cameras and supplying processing and printing facilities) as to the sale of fine quality prints. Other firms in Singapore seem to have responded to this challenge more successfully. George S. Michael, for instance, the proprietor of a number of flamboyantly named photographic businesses from the mid-1880s (such as 'The Original American Lighting Gem Photographic Studio' and 'The Celestial Studio'), can be seen from his earliest advertising to have specifically set his sights on the cheaper end of the market:

In anticipation of an unprecedented success the prices have been fixed as low as possible that the masses may be able to gratify that universal passion of having one's portrait taken, or in other words, our intention is to cater for the *million* and not for the *few*...⁷

The growth of amateur photography had a marked effect on the demands for studio portraiture. While important events and occasions still called for the formal skills of the professional, business for Lambert & Co. in this area evidently fell off quite dramatically from the early years of the century onwards. In 1902 they relinquished the studio at 186 Orchard Road which they had occupied since 1886 and moved to smaller premises at 3A Orchard Road. Number 186 was then taken over by George Michael's newly founded firm of Wilson & Co. A further economy was made with the surrender of the important site of Gresham House in 1910. This latter move appears to have coincided roughly with the departure of H.T. Jensen who had come to Lambert & Co. from Reutlingers of Paris

and had taken over management of the business on the retirement of Alexander Koch in 1905 or 1906.

The abandonment of these studios appears to have been the result of the transformation of the business into a limited company in 1908 under a board of directors comprising the prominent Singapore merchants Otto Schwemer, H.L. Coghlan and F. Muhlringhaus. This change of structure and the subsequent economy measures do not seem to have stemmed the firm's decline and in 1911 the partnership was in liquidation. A second small studio at 1A Orchard Road, taken on when Gresham Building was left, was also closed, and from this time until the year of its final closure Lambert & Co. were limited to working from 3A Orchard Road.

The last years of the firm can be briefly told. They constitute a precarious period of deterioration until the business was finally wound up in 1918. A succession of managers looked after the company from the time of Jensen's departure, including H. Hanke (ca.1910–11), Miss T.M. Adams (ca.1912–14) and H. Nugent Buckeridge (ca.1914–17). The first two of these quickly disappeared into obscurity, although Buckeridge was a skilled photographer and after leaving Lambert & Co. formed his own photographic business which survived in Singapore up to the Second World War. On Buckeridge's departure Lambert & Co. finally came under the management of George S. Michael, who had been steadily encroaching on Lambert's business since the beginning of the century. Even this move failed to save the firm. Although during the last year of its life Lambert & Co. was moved back to the old studio at 186 Orchard Road, at some time during 1918 the business was closed for good.

Other firms fared little better. Although Singapore had been largely undisturbed by the tumult of the First World War, its close marked a watershed for the old style of professional photographer both in the East and elsewhere. Few firms managed to survive and adapt to changed conditions and markets. The diminishing importance of Lambert & Co. had been discernible for some years but other photographers also disappeared, so that in 1919 none of Lambert's older contemporaries was still trading, and it was for a new generation of photographers to take their place. Moses & Co's Standard Photographic Studio went out of business in 1915 and Wilson & Co. disappeared with the closure of Lambert & Co. in 1918, the same year George Michael appears to have left Singapore after a residence of more than thirty years.

GEORGE MICHAEL,
PHOTOGRAPHER and FINE ART STORE.
 1, Robinson Road and 3A, Orchard Road, Singapore.



The Largest and most complete Stock of
 Cameras and Tripods
 and
 Lenses
 and
 Plates
 and
 Chemicals
 and
 Mounts
 and
 Albums
 and
 Prints
 and
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 and
 Stationery
 and
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 the
 latest
 and
 most
 useful
 articles
 for
 the
 artist
 and
 the
 amateur
 photographer.

WILSON & Co.,
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 and Plates of all kinds.
 and
 Plates of all kinds.
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 The Largest Studio in Malaya.

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 Plates, Glass Plates, Dry Plates,
 and Plates of all kinds.
 and
 Plates of all kinds.
 and
 Plates of all kinds.

WILSON & Co.,
 No. Household Name throughout Malaya.



The advertisement for George Michael's photographic studio (above left) appeared in the 1902 *Singapore and Straits Directory* and Wilson and Co's appeared in the 1904-05 *Straits Times Annual*. Wilson and Co's studio (below) can be seen in the left foreground at the junction of Stamford Road and Armenian Street in this photograph by the firm ca. 1903.

The firm of Lambert & Co. had in the course of its life built up the largest collection of illustrations covering nearly half a century of life and progress in Singapore, Malaya and Southeast Asia. No other single firm was ever to approach this achievement. But beyond the immediate importance of their output, Lambert & Co. can also be seen as the nurturer of the talent of numerous other photographers who, after a period of apprenticeship in the business, branched out on their own account and made an additional contribution to the photographic documentation of the period. The early partnership of Staffell & Kleingrothe in Sumatra has already been mentioned, as has the work of Heinrich Ernst on the island. We may also note the work of J.F. Charls and J.C. Van Es, both employed by Lambert & Co. and later established in a long-standing photographic partnership in Java. F. Agassiz, after a period as assistant with Lambert & Co. in the 1890s then went on to found his own business in the town, while another employee, T. Isshi, appears

later to have opened a photographic business in Malacca. Other photographers also worked for Lambert & Co. for greater or lesser periods of time before working independently or moving on to other firms, and thus their influence was disseminated far beyond the confines of the business itself.

The fate of the major part of Lambert & Co.'s massive collection of glass negatives is unknown. No doubt the large part is long since destroyed. But the success of the business and the volume of trade carried out by it in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century has ensured that a great quantity of prints survives. Much of the world that they photographed is also now irretrievably gone — the buildings demolished, the subjects of their portraits dead, the landscape changed — but these moments in time captured with such skill remain to offer us access to the past and speak in the most telling and immediate way of that essential continuity of history in which the past creates the present.



Plate 1 Commercial Square, ca. 1900

SINGAPORE

Over the course of a century and a half a dramatic growth has transformed the tiny settlement at the swampy mouth of the Singapore River into a great island metropolis. From the early days paintings, engravings and lithographs had attempted to delineate the landmarks of the changing town, but it was only with the spread of photography that a faithful and detailed record of the topography and peoples of the island came to be produced. And for the greater part of this surviving record G.R. Lambert & Co. were responsible, supplying for tourists and residents alike a lasting reminder of an era of buoyant expansion. The Singapore of these images is largely gone — the elegant Palladian mansions of George Coleman, the public buildings of the colonial engineers J.F.A. McNair and Henry McCallum, and the florid banks and hotels of the commercial architects Swan and Maclaren — nearly all have succumbed to the exigencies of economic growth. A most potent memorial resides in these photographs.

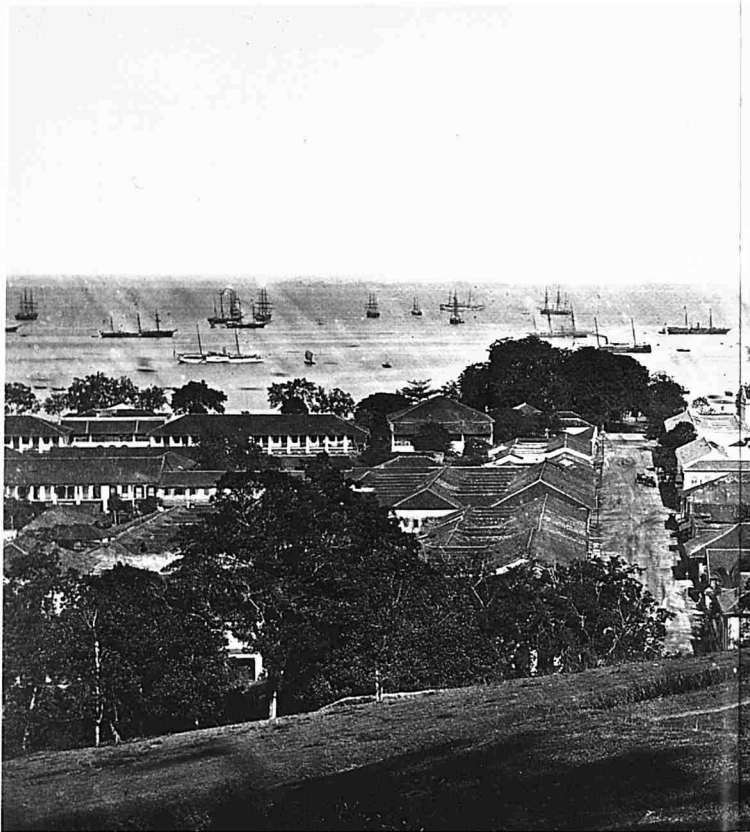


Plate 2 View from Fort Canning, 1880s



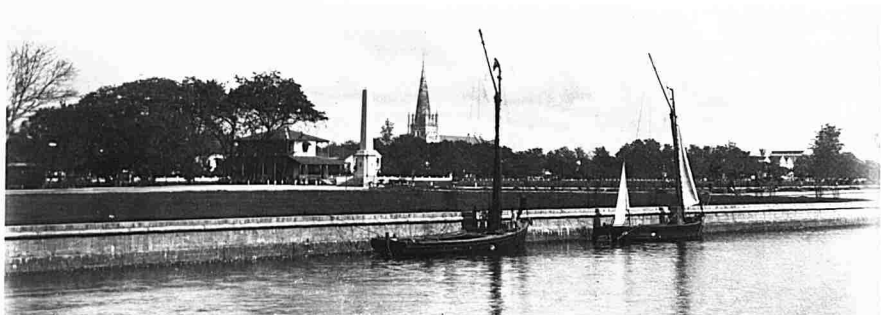


Plate 3 The Esplanade, 1890s



Plate 4 Mouth of the Singapore River, 1890s



Plate 5 Telok Ayer Bay, 1890s



Plate 6 Telok Ayer, 1890s



Plate 7 Johnston's Pier, 1890s



Plate 8 Collyer Quay, 1890s



Plate 9 New Year's sports, ca. 1900



290. BOAT-QUAY

Plate 10 Boat Quay, 1890s

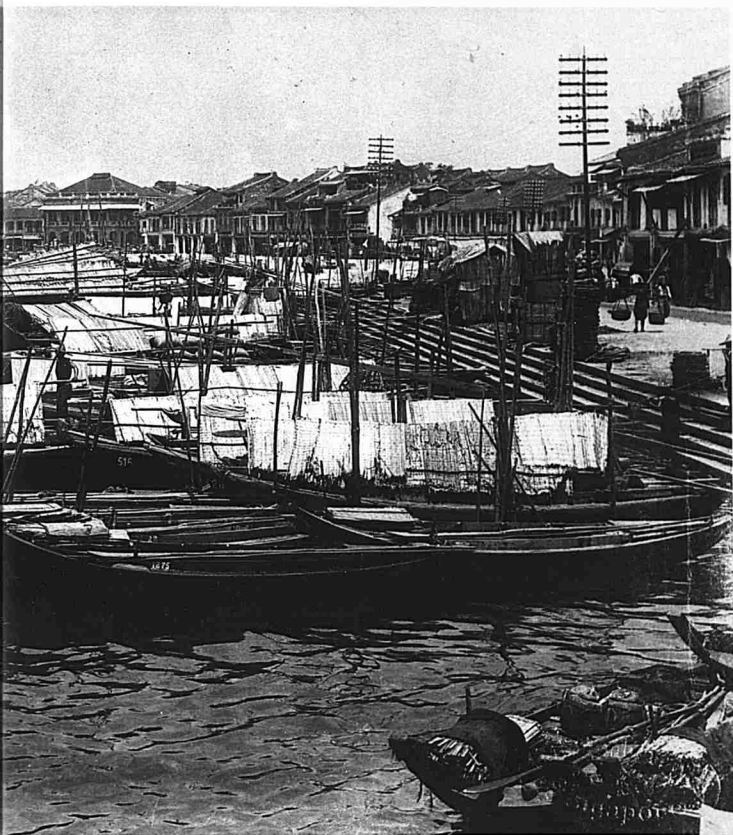




Plate 11 Boat Quay and Singapore River, 1896



Plate 12 North Boat Quay and Fort Canning, 1880s



Plate 13 Commercial Square, ca. 1900



Plate 14 Commercial Square and Battery Road, ca. 1900



Plate 15 Raffles Place, ca. 1880



Plate 16 Raffles Place, late 1890s



Plate 17 Cavenagh Bridge, 1890s.



Plate 18 Departure of the Duke and Duchess of York from Singapore, 23 April 1901



POST-OFFICE & EXCHANGE BUILDING S. 119.

Plate 19 Post Office and Exchange, ca. 1885



Plate 20 Supreme Court, ca. 1890

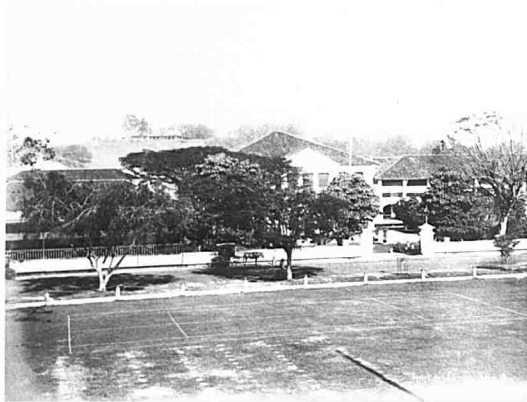


Plate 21 Hotel De L'Europe, 1880s



Plate 22 Coleman Street, 1880s



Plate 23 Raffles Library and Museum, 1890s

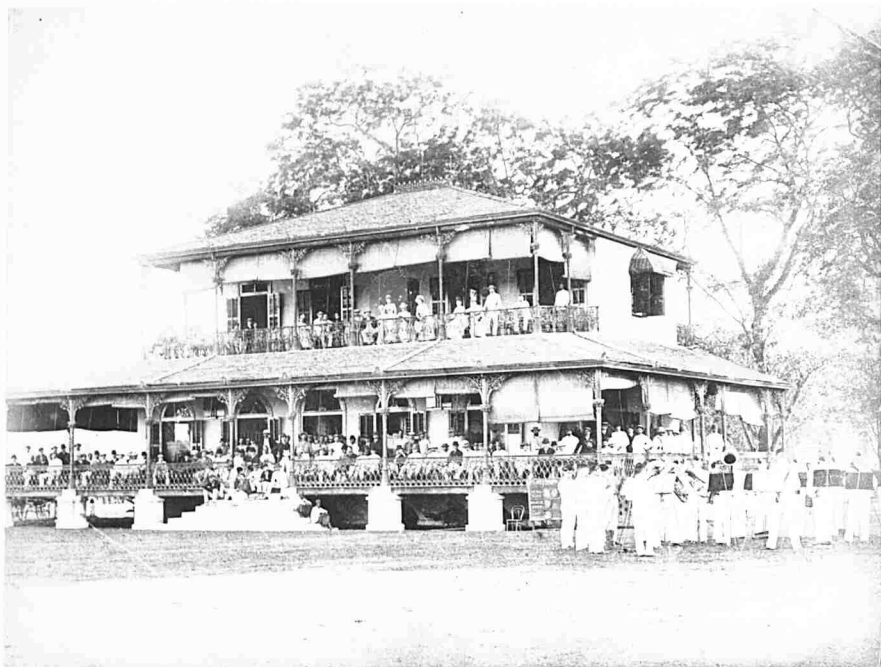


Plate 24 Singapore Cricket Club Pavilion, 1880s.

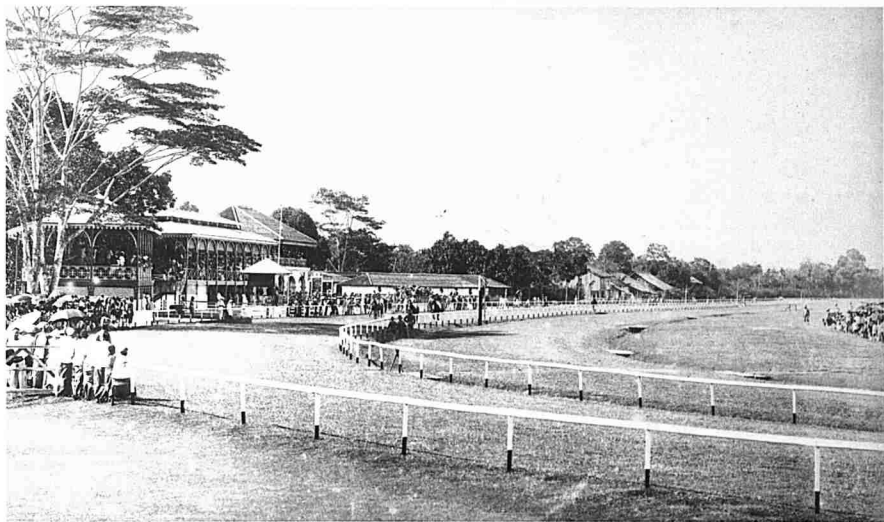


Plate 25 The Race Course, ca. 1900



Plate 26 Orchard Road Police Station, 1890s



Plate 27 Orchard Road, ca. 1890



Plate 28 The Botanical Gardens, 1880s

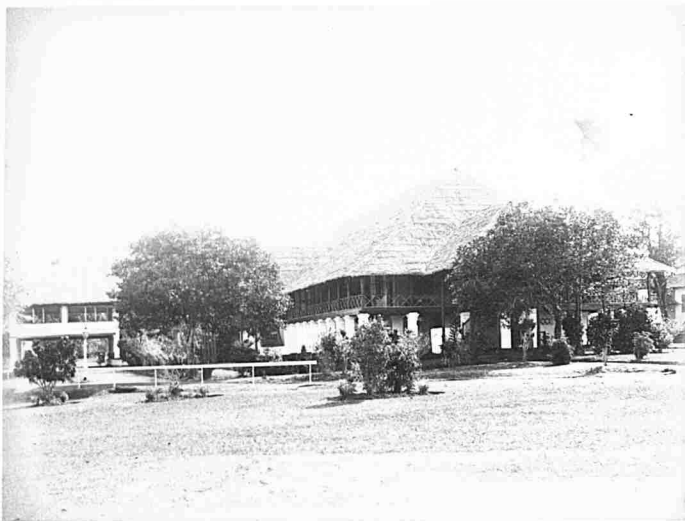


Plate 29 Tanglin Barracks, 1890s



Plate 30 The Teutonia Club, 1890s.

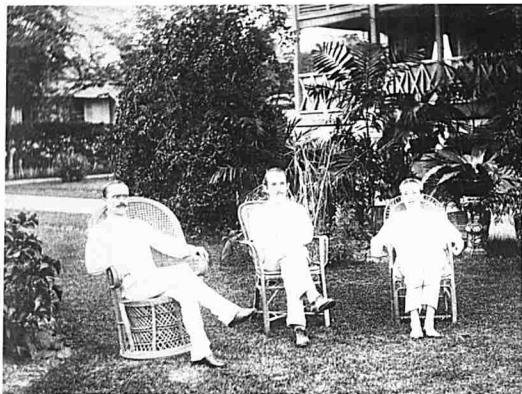


Plate 31 European group, 1890s



Plate 32 European group, 1890s

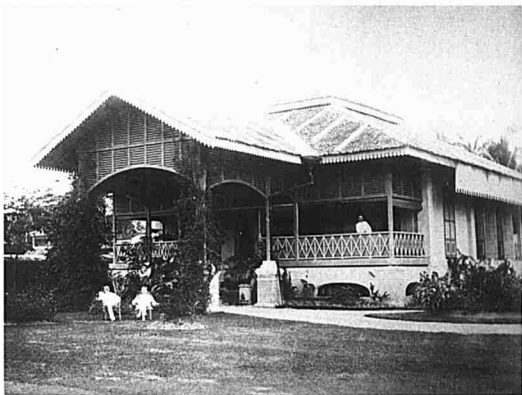


Plate 33 European residence, 1890s

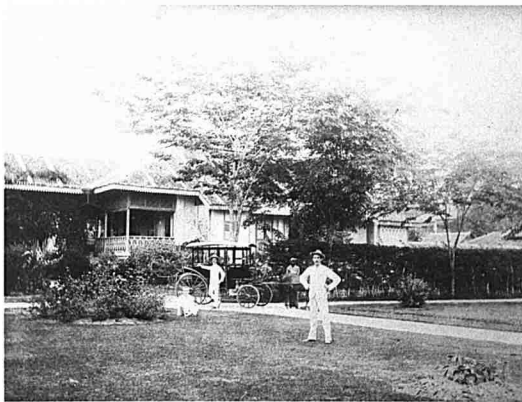


Plate 34 European residence, 1890s



Plate 35 The Singapore Artillery, 1893



Plate 36 Tiger hunt, 1890s



Plate 37 New Bridge Road, 1890s



Plate 38 South Bridge Road, 1890s



Plate 39 Street scene, ca. 1900



Plate 40 The Police Court, 1880s



Plate 41 Road at Kampong Bahru, 1890s



Plate 42 Main road, Tanjong Pagar, 1890s



Plate 43 Road to Tanjong Pagar, 1890s



Plate 44 Singapore From Mount Palmer, 1880s



Plate 45 Chinese houses, 1880s



Plate 46 Chinese temple, 1890s



Plate 47 Thian Hock Keng Temple, 1880s



Plate 48 Thian Hock Keng interior, 1880s



66 - Chinese Priest and Followers

Plate 49 Priest and attendants, Thian Hock Keng Temple, 1890s



Plate 50 Chinese barber shop, 1890s



Plate 51 Chinese doctor, 1890s

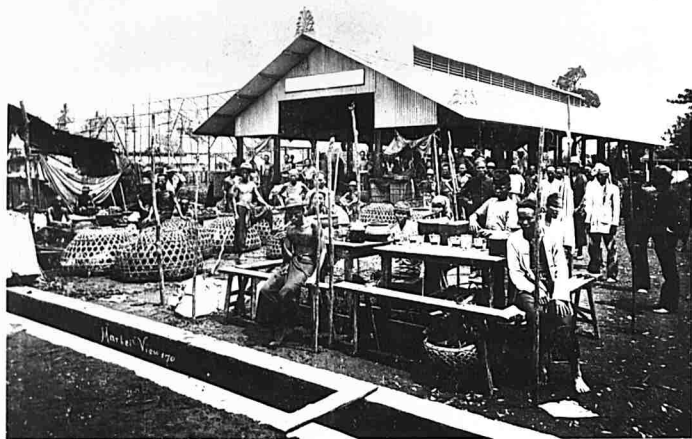


Plate 52 Market view, 1890s

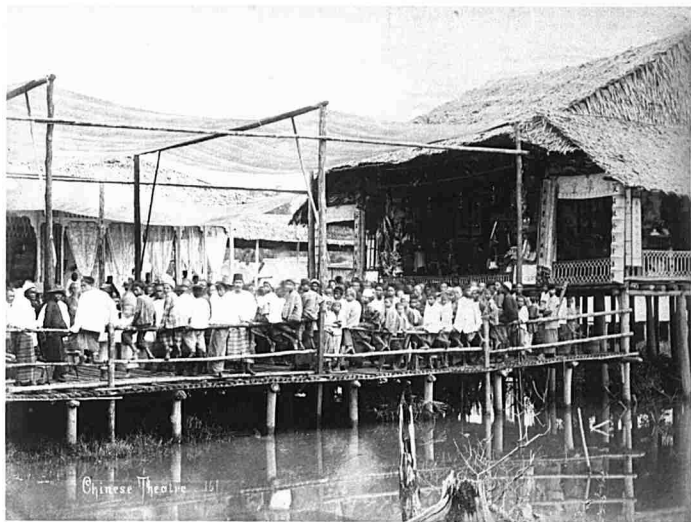


Plate 53 Chinese wayang, 1890s



Plate 54 Chinese junks in the Harbour, 1890s



Plate 55 Malay craft, Harbour view, 1890s



Plate 56 View of Rochore, 1890s



Plate 57 Malay shipbuilder, 1890s



Plate 58 Kampong Kallang, ca. 1900

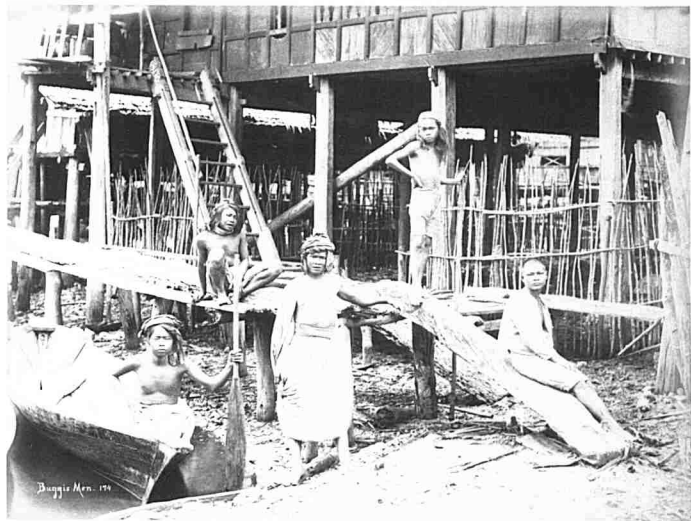


Plate 59 Bugis men, 1890s



Plate 60 Chinese village, 1890s



Plate 61 Chinese village, 1890s



Plate 62 Scenery at Tanjong Katong, 1890s



Plate 63 Tanjong Katong, 1890s



Plate 64 Cutting a road through the jungle, ca. 1890



Plate 65 Chinese village, 1890s



Plate 66 Borneo wharf, 1890s



Plate 67 View from Mount Faber, 1890s



Plate 68 View of the wharf, Tanjong Pagar, 1890s

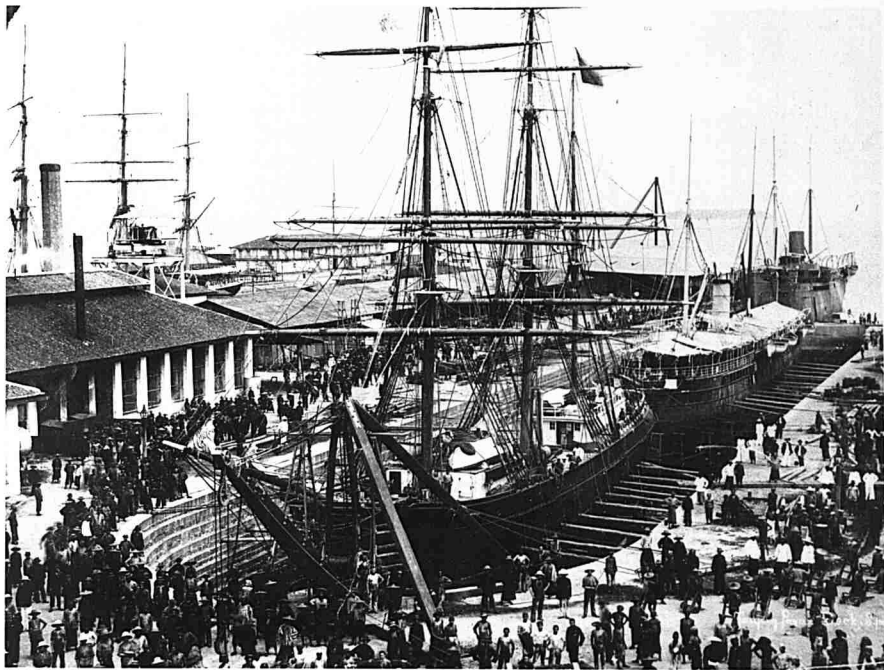


Plate 69 Tanjong Pagar Docks, 1890s



Changie from Govt Bungalow, ca. 1900



Plate 71 Bodyguard of the Yam Tuan of Negri Sembilan at Kuala Lumpur, 1903

MALAYA

During the course of the nineteenth century the fortunes of the old established territories comprising the Straits Settlements — Penang, Province Wellesley and Malacca — waned before the development of the youngest member, Singapore. The growth of Singapore led in turn to a new drive for the control and exploitation of the rich commercial potential of the Malayan mainland, and from the 1880s Lambert & Co. were increasingly attracted to these new markets. The scenery, historic architecture and townscapes of the old settlements still found a place in their collection of views, but in the last years of the century it was the events on the mainland which gave fullest scope to their operators. The rubber, tin and other industries were exhaustively photographed, as were the people and the rich tropical scenery, while the urban landscape was seen in the series of views of Kuala Lumpur from the earliest days of British administration. With the formation of the Federated Malay States in 1896 the seal was set on Britain's dominant position in the peninsula, and the choice of Lambert & Co. as official photographers to the conferences in 1897 and 1903 which celebrated its establishment, confirmed their own status as the leading practitioners throughout Malaya.



Plate 72 The Jetty, Penang, 1890s



PENANG. BEACH STREET.

Plate 73 Beach Street, Penang, 1890s



Plate 74 King Street, Penang, 1880s



Plate 75 Gottlieb's Tree, Penang, 1880s



Plate 76 St George's Church, Penang, 1880s



Plate 77 Panoramic View of Kuala Lumpur, ca. 1884





Plate 78 Sultan Sir Abdul Samad of Selangor, ca. 1886



Plate 79 Sultan Sir Ala'Uddin Sulaiman Shah of Selangor, ca. 1903



Plate 80 Carcosa, Kuala Lumpur, ca. 1898

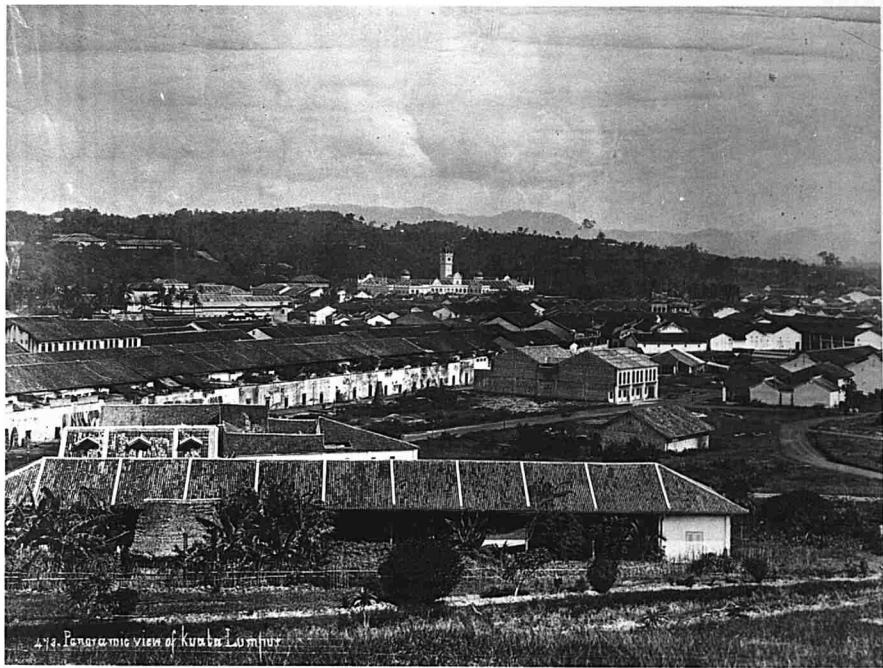


Plate 81 View of Kuala Lumpur, ca. 1897



Plate 82 Federal Conference group, Kuala Kangsar, Perak, 14 July 1897

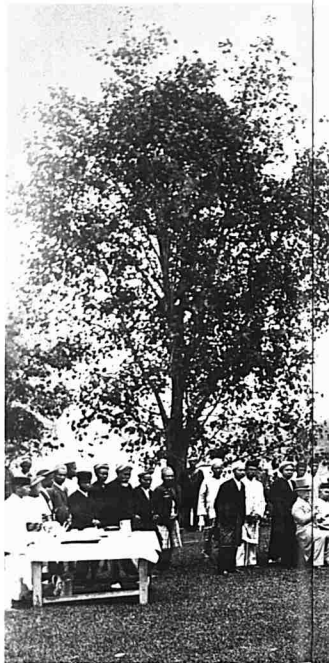




Plate 83 Garden party at the Residency, Kuala Kangsar, Perak, July 1897

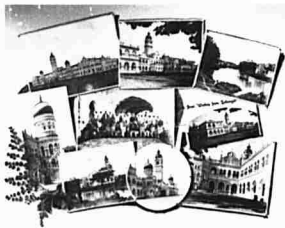


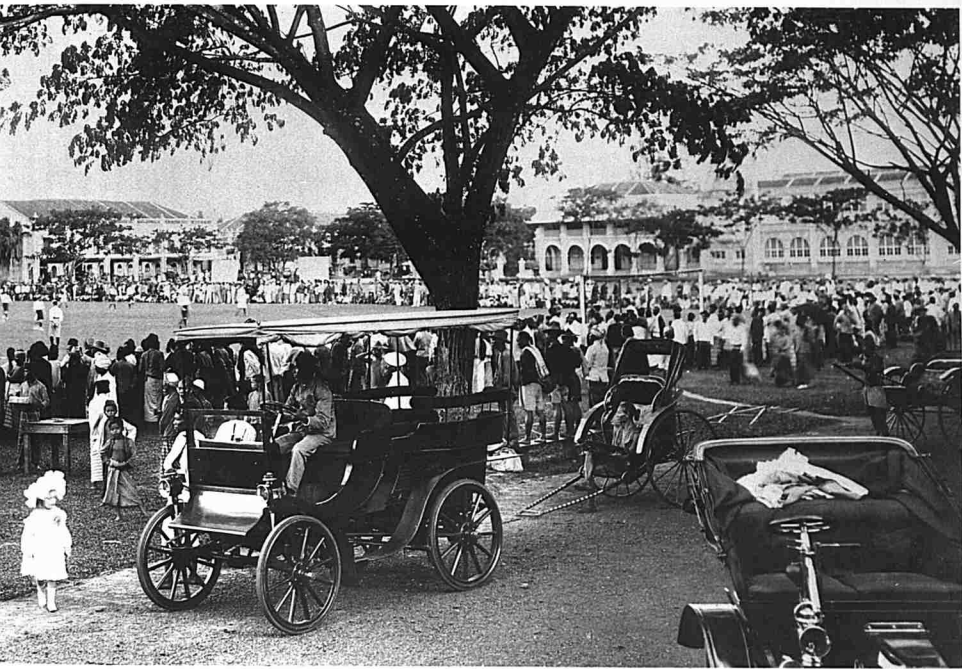
Plate 84 Views of the Government Offices, Kuala Lumpur, ca. 1900



Plate 85 Government Offices, Kuala Lumpur, ca. 1898



Plate 86 Football match on the Padang, Kuala Lumpur, 20 July 1903



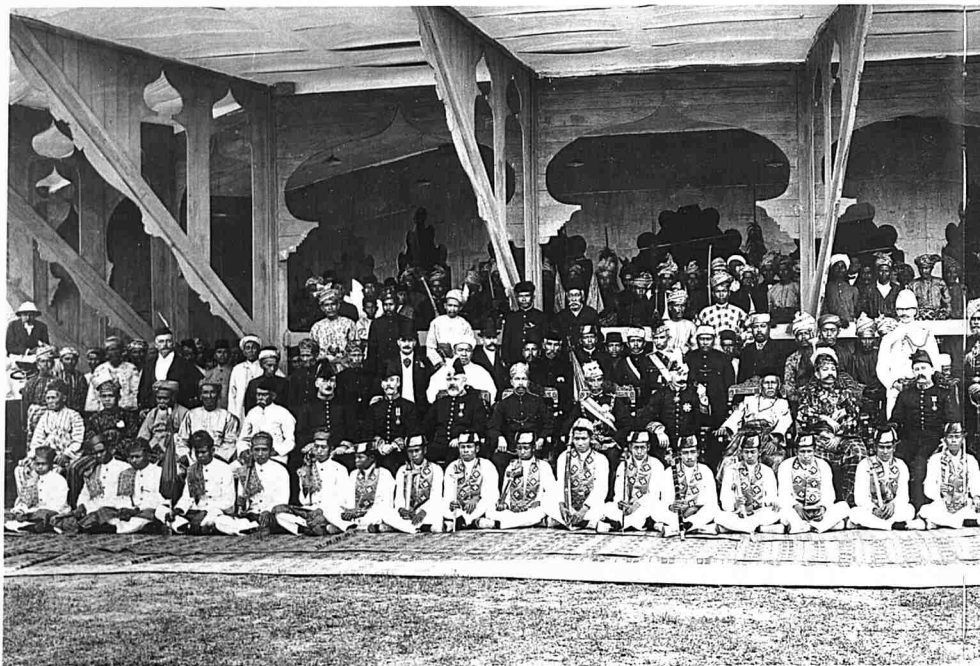


Plate 87 Federal Conference group, Kuala Lumpur, 20 July 1903



Plate 88 The Federal Conference Hall, Kuala Lumpur, July 1903



Plate 89 Arrival of the High Commissioner at the opening of the Federal Conference, Kuala Lumpur, 20 July 1903



Plate 90 Istana of the Sultan of Perak, Kuala Kangsar, July 1897



Plate 91 Sultan Sir Idris Mersid El Aazam Shah of Perak, 1897



Plate 92 View from the Istana, Kuala Kangsar, July 1897



Plate 93 Malay ladies, 1890s



Plate 94 Malay gamelung, 1890s

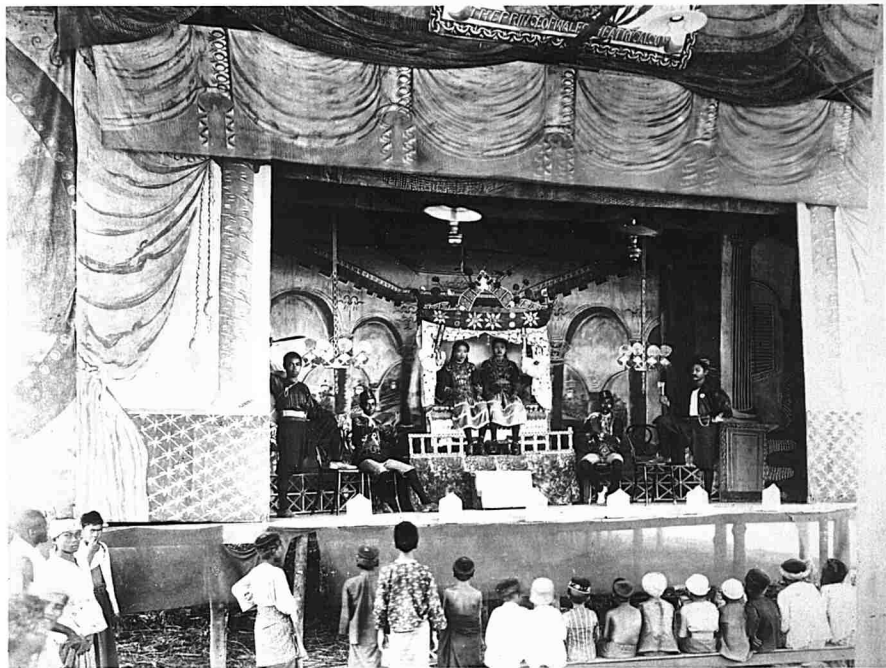


Plate 95 The Prince of Wales Theatre Group, Kuala Kangsar, Perak, 15 July 1897



Plate 96 Hindu temple dancers, Penang, 1890s



Plate 97 The Court House, Kuching, Sarawak ca. 1900

SOUTHEAST ASIA

Public demand for new subject matter and a wide variety of views meant that photographers became of necessity propagandists of colonialism, their pictures of the agricultural and economic potential of hitherto virgin territories publicising — and implicitly extolling — this commercial activity. The photographer's own prosperity, of course, also relied on an expanding population, and thus in parallel with their documentation of events in the Malayan peninsula, Lambert & Co.'s photographers followed the opening up of the surrounding islands. The British North Borneo Company had started to administer its territories from 1882 and Lambert & Co. were soon on hand to record the development of the coal, and, later, the tobacco industry in the area. Similarly, as the economy of Rajah Brooke's kingdom of Sarawak expanded, the firm produced a series of agricultural, topographical and ethnographical views designed to make knowledge of the country more generally available. Such views as these were shown at a number of international and colonial exhibitions, but the firm's photographic criteria were commercial rather than chauvinistic and they did not confine themselves to recording only British activities. In fact, in the 1880s some of their busiest activity was centred on the expanding Dutch tobacco-growing territories of northeast Sumatra, and their operators roamed as far afield as Netherlands New Guinea in search of pictures. Tobacco, coffee, gambier, pepper, antimony and rattan — all these industries and crops were also faithfully photographed. It is this commercial drive which we must thank for the detailed record which has been left us.



Plate 98 Police Station and Carpenter Street, Kuching, Sarawak, ca. 1900



294. View of Kuching

Plate 99 View of Kuching, Sarawak, ca. 1900



Plate 100 Dyak Group, Kuching, Sarawak, ca. 1900



Plate 101 Dyak woman, Kuching, Sarawak, ca. 1900



Plate 102 River scene, probably Irian Jaya, ca. 1900



Plate 103 Natives, Irian Jaya, ca. 1900



Plate 104 Group of Batak women, Sumatra, 1880s



Plate 105 Batak villagers, Sumatra, 1880s



Plate 106 Gambier manufacturing, 1890s

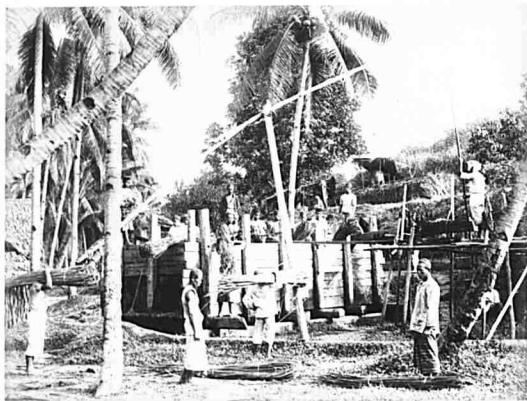


Plate 107 Rattan factory, 1890s



Plate 108 Pepper plantation, 1890s



Plate 109 Coffee plantation, 1890s



Plate 110 Tobacco estate house, Borneo, 1880s



Plate 111 Tobacco estate manager's house, Brahrang, Lankat, Sumatra, 1880s

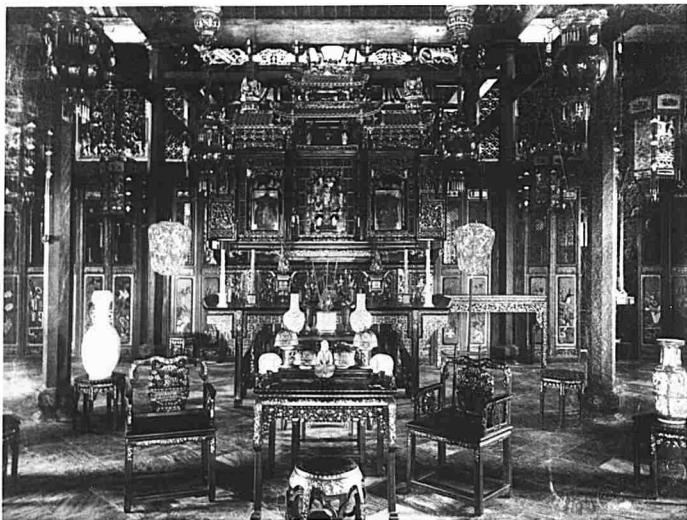


Plate 112 Interior of the palace of the King of Siam, Bangkok, 1890s.



Plate 113 Chinese woman in European dress, ca. 1900

PORTRAITS

The landscapes, towns and industries of the Malayan peninsula and the eastern archipelago supplied Lambert & Co.'s photographers with an inexhaustible source of images — an abundance only equalled by the human variety of the peoples who lived beside or moved along the great trade routes of the East. All the cosmopolitan elements which constituted the racial panorama of turn-of-the-century Singapore were included in the firm's stock of views: Malay royalty, Chinese street barbers, Indian hawkers, European merchants and their families, priests, beggars and servants, each formed a part of Lambert & Co.'s record of the customs and costumes of a way of life that has almost entirely disappeared. A distinction can be made in these photographs between those taken as commissioned portraits of individuals and those which were standard views of 'exotic' racial types produced primarily for the tourist market. But all these portraits, whether of a Dyak family in the Borneo jungle or a Chinese *tokay* posed among the Victorian clutter of a Singapore studio, speak to us not only of how people looked but of how they saw themselves and wished to be seen.



Plate 114 Straits Chinese family, ca. 1900



Plate 115 Indian children, ca. 1910



Plate 116 Straits Chinese children, ca. 1910



Plate 117 European children, ca. 1910



Plate 118 European child, ca. 1910



Plate 119 Chinese amah and child, early 1900s



Plate 120 Chinese amah and child, 1906



Plate 121 Portrait of a dead child, early 1900s



Plate 122 Chinese man, ca. 1900



Plate 123 Chinese man with child, ca. 1900



Plate 124 Chinese young men, ca. 1900



Plate 125 Nonya woman, ca. 1900



Plate 126 Nonya woman, ca. 1900



Plate 127 Elderly Nonya woman, ca. 1905



Plate 128 Chinese women, 1912



Plate 129 Mrs Lee Choon Guan, 1905



Plate 130 Chinese woman, ca. 1900



Plate 131 Chinese woman with servant and child, ca. 1910



Plate 132 Chinese group, ca. 1910



Plate 133 Chinese man, ca. 1905



Plate 134 Indian man, ca. 1910



Plate 135 Nonya woman, ca. 1900



Plate 136 Tan Jiak Kim, ca. 1900



Plate 137 Indian man, ca. 1900



Plate 138 Woman of the Malay aristocracy, ca. 1900



Plate 139 The Sultana of Johore, ca. 1890



Plate 140 Two Nonya women, 1906



Plate 141 Malay woman, 1910



Plate 142 Members of the Johore royal family, ca. 1905



Plate 143 European woman, ca. 1910



Plate 144 European man, ca. 1910



Plate 145 European man, ca. 1910



Plate 146 European man in Malay dress, ca. 1900



Plate 147 European man reading the *Straits Times*, ca. 1910



Plate 148 European woman, ca. 1910



Plate 149 European woman, ca. 1910



Plate 150 European woman, ca. 1910



Plate 151 European woman, ca. 1910



Plate 152 European woman and servant, ca. 1900



Plate 153 Japanese women, 1890s

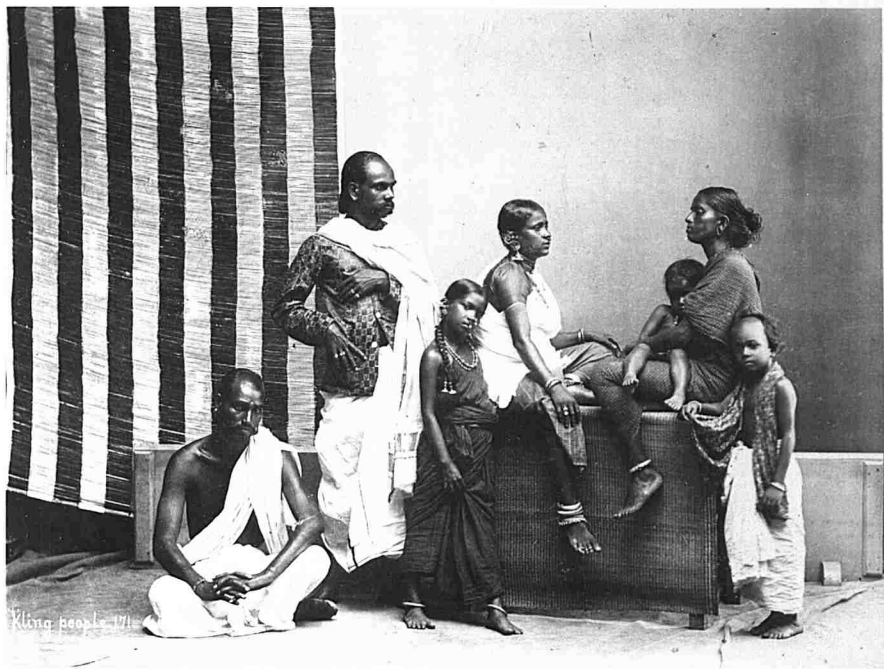


Plate 154 Indian family, 1890s



Plate 155 Malay man and child, ca. 1900



Plate 156 Malay women, 1890s



Plate 157 Malay women, 1890s



Plate 158 Malay guards, ca. 1900



Plate 159 Achenese woman, 1880s



Plate 160 Malay woman, 1890s



Plate 161 Malay woman, 1890s



Plate 162 Persian woman, 1890s



Plate 163 Malay woman, 1890s



Plate 164 Malay woman, 1890s



Plate 165 Malay lady, 1890s



Plate 166 Indian woman, 1890s



Plate 167 The Sultana of Johore, ca. 1900



Plate 168 H.H. The late Sultan of Johore, ca. 1890



Plate 169 Chinese Mayor, ca. 1890



Plate 170 H.H. The Yam Tuan of Riau, 1890s



Plate 171 Sultan of Koetei, ca. 1900



Plate 172 Indian minister and wife, 1890s



Plate 173 Indian family, 1890s



Plate 174 Chinese family, 1890s



Plate 175 Malay boy and ayah, 1890s



Plate 176 Chinese boy serving his master, 1890s



Plate 177 Chettiar moneylender, 1890s



Plate 178 Malay hunters, 1890s



Plate 179 Chinese street barber, 1890s



Plate 180 Dyak Man, 1890s

APPENDICES

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Notes to the Text · page 186
Glossary of Photographic Terms · page 187
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in Singapore and Malaya 1843 - 1914 · page 189
Acknowledgements · page 192

Singapore

- 1 Commercial Square, ca 1900. Something of the cosmopolitan nature of Singapore's population can be seen in this photograph of onlookers returning from an unspecified official reception at Johnson's Pier. The photograph was taken from the *porte cochère* of the Post Office a few moments after a company of Madras Infantry had passed through Commercial or Fullerton Square on its way back to barracks. This view looks towards the harbour, with the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank in the right background and a small portion of the Exchange Building visible at the left. (Royal Commonwealth Society Library, London)
- 2 The view from Fort Canning, ca 1885. One of the earliest known lithographs of Singapore, made in about 1822, was sketched from an almost identical viewpoint to this photograph, and in succeeding years Government Hill (later Fort Canning) became a popular vantage point for painting the settlement, offering the artist a panoramic vista of the town and the shipping in the roads. In the 1822 view almost all the land to the left of the sea is bare, apart from a few scattered houses and the path of High Street leading down to the sea. But by 1846, when John Turnbull Thomson painted a picture of the town from this position, many of the landmarks seen in this photograph of forty years later were visible. The central feature as one looks out towards the shipping in the roadstead is the regular line of High Street (here no longer shaded by an avenue of trees), the first road to be built in the settlement and the street down which Stamford Raffles passed on his way to the landing stage on his final departure from Singapore on 9 July 1824. At the right, the Singapore River winds round to Fort Fullerton and the sea, with the Government Offices, the Court House and the Town Hall clustered on the north bank of the river near the covered jetty. The emplacement in the right foreground of the photograph is part of the Fort Canning fortifications, built in 1859-61. (Private Collection, UK)
- 3 The Esplanade, 1896. This view from the harbour looks across the Esplanade and the stretch of grass then known as Raffles Plain (now the Padang) towards St Andrew's Cathedral, built in 1856-61. The print shows the Esplanade, after the reclamations of the mid 1860s which more than doubled its width, with boats moored up against the new sea wall. In the centre of the print, in front of the Singapore Cricket Club Pavilion, stands the Dalhousie Obelisk, erected in 1850 to commemorate the visit in that year of the Marquess of Dalhousie, Governor-General of India. Designed by John Turnbull Thomson, the Government Surveyor responsible for much of the building and planning of Singapore in the 1840s and 1850s, the monument was originally placed at the river end of High Street. It was moved to the position seen here in 1890, and was again moved in 1911 after the construction of the Anderson Bridge. (Private Collection, Singapore)
- 4 Mouth of the Singapore River, 1896. Taken from the seawall seen in the preceding plate, this photograph looks towards the mouth of Singapore River from the Esplanade, with the buildings around Commercial Square beyond, and part of Johnson's Pier visible in the left background. Anderson Bridge was not built until 1910 and at this period the Cavendish Bridge, seen at the right, was the crossing point nearest to the river's mouth. To the left of the bridge are the Boarding Officer's quarters and boat shed, with the masonry roof of the Post Office beyond. The building on the left overlooking the harbour is the Singapore Volunteer Artillery Drill Hall. This was designed by the Colonial Engineer Henry McCallum and built on Fort Fullerton in 1860-91. The building remained in use here until 1907 when it was re-erected in Beach Road. (Private Collection, Singapore)
- 5 Telok Ayer Bah, 1896. This balustraded garden overlooking the harbour to the south of the town is possibly part of the grounds of the Parsee Lodge near Mount Palmer. The view looks across Telok Ayer Bah towards Collyer Quay, the tower of the Telok Ayer Market and the buildings on Finlayson Green. (Private Collection, Singapore)
- 6 Telok Ayer, 1896. A closer view of the buildings grouped around Finlayson Green at the southern end of Collyer Quay, this photograph was taken from the harbour and looks towards the Telok Ayer Market. The first market in the settlement had been built near this site in 1822, and in 1838 a new 'very commodious' octagonal building designed by George Coleman was constructed. This remained in use until the steel-framed market seen here, and which still stands, was opened in 1894. This building was designed by the Municipal Engineer James MacRitchie. (Private Collection, Singapore)
- 7 Johnson's Pier, 1896. Alexander Laurie Johnston had come to Singapore in 1819 or 1820 after an early career in the East India Company's merchant service, and built up a substantial business before retiring to his native Scotland in 1841. The premises of A.L. Johnston & Co. which continued trading until 1892, were on the corner of Collyer Quay overlooking Fullerton Square. When the landing pier immediately opposite the company's offices was constructed in 1854-55, it was natural that it should be named after one of the town's most eminent early settlers, doubly so since Johnston himself died in the year of its completion. With the increased passenger trade of the last decades of the nineteenth century the original pier became too small to accommodate the increased volume of traffic entering the town, and it was rebuilt in enlarged form by the Public Works Department in 1889-91. This view, taken from a balcony on Collyer Quay, shows the new pier shortly after completion. Johnson's Pier survived until its replacement by the Clifford Pier, built on the same site in 1927-33 and named after Sir Hugh Clifford, Governor of the Straits Settlements from 1927-29. (Private Collection, Singapore)
- 8 Collyer Quay, 1896. The Exchange Building of 1879 can be seen in the distance in this photograph looking north along Collyer Quay towards Johnson's Pier. Before the reclamations which created the quay, the godowns and warehouses of Raffles Place had looked directly onto the seashore. In 1858, however, George Chancelor Collyer of the Madras Engineers arrived in Singapore as Chief Engineer and designed an extensive reclamation scheme for the area. Part financed by the merchant community, but subsidised by government in the allocation of convict labour for the work, two-thirds of the project had been completed by the beginning of 1861, an achievement which earned the commendation of the *Singapore Review and Monthly Magazine* (January 1861):
- We would mention the new SEAWALL with a carriage road about 30 feet in width, along the water's edge, from Johnson's to Almeida's Pier, which will be a very great public benefit and convenience. We have not shown a plan of the proposed elegant and uniform fronts of the buildings facing on the water, to be two and a half stories high, which when carried out as designed, will become a very great ornament and advantage to the place; and very much improve the appearance of Singapore from the Harbour. The expense is estimated at \$100,000.
- Due to the fact that the foundations could only be laid in certain tidal conditions, work on the later stages proceeded slowly, and Collyer was no longer resident in the town when the quay named after him was completed; he had retired to Europe in February 1862 and the quay was finished in 1864, the buildings behind taking a further two years to construct. Collyer's scheme included an extension for another pier on the quay to facilitate the landing of goods, but given the congestion that this would have caused, it is perhaps fortunate that this was not carried out, and that the creation of the Tanjong Pagar Dock Company shifted such traffic further along the coast. (Royal Commonwealth Society Library, London)
- 9 New Year's sports, ca 1900. The coming of the New Year gave an opportunity for celebrations among all sections of the community and for many years boat racing, as the *Singapore Free Press* recorded in 1899, had been 'the most favourite and most attractive of these diversions', the Malay craft affording a stirring sight with 'their long, sharp hulls cutting through the water under a fresh breeze in the best style.' Here *Malay kokoi lamba* line up for the start of a race off Johnson's Pier, with the Tanjong Pagar Dock Company's paddle tug *Bangkok* in the background. The view is taken from a boat looking towards the waterfront, with Johnson's Pier at the left and behind it the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank building. (Private Collection, Singapore)
- 10 Boat Quay, 1896. On Raffles' second visit to Singapore in mid-1819 much of his time was occupied in planning the future layout of the town with regard to administrative efficiency, the needs of the merchant community and the claims of the various racial groups. Most of these early plans related to the area along the banks of the Singapore River seen in this and the following plates. Raffles reserved the north bank of the river for government use and the site of the Esplanade for warehouses and godowns. On 26 June 1819 he reached an agreement with the Temenggong reserving the south bank for the Malay

and Chinese population, the second article of the agreement stating:

It is directed that all the Chinese move over to the other side of the river, forming a camp from the site of the large bridge down river, towards the mouth, and all Malays, people belonging to the Temungong and others, are also to remove to the other side of the river, forming their camp from the site of the large bridge up to the river towards the source.

Between Raffles' departure in 1819 and his next visit in 1822, however, he found that building had been permitted on the north bank of the river and he therefore altered his original plan by transferring the European commercial quarter to the south side of the river near the seafont. This land was occupied by a hill and its removal solved another problem since the land apportioned to the Chinese was at this time no more than a tidal swamp quite unsuitable for the erection of permanent dwellings. Using Chinese, Malay and Indian labour to level the future site of Commercial Square, Raffles used the debris to fill in the area along the south bank of the river. This photograph, probably taken from the vicinity of the bath houses at the end of Canton Street, looks eastwards across South Boat Quay, showing the area gained by Raffles' early reclamations. (Foreign and Commonwealth Office Library, London)

11 Boat Quay and Singapore River, 1890s. A vivid illustration of the congested state of the Singapore River at its widest point is given in this photograph which looks along the river towards Fort Canning. In the right foreground are the Public Offices, behind the city marking the former site of Stephen Hallpike's bazaar (later owned by Thomas Tivendale. Built under the supervision of J.F.A. McNair as the new Court House at a cost of \$53,000 in 1864-67, it housed a number of government departments in succeeding years. In the background below Fort Canning Hill the Elgin Bridge can be seen; this stood on the site of the earlier bridge which had originally marked the division between the Malay and Chinese kampungs, and was built in 1862. A new Elgin Bridge was built on the same spot in 1927. (Royal Commonwealth Society Library, London)

12 North Boat Quay and Fort Canning, early 1880s. Taken from the Elgin Bridge, this photograph looks down onto the Chinese commercial premises on the north bank of the Singapore River between North Bridge Road and Hill Street (which runs off beyond the buildings in front of the hill). In the background the flagstaff of Fort Canning rises above the trees. Originally known as Government Hill, this was the administrator's residence for the first 35 years of the settlement's existence, until taken over for military use in 1859. Fort Canning was built not only for internal security but also in response to the awareness that Singapore's defences had not kept pace with her growing importance as a strategic port of Britain's eastern interests. With the vacating of the Governor's residence in 1859, 400 coolies raised the level of the hill several feet and embankments were constructed. The colony's Chief Engineer, George Chanceller Collyer, installed seven 68 pounders on platforms overlooking the town and harbour and the fortifications were completed in 1861. In early 1862, the Artillery garrison was transferred from Pearl's Hill to Fort Canning. (Royal Commonwealth Society Library, London)

13 Commercial Square, ca. 1900. The photograph is taken from the end of Johnston's Pier and looks towards Commercial or Fullerton Square. A portion of the Exchange Building can be seen at the right, with the recently built premises of the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank overlooking the square. The bank had first opened a branch in Singapore in 1877 and in 1890 purchased the site (formerly occupied by A.L. Johnston & Co. on which these buildings were erected. Designed by the firm of Swan & Maclaren and furnished by Powell & Co. and John Little & Co.), the building was opened on 31 October 1894, attracting a huge crowd of visitors eager to inspect what the *Strait Times* (11 November 1894) described as the 'most commanding building as yet erected in the commercial town of Singapore'.

... While it is conceivable that the building, at some future time, might be surpassed in magnificence, it seems scarcely possible that any other building can have a finer site. No person can come into Singapore by any ordinary route without knowing that the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank is there. ... As regards the internal details of the building, the Bank has aimed to obtain complete and easy supervision for all its bookkeeping and correspondence departments, and residential quarters for all its European staff except the manager and assistant manager. The style of the building

is effective, the architectural design of the ground floor being in Renaissance, and the second floor being the same with Queen Anne gables. The total length of the building is 175 feet and the depth is 75 feet... The Battery Road entrance is through a handsome portico, supported by columns with ornamental capitals... The roof is so contrived that, if it should be so desired, long chairs can be taken up and the staff may enjoy the full benefit of a cool breeze from the harbour, along with an excellent view to the westward...

This grandiose building was demolished in 1919 to make way for its successor completed in 1925. At the farther end of the square at the junction of Battery Road and Flint Street a corner of the Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China can be seen. This was first occupied in February 1895 and was taken down in 1950 to be replaced by the Bank of China building which now occupies the site. (Private Collection, U.K.)

14 Commercial Square and Battery Road, ca. 1900. Founded by Dr Koehn and Mr Wiespauer as dispensing chemists in 1882, the Medical Hall was for several years the last surviving nineteenth century building in Fullerton Square. The building was finally demolished to make way for the Straits Trading Building erected in the early 1970s. To the left of the Medical Hall is a portion of the Hongkong and Shanghai Bank. The view also shows a small portion of James Motion's watchmaking establishment in the right foreground at the junction with Flint Street, and looks along Battery Road towards Raffles Place. The photograph is of particular interest in showing Lambert and Co.'s studio on the upper floor of Gresham House, maintained by the firm from the mid-1890s until about 1910. The main part of the building was occupied by McAlister and Co. (founded in 1857), who moved their main office into the building in 1893. In the left foreground is the Tan Kim Seng Fountain. Unveiled by the President of the Municipal Commissioners on 19 May 1882, the fountain represented a commemoration of Tan Kim Seng's gift of \$13,000 towards a town water supply and was considered by the *Singapore Daily Times* to offer 'an artistic and welcome addition' to the look of the town which 'more than any other city in the East, [is] marked by woe-fidelity in its public buildings and grounds.' The fountain, which was transferred to the Esplanade when Fullerton Building was erected, was cast at a cost of £940 by Andrew Handyside's Britannia Ironworks at Derby and shipped out for assembly in Singapore. (Private Collection, Singapore)

15 Raffles Place, ca. 1880. The name of Commercial Square was officially changed to Raffles Place in 1858, but its original name, as evidenced by the usage of many writers, remained in general currency for several years. The business centre of the settlement from the early days, the land on which the square stands and the adjoining riverside area, were at the time of the establishment of Singapore little more than low-lying swamp. Raffles' decision to place the business sector of the town on the south side of the river led him to fill in this land by breaking up the hill on the site of the square to provide solid building foundations. From that time the square became the chosen location of the banks and larger businesses, although not for many years losing the hectic atmosphere of a market place. At the time of this photograph a horse market was still held in the square (only ceasing in 1886) and John Thomson, shipping of the 1860s, recalled 'the babel of sounds' which echoed round the square and the 'shrieps of pepper, tapioca, sago, gutta-percha, rattans, and other oriental products, awaiting exportation' in godowns alongside the more elegant premises housing the banks and offices. This view looks north along the east side of the square towards Battery Road where the premises of Geok Teat & Co. can be seen. Tay Geok Teat had come to Singapore from Malacca and founded his warehouse and commission agency in Battery Road in 1863. The business survived his death in 1893 and continued until 1906. In the right foreground are the substantial premises of the old Oriental Bank which traded in Singapore from 1846 until 1884, with Change Alley beyond. In the northeast corner of the square are the Singapore Dispensary and the premises of John Little and Co. The Singapore Dispensary, opened by Doctors Martin, Little & Allen around 1846, functioned as a private medical practice and until 1849 maintained a private hospital attached to the premises. (The National Museum, Singapore)

16 Raffles Place, late 1890s. Taken from an upper floor of a building in the vicinity of Geok Teat & Co. in Battery Road, this view looks south along Raffles Place, with a number of substantial commercial premises built in the preceding decades dominating the square. The old Oriental Bank buildings can be seen in the background, but almost half the square

is occupied by the premises of John Little & Co., one of the town's oldest and most successful general traders. The business had been founded by John Martin Little who, in partnership with Carstene Franjee, took over Francis Martin's auctioneering concern in 1845. The auctioneering side was soon dispensed with and the original partnership dissolved in 1853, at which time a second Little brother joined the firm. From this time the business expanded steadily, becoming in the words of their entry in *Twentieth Century Impressions of British Malaya*, 'one of the foremost retail establishments in the East'.

Its magnitude can be gauged by the numerous departments into which it is sub-divided. In provisions a specialty is made of tinned foods, which they are able to supply in the best condition. An important recent development has been the opening of a well-stocked furniture department. At the Company's factory at Tanglin about a hundred and fifty cabinet makers, carvers and polishers are regularly engaged. Other departments are athletic outfitting, books and stationery, arms and ammunition, gentlemen's outfitting, tailoring, ladies' outfitting, carriage and saddlery, each of which has a complete and attractive stock. A considerable proportion of the business done is carried on with outposts, and from Rangoon to Australia, from Achin to the Philippines, and from Java to Saigon every mail brings its quota of orders.

(Private Collection, Singapore)

17 Cavenagh Bridge, 1806. Writing to William Farquhar in June 1819, Raffles had called for 'a bridge to connect the continents with the intended Malay and Chinese towns on the opposite side of the river.' The small bridge built in 1823 on the site of the future Egan Bridge did service until its 'brokenbacked appearance, with a curious variety of undulations' forced its removal and replacement by Thomson's Bridge in 1843. Meanwhile Coleman Bridge, connecting Hill Street and New Bridge Road, had been built in 1840 and for many years these two bridges formed the only routes for those wishing to cross the river. The inconvenience of this arrangement was evident, particularly to merchants in Commercial Square who were forced to make a long detour if they wished to visit the Post Office or other government departments situated on the north bank of the river. The growing importance of the area round Fort Fullerton, particularly after the creation of Collyer Quay in the early 1860s, finally led to the building of the Cavenagh Bridge as seen here; the bridge was manufactured by the Glasgow engineers P.W. MacLellan and opened for traffic in 1869. The Municipal Commissioners suggested that it should be named after the Governor, Sir William Orfeur Cavenagh, the last administrator appointed under Indian rule, and this prevailed although his successor Sir Harry Ord wished it to be named the Edinburgh Bridge in commemoration of the Duke of Edinburgh's visit in 1869. With the building of the Anderson Bridge in 1910, the Cavenagh Bridge became a thoroughfare for light traffic only. This photograph is taken from an upper floor of the Post Office looking northwest across the bridge towards the public offices, with a portion of Emmerson's Billiard Hall and Tiffin Rooms visible in the left foreground. Charles Emmerson had come to Singapore in 1860 and as well as operating his celebrated tiffin rooms and a hotel in Beach Road until his death in 1883, he was also the first qualified veterinary surgeon to practise in the town. (Private Collection, Singapore)

18 Departure of the Duke and Duchess of York from Singapore, 23 April 1901. *En route* on board the *Ophir* to celebrate the formation of the Commonwealth of Australia, the Duke and Duchess of York (later King George V and Queen Mary) made a three-day visit to Singapore. Arriving on the morning of 21 April, the royal visitors were entertained by the Governor and received calls from the Sultans of the Federated Malay States who had travelled down to Singapore for the occasion. On the following day, after a large function in the Town Hall where deputations from the various races gave gifts and presented loyal addresses, the Duke and Duchess were driven out to inspect the Thomson Road Waterworks, stopping on the way to be present at the children's fête where several photographs were taken by Lambert & Co. The high point of the visit was reached in the procession that evening, when a huge line some two miles long of elaborately costumed figures from all the racial communities paraded in the streets. Next day the Duke and Duchess continued their journey and are here seen passing the Post Office on their way to embark at Johnston's Pier. Among the many gifts they took with them was an album of platotype views by Lambert & Co., presented by the Straits British-Chinese Association

and showing scenes of Chinese life in Singapore. (Foreign and Commonwealth Office Library, London)

19 Post Office and Exchange, ca. 1885. Taken soon after the completion of the new Post Office, this view looks eastwards across Fullerton Square from Battery Road. Originally housed in the Government Offices on the further side of the river, the Post Office was moved to the Fort Fullerton site in 1874 as a result of pressure from the business community. For a further decade business was conducted from a single-storey pavilion until the construction of this structure was completed to the designs of the Acting Colonial Engineer Henry Edward McAllum. The new building was first occupied by the postal department on 13 October 1884, and the classical pretensions of its design received glowing commendation from the *Strait Times* the next day.

The imposing external appearance of this immense building is equalled by its internal arrangement and ornamentation, showing that the architect has devoted a great deal of time and study and taken much pains with it.

To the right of the Post Office is the Exchange, 'one of the ornaments of Singapore', designed by the Superintendent of Public Works William Daniel Baylis and opened on 29 September 1879; the building housed the Singapore Chamber of Commerce and, from 1880, the Singapore Club. It too was demolished to make way for the Fullerton Building. The Tan Kim Seng Fountain stands in the foreground. (Private Collection, U.K.)

20 Supreme Court, ca. 1890. Looking along Esplanade Road from the Hotel De L'Europe towards High Street, this photograph shows the pedimented facade of the old Court House. Built in 1826 at 27 as a residence for the Java merchant John Angely Maxwell, it was designed in neo-Palladian style as one of the earliest major commissions of the architect George Coleman. Maxwell never in fact lived in his mansion, since it was built on land reserved for government use and on completion was leased back to the authorities who housed the building outright in 1841. It was then used as the court house and later as public offices. In 1875 it again became the court house and was used in this capacity until 1938, when the new Supreme Court on the site of the Hotel De L'Europe was completed. The building lay derelict during the Second World War, but was afterwards refurbished for the use of the Legislative Assembly. Upon Independence, the complex became Parliament House. Already by the time that this photograph was taken the Roman Doric columns supporting the pediment had been filled in and the original domes on the roof removed, and although numerous other alterations have changed considerably the appearance of this important building over the years, it is fitting that Parliament sits in a setting so rich in historical associations. (National University of Singapore Library)

21 Hotel De L'Europe, 1880s. Looking northwestwards over the tennis courts on the Esplanade from the Singapore Cricket Club Pavilion, this photograph shows the hotel before the rebuilding which in 1905 transformed it, in the words of *Twentieth Century Impressions of British Malaya*, into 'one of the newest and most palatial hotels in the colony' and the only serious rival to Raffles Hotel. The origins of the Hotel De L'Europe date back to the establishment of that name in Beach Road owned by Mr J. Castelvins in the 1860s. In 1865 he took over the Hotel De L'Esperance on the corner of High Street and the Esplanade, changing its name to that of his own hotel. From the 1870s the hotel was managed by A. Becker and consisted of a number of blocks occupying the land between High Street and Coleman Street. Around the turn of the century the business was taken over by S.N. Adis, a stockbroker who had come to Singapore in 1893, and it was he who expanded the hotel into the magnificent complex of the early years of the twentieth century. The hotel succumbed to financial troubles in the uncertain economic climate of the 1930s, and in 1934 was acquired by the government in order to use the site for the building of the new Supreme Court. (Private Collection, Singapore)

22 Coleman Street, 1880s. This photograph of Coleman Street looking along the tree-shaded avenue towards the Esplanade and seafront is of particular interest and historical importance for the building standing in the right foreground. At this period this was the Hotel De La Paix, but it had been built as the private residence of Singapore's most important nineteenth century architect, George Drummond Coleman (1795-1844). Coleman built this very substantial arched mansion in 1828-29 and lived in the house with his large domestic establishment until his departure from Singapore on the barque *Madhattan* in

July 1841. The building also has connections with early photography in Singapore, since on Coleman's departure Gaston Dufrouoy announced in the *Singapore Free Press* (1 July 1841) that he was transferring his London Hotel to this 'well-known, airy, commodious and convenient house,' and it was probably here that his early daguerotypes were taken. Dufrouoy then moved to the site of the later Hotel De l'Europe, and the house, probably considered too large for a single family, was taken over by a succession of hotels. The first of these was the Adelphi, followed by the Hotel De La Paix from the 1860s until the turn of the century. It then became the Burlington Hotel and under this name can claim another link with the photographic history of Singapore, since it was here that H. Nugent Buckeger, formerly a manager for Lambert & Co., maintained his studio in the early 1920s. After the Second World War the buildings, now in a state of some decrepitude, housed a variety of shops. The house was demolished in 1970 to make way for the Peninsula Hotel. (Private Collection, U.K.)

23 Raffles Library and Museum, 1890s. This photograph shows the Stamford Road frontage of the Raffles Library and Museum (now the National Museum) at the junction with Orchard Road. The collections of the old Singapore Proprietary Library (founded in 1844) were for many years housed in the Raffles Institution. In 1862 they were transferred to the Town Hall, and when in 1874 the administration authorised the setting up of a museum it was decided to amalgamate the two collections into a joint library and museum. The material so far amassed was, therefore, from 1876 until the completion of the new buildings, moved back to the Raffles Institution where it occupied the first two floors of the new wing. Meanwhile purpose-built accommodation was being erected to give the collection a permanent home. Like so many of the public buildings of the Singapore of the 1880s and 1890s, the plans for the museum were prepared by the Colonial Engineer Henry McCallum, although expense ordained the sacrifice of half of the building as originally designed. The Raffles Museum and Library was opened by the Governor Sir Frederick Weld on 12 October 1887. The original parsimony of the authorities proved short-sighted, however, and the growth of the collections necessitated the building of a new wing which was opened on Chinese New Year's day, 13 February 1907. (Private Collection, Singapore)

24 Singapore Cricket Club Pavilion, 1880s. The stands are crowded and a band entertains the spectators in this view of the Cricket Club pavilion in the 1880s. Evidence of cricket's popularity in Singapore dates back to 1837 when it is recorded that complaints were made about gentlemen playing the game on the Esplanade on Sunday afternoons. This rebuke perhaps dampened enthusiasm, for it was not until 1843 that the newspapers noted the resumption of the game. A meeting was held to establish the Singapore Cricket Club in 1852 although it does not appear to have been formally founded until 1859, and the first game recorded in any detail took place on 13 October of that year between 'picked eleven v. The Club'. From these beginnings the game rapidly gained in popularity and several clubs were formed, and from 1890 regular overseas tours against other colonial teams were made by a Straits Settlements team. The first club pavilion had survived until 1877 when it was replaced by a single-storey wooden building on this site. The cast-iron framed building seen here was erected in 1884 and survived until the 'growth of membership in the early years of the present century led to its enlargement. The old building was retained in the core of the new structure, which added wings and further stores within a more substantial brick facade. This new pavilion was opened on 21 May 1907. (Private Collection, Singapore)

25 The Race Course, ca. 1900. The first records of organised horse racing in Singapore date back to 1843, when a two day meeting was held on a course on the site seen here (now Farrer Park). In those days, however, the grandstand was on the opposite side of the course near Serangoon Road, and spectators found it difficult to view the progress of the races since the centre of the ground had not yet been cleared of jungle. This view, taken from Buffalo Road near the Kandang Kerbau Hospital, looks towards the grandstand during a race meeting at the turn of the century. In the early days racing was the sport of 'gentlemen riders' but by this time a more professional approach was taken to the meetings in May and October and almost all the trainers and jockeys were professionals from Australia. (Private Collection, Singapore)

26 Orchard Road Police Station, 1890s. A small police force had been established for the maintenance of public order shortly after the foundation of the British settlement and in succeeding years this grew to comprise some 200 men in 1850 and over 2000 by the turn of the century. In 1881 a training school was set up and in March of that year the first Sikh contingent arrived to complement the Malays and South Indians who had made up the force until that time. A number of subsidiary police stations were also opened and this view shows the tree-shaded station built at the western extremity of Orchard Road at the junction with Paterson Road. This station was the scene of fighting in February 1915 when it was attacked during the mutiny of Indian troops of the 5th Light Infantry. (Private Collection, Singapore)

27 Orchard Road, ca. 1890. The growth of Singapore until the very end of the nineteenth century was largely concentrated on a small central area, and outlying suburbs still retained a charming country air. Orchard Road, running westwards from the town towards Tanglin had, as its name implies, originally been plantation land and was a popular site for villas. As the Rev'd, G.M. Keith noted in his *Handbook to Singapore* (1892) this part of Singapore was reminiscent in its way of the English countryside:

For quiet but effective beauty these roads are often compared to Devonshire lanes. Both Orchard Road and River Valley Road, not to mention others, present the appearance of a well shaded avenue to an English mansion. The comparison has often been made, but the best that northern latitudes can produce cannot be compared with the richness and variety of the tropical foliage, and the bright colours of the flowering trees...

This impression must have been reinforced, no doubt, by the practice of giving houses and bungalows such names as Rose Cottage, Sunnyside and Moss Bank. Today Orchard Road is Singapore's premier shopping area. (The National Library, Singapore)

28 The Botanical Gardens, 1880s. One of the first areas of investigation after laying out the settlement was into the land's agricultural potential. A small experimental garden was laid out on Government Hill in 1819 and this was subsequently enlarged by Dr Nathaniel Wallich of the Calcutta Botanical Gardens in 1822. This garden was closed as an economy measure in 1829, and while a private Agri-Horticultural Society was founded in 1836, it was not until 1859 that the basis of the Botanical Gardens was established by the formation of a second society. A more extensive and suitable parcel of land at Tanglin (originally belonging to the merchant Whampoa but exchanged by him for a tract of government land on the river) was given to the society and from this time the future of the gardens was assured. While still seeking to benefit economic agriculture, greater emphasis was placed on the creation of a pleasure garden for the recreation of the public, and this was one of the main reasons for the takeover of the gardens by the government in 1874. With this assumption of authority the Agri-Horticultural Society's park truly became a botanical garden, and specimens and plants became available from fellow institutions in India, Ceylon and Australia. From 1875-1905 the gardens even boasted a zoo. It was at the Singapore Botanical Gardens that Henry Ridley ('mad' Ridley), who became Superintendent in 1888, developed the system of tapping rubber without damaging the bark which was of such importance in the growth of the Malayan rubber industry. (Private Collection, U.K.)

29 Tanglin Barracks, 1890s. Raised on piles for ventilation and roofed in *attap*, the barracks were built to the west of the town on land that had in the 1850s formed a part of William Willans' nutmeg plantation. They were largely completed by 1861 but were not in fact occupied by European troops until 1868. The barracks quartered the island's infantry garrison, and by 1892 (around the time this photograph was taken) contained accommodation for 26 officers and 661 men. During the First World War a small prisoner of war camp was sited here and the barracks were briefly held by soldiers of the 5th Light Infantry in the abortive 1915 mutiny. (Private Collection, Singapore)

30 The Teutonia Club, 1890s. Originally founded in 1856 in a small house in North Bridge Road 'to further social intercourse among Germans resident here by means of regular musical evenings', the Teutonia Club moved some six months later to Blanche House, Mount Elizabeth. The building seen here, erected around 1862, stood near the junction of Scott's and Stevens Roads and remained in use until the growth in membership, indicative of the important role played by German businessmen in the commercial life of

the island, necessitated the building of enlarged premises. The new buildings, designed by Swan and Maclaren and occupying the same site as the old club, were opened in 1900 and served until the building was confiscated as enemy property in the First World War. In 1929 the buildings were converted into a hotel and in the Second World War were used as officers' quarters during the Japanese Occupation. The buildings now form part of the Goodwood Hotel. (Private Collection, Singapore)

31-34 European groups and residences, 1900s. The daguerreotypist Jules Ifter, not alone among early visitors to Singapore, had been much impressed by the contrast between the frenetic life of the crowded area around Commercial Square during business hours, and the peaceful retreats to which the merchants and administrators withdrew to recuperate at the end of the working day. These four prints show typical scenes and architecture in the European community, with groups relaxing in white ducks or, more informally, Malay sarongs. The rustic calm of such villas, particularly prevalent in the country to the west of the town, and surrounded by lush tropical gardens, was also noted by another early Singapore photographer, John Thomson:

The long and well kept approaches of these European dwellings never fail to win the lavish praises of strangers... A choice flower garden, a close-shaven lawn, and a green croquet, are not uncommonly the surroundings of the residence... Having traversed the last bend in the path, we come at length upon a wide flight of steps in front of the house. The tiled roof and wide eaves cover a spacious verandah, which runs round the building on all sides. This verandah... is enclosed by a carved railing of hard polished wood. It has rattan blinds to shade it, and these may be let down, or rolled up beneath the eaves, as the position of the sun may require... On one side a wall of dark foliage casts its cool shadow over the dwelling...

(The National University of Singapore Library, 31, 33 and 34; The National Archives, Singapore, 32.)

35 Singapore Volunteer Artillery on parade, 1893. Members of the Maxim Gun Company of the Singapore Volunteer Artillery stand at attention around 405 maxim guns. The Maxim Gun Company was the first such unit to be formed in the British Army and was armed with weapons purchased by subscription among the merchant community. The four guns arrived in April 1891 and were handed over to the Corps on the Queen's Birthday Parade of that year. The Singapore Rifle Corps had been established in 1855 in response to the outbreak of the Crimean War, and bore the motto 'Primus in Indis' in recognition of its status as the first volunteer corps to be enrolled under the Indian Army. On its disbandment in 1887 its place was taken by the formation in the following year of the Singapore Volunteer Artillery under the command of the Colonial Engineer Henry McCallum. Service in the SVA was popular among Singapore residents and a further boost to recruitment was given by the outbreak of the Second Boer War which demoralised the colony of regular garrison troops. Chinese and Eurasian companies were raised and the SVA was merged as the senior unit of the expanded and renamed Singapore Volunteer Corps. The popularity of service in the Maxim Gun Company led to its being created a separate unit, a distinction it retained until the outbreak of the First World War, when the total volunteer force stood at 450 men, rising to nearly 700 by the end of hostilities. (Foreign and Commonwealth Office Library, London)

36 Tiger hunt, 1896. This photograph must show one of the last tigers killed on the island and represents a remnant of the scourge which plagued Singapore for many years. In the earliest days of the settlement tigers, preferring the dense jungle, posed little threat to the inhabitants. The first recorded account of a tiger attack dates from 1831, and four years later in 1835 the architect George Coleman had a narrow escape while surveying in the jungle. But as the spread of gambier and pepper planting opened up the land from the 1830s onwards, the depredations of the tiger began to constitute a serious menace. In 1840, for example, five deaths in eight days were reported and in one year alone in the 1860s over 200 deaths from tiger attacks took place. Government rewards for carcasses, the formation of tiger hunting clubs, the digging of traps and the gradual erosion of the jungle habitat eventually eliminated the tiger population and the last fatality took place in 1890. Two tigers were killed near the town in 1896 and the last one on the island was finally shot at Goodwood House in 1904. (The National Museum, Singapore)

37 New Bridge Road, 1890s. This crowded street scene of rickshaw pullers looks west along New Bridge Road towards Chinatown from the Singapore River near Coleman Bridge. (Private Collection, Singapore)

38 South Bridge Road, 1890s. The twin towers of the entrance to the Jamiah Mosque dominate the foreground of this photograph, looking southwest along South Bridge Road from its junction with Mosque Street (on the right) and Ramah Street (on the left beyond the Trieste Hotel). Raffles had laid out a *kampung* for the south Indian Muslim community in this area in the early days of the settlement and this mosque was built between 1826 and 1835. Further down the street can be seen the *gopuram* of the Sri Maraimann Temple, the oldest Hindu place of worship in Singapore. By the time this photograph was taken, both buildings were surrounded by the Chinatown area. The original structure, of wood and *atap*, was built soon after the foundation of the town and the present temple has stood on the same site since the 1840s. It was converted to a stone structure in 1862. Both buildings are gazetted national monuments. The original photograph is incorrectly captioned 'North Bridge Road'. (Private Collection, Singapore)

39 Street scene ca. 1900. A group of street traders of various races is here seen gathered outside the tailoring shop of Tong Cheong at 69 South Bridge Road, at the junction with Cross Street. (Private Collection, U.K.)

40 The Police Court 1880s. Taken from the junction with North Canal Road, this view looks southwest along South Bridge Road, with the courthouse in the right foreground. Opposite the courts, and just out of the picture, stood the Central Police Station. Both these buildings were among the substantial public works erected in the 1880s, the courts being completed in 1885 and the police station opened in 1886. In addition to their function within the administration of the town and island, the scale of the buildings was also designed to reflect a new pride in the outward appearance of Singapore. Neither of these buildings now exists, the courts being demolished to make way for the Hong Lam Shopping Centre in 1975, and the police station following two years later. (Private Collection, U.K.)

41 Road at Kampong Bharu, 1890s. Two bullock carts proceed at a leisurely pace along the road at Kampong Bharu, at this period no more than a country suburb on the western fringes of the city near Tanjong Pagar. (National University of Singapore, Library)

42 Main road, Tanjong Pagar, 1890s. Looking towards the Tanjong Pagar Road and Guthrie Hill from a point just north of the Victoria Dock, this print shows Tanjong Pagar Dock Company property with the dome of the Tanjong Pagar Police Station visible in the extreme left background. The buildings on the left are European staff bungalows, with the coolie lines on the right. (Private Collection, Singapore)

43 Road to Tanjong Pagar, 1890s. The Tanjong Pagar Road leads out from the town in a southwesterly direction towards the dock area, and this view looks along the road from the old Boustead Institute at the junction with Anson Road, towards the Tanjong Pagar Dock Company Police Station standing at the junction with Keppel Road (which had been opened in 1886). Construction of this elegant little domed building was started in September 1889 and completed the following year. The station, which later served in the same capacity for the Singapore Harbour Board and the Port of Singapore Authority, was demolished in 1983 to allow for the expansion of the Tanjong Pagar Container Terminal. (Private Collection, Singapore)

44 Singapore from Mount Palmer, 1880s. As early as 1865 W. H. Read and Whampoa had addressed a letter to the Governor applying for permission to build an iron screw pile pier from the end of Prince Street out into the harbour, asking in addition

for the right to build a seawall from the vicinities of Prince's Street to that of Tanjong Mallang and to fill up the seashore so reclaimed, with the view of constructing warehouses and other buildings necessary to the aforesaid pier, and to render the same otherwise available for general building purposes.

Although this scheme was not carried out, its proposer must be credited with the original idea for this large-scale public work. With the growth of trade consequent on the opening of the Suez Canal, however, space in Singapore became increasingly at a premium and this ambitious project was revived, along with a number of other reclamation schemes. Before

this work was started. Telok Ayer Street (off to the left of the picture) looked out over the seashore, but by 1890 the bay running between Collyer Quay and Mount Palmer had been entirely reclaimed and three roads — Cecil Street, Robinson Road and Raffles Quay — laid out on the newly acquired land. Carried out under the supervision of the Colonial Engineer Henry McCallum, work started in 1879. This view looks north towards Collyer Quay and the Inner Roads when work was well advanced in the latter half of the 1880s. At the nearer end of Collyer Quay, curving round the northern end of Telok Ayer Bay, Ocean Building can be seen overlooking the area on which Finlayson Green was to be laid out, with the Telok Ayer Market to the left. (Royal Commonwealth Society Library, London)

45 Chinese houses, 1880s. The precise location of this typical row of two and three storey houses with shops on the ground floor has not been identified. The photograph possibly shows a section of Telok Ayer Street at the period when it was the heart of the Chinese commercial district in the town. The buildings represent what was almost a standard pattern for much of the architecture of Singapore's Chinatown in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. (Private Collection, U.K.)

46 Chinese temple, 1890s. The location of this ornately decorated temple facade has not been identified. (Private Collection, Singapore)

47 Thian Hock Keng Temple, 1880s. Situated in Telok Ayer Street and the oldest Hokkien temple in Singapore, the Thian Hock Keng was finished in 1841, and earned the admiration of Major James Low of the Civil Service, who described the building shortly before its completion.

The Chinese Temple, which has been lately erected, will quite satisfy those who have it not in their power to visit China. It is of elaborate workmanship and very curious in its way, although the taste displayed is quite in keeping with the other tastes of the Chinese. The granite pillars and much of the stone ornamental work have been brought from China, and the latter is exceedingly grotesque. The building will, when quite finished, have cost, I am informed, \$30,000. The outlay has already been \$23,600. A large portion of this sum has been defrayed by the owners of Chinese junks from Amoy, and other ports, and from Siam and Java. The interior and cornices are adorned with elaborate carvings in wood. Outside are painted tiles and ceilings of flowers, fruit, etc. formed out of variegated pottery, which is broken to pieces, and then cut with scissors.

The temple is gazetted a National Monument. (The National University of Singapore Library)

48 Thian Hock Keng interior, 1880s. This interior view of the temple looks from the entrance towards the central shrine. (Private Collection, U.K.)

49 Chinese priests and followers, 1890s. Ascetics and other attendants are here seen gathered round the priest in the courtyard of the Thian Hock Keng temple. Chinese immigrants brought with them to Singapore the religious and ethical systems of their homeland, notably Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism. A number of Buddhist orders operated in Singapore at this period, and there were several imposing temples in the town. As well as containing the images of the Buddhist canon, these shrines had also absorbed indigenous Chinese deities such as Ma Tsu Pu, worshipped by seafarers in China and adopted as their patron goddess by Straits Buddhists. (Private Collection, Singapore)

50 Chinese barber shop, 1900s. Framed by a wooden archway leading directly out onto the verandah, the customers in this barber's shop pose warily for the camera's intrusive eye. With its connotations of a voyeuristic investigation of the self-contained and secretive community of the Chinese labouring classes, this photograph provides a telling image of the confrontation of two cultures. (The National Library, Singapore)

51 Chinese doctor, 1890s. This carefully posed tableau shows a Chinese doctor being consulted by a patient in the Thong Chai Hospital in Wayang Street. The Chinese community largely shunned western medicine, relying for treatment on practitioners of their own race who could supply them with traditional prescriptions and remedies. The colonial administration's record with regard to medical treatment for the Chinese and other Asians was poor, and most medical care for these sections of the population was supplied by

the philanthropy of wealthy merchants. The first of these was Tan Tock Seng, who supplied much of the funding for the Chinese Pauper Hospital built in 1844. Other Chinese merchants contributed generously to the various extensions and successors to this institution. Another notable example of this philanthropy in the Chinese community was the Thong Chai Hospital, largely endowed by Gan Eng Seng and opened in 1892. (Private Collection, Singapore)

52 Market view, 1890s. The precise location of this fish and fruit market has not been identified. The photograph possibly shows the market which was situated near the rice mills at the junction of Havelock and Kim Seng Roads in the swampy area on the upper reaches of the Singapore River. (Private Collection, U.K.)

53 Chinese wayang, 1890s. This photograph of a Chinese street opera or *wayang* was reproduced in H.O. Arnold-Foster's compilation *The Queen's Empire* as an example of a typical Singapore scene. (Private Collection, Singapore)

54 Chinese junks in the harbour, 1890s. Sampans cluster round two larger vessels in this view taken at Rochor towards the end of the nineteenth century. The photographer's caption is somewhat misleading, since the boats seen here are not part of the great fleets of junks which arrived at Singapore each December bringing immigrants and goods for trade from China. These smaller vessels are Singapore trading *tongkangs*. Similar in hull form to the gaff-rigged timber *tongkang*, the fore-and-aft rig of this vessel has here reverted to the use of Chinese batten lug sails and the bowsprit has been eliminated. This sail plan was developed from the 1880s onwards and the vessels engaged in general trading. In later years they were most often employed in carrying firewood. (Private Collection, Singapore)

55 Malay craft, Harbour view, 1890s. This view from the pier at the end of Arab Street on the Clyde Terrace waterfront looks across the 'old' harbour towards Tanjong Rhu and the Kallang Basin. Singapore timber *tongkangs* with their distinctive gaff-rigged masts can be seen at their moorings in the shallow waters of the harbour. Although Malay boat-builders introduced a modified version towards the end of the nineteenth century the *tongkang*, a development of the old Straits Settlements lighter, was essentially a Chinese vessel. These *tongkangs*, which were built only at Singapore and southeastern Johore, were made to a standard length of around ninety feet and were used almost exclusively in the coastal timber carrying trade. (Private Collection, U.K.)

56 View of Rochor, 1890s. Makeshift jetties provide a mooring for lighters and sampans in this view of Rochor looking northeast along Beach Road. A number of boat-building yards were in operation along this section of the waterfront, and the ribs of a *tongkang* under construction can be seen in the background of this photograph. (Private Collection, Singapore)

57 Malay shipbuilder, 1890s. Surrounded by curious children, this builder squats on the underside of a partially completed fishing boat in a seaside *kampung*. The boat-builders of Singapore and Malaya produced a large range of distinctive regional types of boats, and they held a wide reputation for the construction and sea-going qualities of their vessels. These qualities are the more remarkable since these craftsmen worked without written plans, relying instead on knowledge and skills handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation. (Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology, Leiden)

58 Kampung Kallang, ca. 1900s. Youths and children pose for the photographer in front of the waterside houses of a Malay village on the bank of the Kallang River, which debouched into the Kallang Basin just east of Rochor. In later years, this area was the site of large-scale reclamation and the inhabitants of villages like this were resettled in the 1930s to make way for the building of Kallang Airport. (Private Collection, U.K.)

59 Bugis men, 1890s. Skillfully navigating their 50 ton *prahu* between the islands of the East Indies from New Guinea to Sumatra, the Bugis originated from the Celebes (Sulawesi) and had dominated the waterborne trade of the eastern archipelago for centuries. Their trade with the Malayan peninsula was originally centred on Johore and later at Riau, but with the advent of Dutch rule at Riau some 500 Bugis transferred their base to the settlement at Singapore in 1820. They thus formed at that time the largest single immigrant community and in 1822 occupied 'the whole extent from Campong Glam to the mouth of

the Roshor River 'In Raffles' revised town plan of that year, they were moved to the east beyond Kampong Glam, and for the rest of the century the fairs held by the fleet on its arrival took place on the seashore in front of the houses on stilts at Kampong Bugis. In September and October, their fleets arrived in Singapore carrying exotic produce such as tortoise-shell, birds of paradise feathers, birds' nests, gold dust, spices and trepaning which were bartered with the Chinese community for such goods as opium and iron, and in November they departed with the onset of the northwest monsoon. In the 1800s, when some 300 boats visited Singapore each season, the arrival of the fleet must have been a uniquely stirring sight, and although from this time onwards the numbers declined as steam traffic captured much of the inter-island trade, the picturesque Bugis vessels still visited the island in the early years of the century, and in the present day their trading and agricultural colonies still flourish all over Indonesia. (Private Collection, Singapore)

60-61 Chinese village, 1890s. These two views of a Chinese village in the interior of the island possibly show scenes in the vicinity of Bukit Timah. Situated at the centre of the island at its highest point, the exploitation of this area was largely left to Asian, mainly Chinese, settlers. The area had been explored in 1827 with a view to opening up the land, but a road was not built to the top of the hill until 1843. The original reason for the road was in order to build a small hill station and resort at Bukit Timah, but this idea was abandoned because the surrounding jungle was infested with tigers. (Private Collection, Singapore)

62 Scenes at Tanjong Katong, 1890s. A number of attempts to develop the agricultural potential of the island were made in the nineteenth century, including the planting of coffee, cinnamon and cocoa. All these crops proved unsuccessful apart from the cultivation of gambier and pepper, and this Chinese-dominated industry was in decline by the end of the century. The coconut, however, was well adapted to the poor soil of Singapore and had been grown commercially since the 1820s. The sandy coastal areas around Tanjong Katong were particularly suitable, and this view, looking along an irrigation channel, shows one of the plantations in the locality. (Private Collection, Singapore)

63 Tanjong Katong, 1890s. The palm fringed beach at Tanjong Katong, to the east of the town, was one of the favourite places of recreation for the inhabitants of Singapore, particularly after the pastime of sea bathing became popular in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. At this period holiday villas and bungalows were starting to be built along the seashore and in 1884 the amenities of the area were increased by the opening of the Tanjong Katong Hotel, which boasted 'an extensive view of the harbour, town and neighbouring islands' and offered a daily steam launch service to Johnston's Pier. Sea bathing was assured by the sand bar lying off the beach, and it was at Tanjong Katong that the Singapore Swimming Club opened its first clubhouse in 1893. (Private Collection, Singapore)

64 Cutting a road through the jungle, ca. 1890. This stark line of cleared land through the thick jungle of the island's interior offers a telling metaphor for the unceasing drive for expansion in Singapore. From the beginnings of the British period, most road building work, as well as other public works such as Government House and St Andrew's Cathedral, had been undertaken by the Indian convict community and in later years by Indian immigrant labour. Most of this early work was in the immediate vicinity of the town itself, but by the late 1820s and 1830s work was started on surveying routes throughout the island and by 1845 a road had been completed from the town to the Straits of Johore. By the turn of the century, most of the island had become accessible to wheeled transport. (Private Collection, Singapore)

65 Chinese village, Singapore, 1890s. This photograph of *atap* roofed houses set in the middle of a coconut plantation was probably taken in the Tanjong Katong area. (Private Collection, U.K.)

66 Borneo Wharf, 1890s. The Borneo Company, trading with the islands of the archipelago from Singapore, grew out of the firm of McEwen & Co. and was formally established in July 1857. The company took over the wharves at Telok Blangah seen here, and traded from them until the wharf was purchased for \$1,000,000 by the Tanjong Pagar Dock Company in July 1885. This view from Keppel Road at the west end of the wharf looks eastwards over the coalsheeds towards the Victoria and Albert Docks on the

promontory in the right background. The whole area was heavily redeveloped before the First World War. (Private Collection, U.K.)

67 View from Mount Faber, 1890s. This view from Mount Faber looks in a southerly direction across St. James and the channel of New Harbour towards the island of Pulau Brani, in the background is Pulau Blakang Mati (Sentosa) with Mount Serapong dominating the skyline. On Pulau Brani itself the cooling towers of the Messageries Maritimes can be seen at the extreme right, while evidence of the industrial spread of the town is seen in the smoking chimneys of the tin smelting works of the Straits Trading Company. The company had been founded in 1886 by Herman Mullinghaus and James Sword and within a few years almost half the tin produced in the Malay States, an industry formerly almost entirely in Chinese hands, passed through the firm. The smelting works on Pulau Brani was opened in 1890 on land leased from the Tanjong Pagar Dock Company. (Private Collection, U.K.)

68 View of the Wharf, Tanjong Pagar, 1890s. The first vessel to be built at Singapore — the 100-ton schooner *Suez Singapore* — had been launched from Mr Melany's yard in 1839 and by 1860 a number of companies had set up wharves beside the deep water of New Harbour. But the majority of traffic was still forced to anchor in the roadstead and be laboriously discharged, coaled and provisioned by lighters working out of the Singapore River. It was not until 1863 that moves were made to form the company which was to swallow up all its rivals and evolve into the Port of Singapore Authorities of today. The Tanjong Pagar Dock Company was registered in September 1864 and by the end of 1866 nearly 1500 feet of wharf had been built. The capital investments of these early years were not matched by returns, however, and in 1871 the Chairman reported that 'the dock has not proved remunerative'. But by this time the effects of the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 were starting to be felt, and the increase in both passenger and goods traffic set the company on a spiral of expansion that absorbed all its major competitors, culminating in the New Harbour Dock Company in July 1899. In this photograph a German mail steamer is shown moored at the company wharves in the last years of the nineteenth century. (Royal Commonwealth Society Library, London)

69 Tanjong Pagar Docks, 1890s. This view looks southeast across Victoria Dock, where an American-built barque is berthed, with the timber office and boat-building shed running along the side of the dock. The Victoria Graving Dock was the Tanjong Pagar Dock Company's first dry dock and was formally opened by the Governor Sir Harry Ord on 17 October 1868. In the background is the Albert Dock, built in response to the construction of a second graving dock by the Patent Slip and Dock Company and opened in May 1879. Although the company's expansion in the thirty years of its life had been remarkable, the new century brought with it the necessity of massive modernisation in the face of competition from other eastern ports. The estimated cost of this work, some \$12,000,000, persuaded the company to approach the government for help. The Colonial Office's response to this was to threaten expropriation of the whole concern unless the work was put in hand without recourse to government finance. No agreement was reached on 7 April 1905 the Ordinance of Expropriation was passed by the Singapore Legislative Council, with the final arbitration award to stockholders announced in the following July. In 1913 the company was transformed into the Singapore Harbour Board, a corporate statutory body maintaining its own police, fire and other services. This body in turn became the present Port of Singapore Authority in 1964. (Royal Commonwealth Society Library, London)

70 Change from Government Bungalow, ca. 1900

There are a few bungalows at various places in the island, at which residents and others may enjoy a short period of country life, some are at the property of the Government, one belongs to the Municipality, and others are let by private individuals. ... Changi Bungalow, at the eastern extremity of the island, is 14 miles from town. There is good sea bathing to be had here. ... These bungalows are rented (furnished) to the general public, preference being given to Government servants and military officers, at a monthly rate of \$25. If taken for less than a month, the rates are — \$10 per week or \$2 per day for Changi. ...

(G.M. Reith, *Handbook to Singapore*, 1902)

Moored near the shore in this photograph looking across the bungalow garden is the paddle tug *Bangkok*. Built by J. Sotley in South Shields in 1877, the *Bangkok* was in German ownership until 1881 when she was purchased by the New Harbour Dock Company. On the dissolution of that company she became the property of the Tanjong Pagar Dock Company and operated until 1913 when she was broken up. (Royal Commonwealth Society Library, London)

Malaya

71 Bodyguard of the Yam Tuan of Negeri Sembilan at Kuala Lumpur, 1903. These colourfully dressed warriors accompanied the Yam Tuan of Negeri Sembilan to the Federal Conference held at Kuala Lumpur in July 1903, and were there photographed by Lambert & Co. The splendour of their costumes was much remarked upon and, as the reporter for the *Straits Times* (27 July 1903) recorded, 'the Yam Tuan of Negeri Sembilan and his suite entirely eclipsed the other Chiefs in point of view of display and propriety... with his typical Malay following of white silk-clad warriors, who carried queer bushy spears of iron, which looked something like exalted leather dusters on broom handles, and were adorned with nasty spikes on top' (Foreign and Commonwealth Office Library, London)

72 The Jetty, Penang, 1890s. The Victoria Pier stood at the end of Downing Street and was built in 1885-88. This view looks north along Weld Quay towards the jetty. In the foreground are moored Penang *tongkangs* with the distinctive scroll-shaped head to the stem (known as the *surul*). These Penang sailing lighters, in contrast to the Chinese-manned Singapore *tongkangs*, were normally crewed by South Indians. (Royal Commonwealth Society Library, London)

73 Beach Street, Penang, 1890s. Beach Street, one of the principal commercial thoroughfares of the town, originally stood, as its name implies, on the seashore, but piecemeal reclamation over the years interposed a number of blocks between it and Weld Quay to which it runs parallel. The random development of the street is reflected in the criticisms levelled against it by the writers of *Twentieth Century Impressions of British Malaya*.

The majority of streets are badly laid out, and, strange to say, the greatest offender in this respect is Beach Street, the very 'hub' of local trade and commerce. It stands at right angles to Downing Street, and is long, narrow, irregular, and ungainly — some parts, especially in what is known as the Chinese quarter, being extremely narrow — and altogether ill-suited for the requirements of a go-ahead business community... The land was reclaimed, first one row of shops and houses and then another arose in rapid succession, but without any apparent idea of symmetry on the part of the builders. The natural effect of this haphazard arrangement is seen in the Beach Street of the present day.

(Royal Commonwealth Society Library, London)

74 King Street, Penang, 1880s. Behind the waterfront streets of European premises in Georgetown lay the streets of the native town. King Street, in the heart of the town, was at this time largely occupied by the Indian Chettiar community. This view looks north along the street towards the Esplanade and waterfront in the distance. (Private Collection, U.K.)

75 Gotlieb's Tree, Penang, 1880s. The associations of this spot and the reasons for its naming have not been established, although they are no doubt connected with 'Captain' Gotlieb the first Harbour Master at Penang, or one of his descendants who flourished in legal practice in Singapore and the Straits Settlements. Of interest in the photograph is the opium and spirit shop in the foreground. For much of the period of British rule, the consumption of opium in the Straits Settlements was quite legal and the law that spoke out against its debilitating effects were largely ignored in the face of the fact that until well into the present century the government opium farm accounted for nearly half its revenue. A half-hearted attempt to lessen its grip on the Chinese population, who were the main consumers, was made by steadily increasing the price of the drug in order to make it beyond the reach of the poorer sections of the community, and in 1907 an Opium Commission was formed to investigate the problem throughout the Straits Settlements. The deliberations of this body, which were published in 1910, stated that moderate smoking of

opium did little harm and advised the bringing of the manufacture and sale of opium entirely under government control. This was effected in the creation of the Monopolies Department. For a short time after this an opium factory was maintained in Penang, but this was soon closed and opium production for the whole of Malaya was carried out from the factory in Singapore. The government continued to manufacture and sell opium up to the Second World War, although by this time the drug was only issued under licence. (Royal Commonwealth Society Library, London)

76 St George's Church, Penang, 1890s. This view of the oldest Church of England church in Malaya is taken from the junction of Farquhar and Pitt streets and its temple form shows clearly the influence of James Gibbs' London church St Martin-in-the-Fields (built 1721-26) which became the prototype for so many places of worship in the British colonies. Built by convict labour in 1817-18, the facade is fronted by a portico supported on four pairs of Tuscan columns (a simpler and more severe order than the Corinthian employed in Gibbs' original), which are echoed by similar groupings of pilasters in the portico and along the body of the building. The circular temple in front of the church was a memorial raised to Francis Light, founder of Penang. The church was largely destroyed in the Second World War during the Japanese invasion, but was rebuilt in its original form after the war and re-opened in 1948. (National University of Singapore Library)

77 Panoramic view of Kuala Lumpur, ca. 1884. The settlement at the confluence of the Klang and Gombak rivers, later to become the capital of Malaya, had come into existence as a Chinese tin trading post around 1860. From the mid-1860s the town, growing apace, was largely under the control of the remarkable entrepreneur and administrator Yap Ah Loy, and by the end of the 1870s was outstripping Klang, which had been originally settled on as the centre of British administration in Selangor. In 1880, therefore, the greater part of the administration was transferred to Kuala Lumpur. This historically important series of views of the town in the early days of British control — probably taken at official behest — was photographed from the site of the future hospital to the west of the main town and comprises a field of view of about 90° looking from north to east. At the left is the Padang (then known as the Parade Ground), along the east side of which the Government Offices were erected in the 1890s. The ramshackle building at the far end of the Parade Ground is possibly the first home of the famous Selangor Club, which later moved to the west edge of the Padang. Leading off from the Parade Ground, Market Street runs into the centre of the Chinese town. The central sections of the panorama, occupied by *atap* roofed houses and garden plots, were later largely taken up by the railway workshops and yards, while at the right the Gombak road runs down to the Klang River. The rapid development of the town after these photographs were taken is clearly seen in Sir Frederick Weld's account of a visit to Kuala Lumpur in early 1886:

It is fast becoming the neatest Chinese and Malay town in the Colony or the States, as within my remembrance it was the dirtiest and most disreputable looking. The streets have been widened, metalled and drained, and rows of sufficiently regular, yet picturesque houses and shops brightly painted and often ornamented with carving and gilding form the streets... (Royal Commonwealth Society Library, London)

78 Sultan Sir Abdul Samad of Selangor, ca. 1886. Probably photographed with his retainers outside his *balai* at Jugra in Kuala Langat, Sultan Abdul Samad wears the insignia of the K. C. M. G. with which he was invested by Sir Frederick Weld in 1886, and this portrait may have been taken shortly after he received the decoration. Born in 1805, Abdul Samad had seized the sultanship of Selangor in 1856 during a period of disputed abductions and endemic chaos in the state bordering on civil war. In his early days he was renowned for his fierceness. Sir Frank Swettenham remarking that he was "supposed to have killed ninety-nine men with his own hand, and did not deny the imputation." By a careful policy of standing back from the feuds between opposing factions, he successfully weathered the turbulent period of the growth of British influence in Selangor, living in semi-retirement until his death in 1898, although never relinquishing the reins of power. The last decades of his life, in Swettenham's words, were spent

living in retirement in a mud swamp on the bank of a melancholy tidal stream, and his manners were as mild as those of a missionary... A small, spare, wizened man,

with a kindly smile, fond of a good story, and with a strong sense of humour. His amusements were gardening... hoarding money and tin... and smoking opium to excess...

(Foreign and Commonwealth Office Library, London)

79 Sultan Sir Ala'Uddin Sulaiman Shah of Selangor, ca. 1903. Abdul Samad's grandson Sulaiman was born on 11 September 1865 and became Raja Muda in 1887. Although succeeding to the sultanship of Selangor on the death of Abdul Samad, he was not formally crowned at Klang until November 1903. He ruled Selangor until his own death on 31 March 1898. (Foreign and Commonwealth Office Library, London)

80 Carcosa, Kuala Lumpur, ca. 1898. Carcosa, built as the residence for the Resident-General of the Federated Malay States, overlooks the picturesque Lake Gardens which were formed over the period of a decade by the Selangor State Treasurer Alfred Reid Venning. Although constructed under the supervision of Charles Edwin Sponner in 1897-98, Carcosa was probably designed by A.C. Norman, and until the first years of the present century also accommodated the Resident-General's Secretariat as well as serving as his home. (Royal Commonwealth Society Library, London)

81 View of Kuala Lumpur, ca. 1897. The view looks northwest across the greatly developed Kuala Lumpur of the late 1890s and offers a graphic illustration of the growth of the town since the early 1880s. In the distance, the prominent tower of the Government Offices can be seen and this allows the dating of the photograph to be determined fairly accurately to before early 1897; in this year the buildings were opened and are here seen as far as one can tell in their completed state. The clock in the central tower of the building, imported from England and installed in 1897, has not yet been placed in position. This supplies a terminal date for the picture. (Royal Commonwealth Society Library, London)

82 Federal Conference group, Kuala Kangsar, Perak, 14 July 1897. The major political event of the 1890s in the Malayan peninsula was the formation in 1896 of the Federated Malay States, by which a centralised administration under the authority of a Resident-General was set up to govern the major mainland states under British control. To celebrate this event, and to discuss problems arising from this new form of government, a Federal Conference was held at Kuala Kangsar in July 1897. Adjudged 'a most unqualified success' by Frank Swettenham, the architect of the Federation, and attended by all the sultans and more important British administrators, the conference lasted a week. After the official opening, the participants assembled at noon at the eastern porch of the Istana where they were photographed by Alexander Koch of Lambert & Co. The following figures in the group can be identified: seated, left to right, Hugh Clifford, Resident of Pahang and later Governor of the Straits Settlements, John Pickersgill Rodger, Resident of Selangor, Sir Frank Swettenham, Resident-General, F.M.S. and next Governor of the Straits Settlements, Sultan Ahmad of Pahang, Sultan Sir Abdul Samad of Selangor, Sir Charles Mitchell, Governor of the Straits Settlements and High Commissioner, F.M.S., Sultan Sir Idris of Perak, Tuanku Mohammed, Yang di-Pertuan Besar of Negri Sembilan, William Hoad Treacher, Resident of Perak, Sulaiman, Abdul Samad's successor as Sultan of Selangor, stands behind the old man. The top-hatted figure at the right of the group is Ernest Woodford Birch, son of the murdered first resident of Perak James Birch, and at this time acting as Secretary to the Government of Perak. (Foreign and Commonwealth Office Library, London)

83 Garden party at the Residency, Kuala Kangsar, Perak, July 1897. This photograph was taken on the terrace of the Residency during one of a number of informal entertainments — including picnics and elephant rides — laid on during conference week. Frank Swettenham, dressed casually and wearing a boater, stands to the right of the central group, while Hugh Clifford and Ernest Birch share the middle elephant. The Governor of the Straits Settlements, Sir Charles Mitchell, is the top-hatted figure at the left of the seated group, with the Sultan of Pahang beside him and J.P. Rodger 'with top hat on knee' seated in the centre. Tuanku Mohammed of Negri Sembilan is seated second from right talking to Lady Mitchell. (Foreign and Commonwealth Office Library, London)

84 Views of the Government Offices, Kuala Lumpur, ca. 1900. This montage of views in the form of a greetings card shows several of the facades of the grandiose Government

Offices built in Kuala Lumpur in the last decade of the nineteenth century. (The National Museum, Singapore)

85 Government Offices, Kuala Lumpur, ca. 1898. In 1893 it was decided to build a new complex of offices suitable to the enhanced status of Selangor and the State Architect A.C. Norman accordingly drew up plans in 'Classical Renaissance' style. These, however, were not to the liking of the State Engineer Charles Edwin Sponner, who therefore redrew the exterior, clothing it in 'Mohamedan Style' and creating a hybrid admixture of European function with Islamic form. This architectural trend had been attempted with varying degrees of success and cultural dislocation by numerous European architects in the East, particularly in India, and these buildings have become the most important example of the style in Southeast Asia. The foundation stone of the building was laid by the Governor of the Straits Settlements, Sir Charles Mitchell, in October 1894. The two-storey building, with verandahs all round the structure and spiral staircases climbing the onion-domed towers, was of red brick with imitation stone dressings and was opened in April 1897. With the formation of the Federated Malay States, the offices became the administrative centre for the states and this laid to rest criticisms which had originally been attached to the cost and magnificence of the buildings. Sir Frank Swettenham, so intimately involved in the birth of the Federation, understandably saw this concrete symbol of his ambitions as 'the finest building in the East. British India excepted,' although the *Straits Times* expressed an equally predictable puzzlement at the final appearance of the building, stating at its opening that 'it is a difficult matter to give the style of architecture a name. It is perhaps best described as Moorish "locally treated," or treated to suit local conditions and materials.' (Foreign and Commonwealth Office Library, London)

86 Football match on the Padang, Kuala Lumpur, 20 July 1903. This match took place as part of the entertainments during the second Federal Conference, held in Kuala Lumpur, the administrative centre of the Federated Malay States, in July 1903. After the formal business of the day — the opening speeches and taking of group photographs — had been exhausted, there was a hiatus of a few hours until five o'clock when all Kuala Lumpur, 'out for a holiday and wearing its best bib and tucker' in the words of the *Straits Times*, assembled in front of the Government Offices for the football match between a town team and the Victoria Institution. Some four thousand spectators of all races thronged the sidelines to see the town team convincingly beaten by the pupils of the Victoria Institution. The match itself was great fun and highly exciting up to the last. The school had quite the best of it all through, though the score at the end was only three goals to two in their favour. The visitors were particularly interested with the methods of the Native forwards who played barefoot and ran like hares. How they managed to kick the way they did was a problem calculated to baffle the European onlooker, but the fact remained that they did kick, bare foot, and kicked beautifully. As a matter of fact they would have scored more heavily did they not seek to be so beautiful in their game. There was a suggestion of gallery play about it that could only have been indulged in by a team so confident of its own powers as to disregard its opponents. ... Withal, from a spectacular point of view, it was great fun, and Kuala Lumpur assumes to be nothing but spectacular during Conference week.

(Foreign and Commonwealth Office Library, London)

87 Federal Council group, Kuala Lumpur, 20 July 1903. This group photograph of the conference participants was taken by Alexander Koch on the lawn in front of the hall after the first public session had been completed and includes all the senior functionaries of the Federated Malay States, together with the sultans and their court officials. Identifications of the most important figures, starting from the first European seated sixth from the left are as follows: Henry Conroy Belfield, Resident of Selangor; John Pickersgill Rodger, Resident of Perak; William Hoad Treacher, Resident-General, Federated Malay States; Sultan Ala'ud-din Sulaiman of Selangor; Sultan Idris of Perak; Sir Frank Swettenham, Governor of the Straits Settlements and High Commissioner for the Federated Malay States; Sultan Ahmad Maatham of Pahang; Tuanku Mohammed, Yang di-Pertuan Besar of Negri Sembilan; Walter Egerton, Resident of Negri Sembilan; Douglas Graham Campbell, acting Resident, Pahang. (Foreign and Commonwealth Office Library, London)

88 The Federal Conference Hall, Kuala Lumpur, July 1903. 'The gayest week ever seen in the gas capital of Selangor' was how the *Straits Times* summed up the second gathering of sultans, chiefs and British administrators which convened on Kuala Lumpur on 20 July 1903 to celebrate the formation of the Federated Malay States and to discuss its problems. While a certain amount of business was conducted behind closed doors, most of the conference was devoted to the statutory public speeches applauding the benefits of federation, followed by several days of unrestrained junketing. For the conference proper this strange and rather shoddy-looking wooden pavilion of superficial grandeur was built — 'a cross between the tomb of a Maharrata ruler's favorite spouse and the apothosis of a Paris newspaper kiosk' — wherein the public speeches were made. For the opening of the conference the entrance was draped with red, black and yellow in honour of the Sultan of Perak, while the side doors carried the colours of the Sultan of Selangor. The participants sat at three tables arranged in the centre of the octagonal building, which also contained seats for 200 favoured spectators. (Foreign and Commonwealth Office Library, London)

89 Arrival of the High Commissioner at the opening of the Federal Conference, Kuala Lumpur, 20 July 1903. The conference proper was convened for ten o'clock on the morning of Monday 20 July, and favourable weather added to the splendour of the sight as the participants and visitors made their way to the hall.

... The spectacle was brilliant in the extreme. The weather was heavenly; bright sunshine under a blue sky, but with a breeze blowing deliciously. Police stood about to hold back a possibly too enthusiastic crowd, which, however, did not materialise, the Natives and Chinese being seemingly satisfied to wait for their own rejoicings later in the week. A continuous stream of rickshaws and carriages, however, kept climbing up the hill from some time after nine until about ten o'clock, and these discharged their gaily attired towkays and less distinguished looking Europeans who had received cards for the ceremony, as well as members of the Conference themselves. All of these — even the lesser potentates — had little followings of their own, who helped to swell the crowd of a few hundred happy idlers who came up to watch the show.

Each of the more important participants arrived individually with his retinue to be received by the guard of honour, and it was not until 11.30 that these formalities had been completed and the conference was opened. This photograph shows Sir Frank Swettenham, Governor of the Straits Settlements and High Commissioner for the Federated Malay States, arriving at the hall to give the opening welcome speech. (The National Museum, Singapore)

90 Istana of the Sultan of Perak, Kuala Kangsar, July 1897. A product of Sultan Idris' desire to live in as splendid a style as the other Malay rulers, the Istana at Kuala Kangsar was designed by John Craig Wilson of the Perak Public Works Department from sketches supplied by Sultan Idris himself. The handsome mansion overlooking the Perak River was constructed at a cost of \$55,000 and was described in the Perak administration report for 1892 as 'excellent in arrangement and striking in appearance'. The building was however the cause of some accusations of official profligacy since Sultan Idris had persuaded Frank Swettenham, then Resident of Perak, to support him in obtaining funds for the building, and exaggerated reports of its splendour, particularly regarding Swettenham's requests for further disbursements to cover the cost of furniture of European manufacture, had filtered back to London. These accusations, probably motivated by personal animus against Swettenham, were dispelled when the new Governor Sir Charles Mitchell visited Kuala Kangsar in 1894 and reported to the Colonial Office that the Istana was 'by no means so palatial a building as Your Lordship appears to think; it is simply a good airy house', adding that it would have been difficult to refuse the Sultan a residence at least comparable to those of the European officials through whom the state was administered. The building was described by the *Straits Times* correspondent who attended the 1897 Federal Conference held at Kuala Kangsar at the time this photograph was taken as 'one of the largest, and, I consider the handsomest building in all Malaya'. (Foreign and Commonwealth Office Library, London)

91 Sultan Sir Idris Merisid El Aazam Shah of Perak, 1897. The life of Sultan Idris of Perak, photographed in front of the Istana at Kuala Kangsar with members of his household and staff in the same year in which he attended Queen Victoria's Diamond

Jubilee, spanned the whole period of the growth of British influence in the Malay States. As a young man, he had been present in 1874 at the signing of the Pangkor Treaty which installed British residents in the states, and throughout his life was a strong supporter of the British administration. He was appointed *Penghulu* and Magistrate of Kampur in 1875 and his ability led to him becoming Chief Justice of the Principal Court of Justice at Kuala Kangsar. He was made Raja Muda in 1886 and succeeded to the sultanship in the following year. Idris' support was also a factor in the establishment of the Federated Malay States, although by the time of his death in 1916 this act of faith could be seen to have resulted in the draining away of power from the sultans of the constituent states to the central government. (Foreign and Commonwealth Office Library, London)

92 View from the Istana, Kuala Kangsar, July 1897. Taken from an upper storey of Sultan Idris' mansion at Kuala Kangsar, the view looks over the town situated on the bank of the Perak River. (Foreign and Commonwealth Office Library, London)

93 Malay ladies, 1890s. This carefully composed tableau shows a group of Malay women demonstrating various aspects of the art of weaving. This type of view, showing indigenous arts and crafts and including as much descriptive information as possible in the picture, was a popular souvenir with visitors to Singapore and Malaya. At the left women can be seen at work on small hand looms, while others are engaged in delicate embroidery. Behind the group are ranged examples of woven and embroidered silks and cottons. (The National University of Singapore Library)

94 Malay Gamelan, 1890s. This photograph of a Malay *gamelan* — an orchestra composed of drums and xylophones — recalls a largely extinct fragment of the Malay cultural heritage. These musicians accompanied the dances, known as the *joget Pahang*, performed by artists at the court of Pahang and later at Penyangat, the island capital of Lingga. After the abdication of the last Sultan of Riau-Lingga in 1912 and the death of Sultan Ahmad of Pahang in 1914, the culture was abandoned, but the traditional dance and music was transferred to Trengganu, and a Trengganu *joget gamelan* installed in the Maziah Palace. Official performances largely died out during the Second World War, although the art form was revived at Mubin Sheppard's instigation in the 1960s. In this photograph two young boys at the foreground hold drums, while a youth and an older man in the front row play the *kecomog*, a collection of brass gongs held in a wooden frame. In the back row are larger gongs on stands, known as *kecomog*, and a row of wooden xylophones known as *saron*. At the right of the group a man plays the larger xylophone or *gambang*. (Royal Commonwealth Society Library, London)

95 The Prince of Wales' Theatre Group, Kuala Kangsar, Perak, 15 July 1897. During the week of the 1897 Federal Conference at Kuala Kangsar the performances staged by the 'Prince of Wales' Theatre Group offered one of the most consistently popular entertainments to the crowds who flocked into the town but who were not eligible to be included in the official celebrations:

All entertainments are paid for by the Committee, and there is free admission to all... Each evening's programme offers, at least, seven different varieties of musical, and theatrical entertainments. First there is the *Bangsawan* — grand opera — undertaken by the Prince of Wales' Theatrical Company. This evening was given a Malay adaption of a Hindustani play. The Company is a strong one, and there were frequent changes of scene...

The actual photographing of the performers was done on the following morning, when 'the theatrical people appeared in their finery earlier than usual, in order to be photographed by Mr Koch, who spent four hours in the sheds of Mitchelton, and took some curious groups'. (Foreign and Commonwealth Office Library, London)

96 Hindu temple dancers, Penang, 1890s. Indian immigrants to the Straits Settlements brought with them the colourful cultural customs and religious practices of the sub-continent. These exoticly masked and costumed figures re-enact in a Penang temple courtyard a Hindu dance from southern India. (Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology, Leiden)

Southeast Asia

97 The Court House, Kuching, Sarawak, ca. 1900. James Brooke, founder of the dynasty which was to rule Sarawak until the Second World War, first arrived in the territory — then a province of the Sultanate of Brunei — in 1839, after a military career in the service of the East India Company. Brooke had come as a trader, but having established good relations with Raja Muda Hassim he returned in the following year and, after assisting Hassim in the suppression of an uprising, was rewarded in 1841 by being made Raja and Governor of Sarawak. Brooke's regime brought order and a certain measure of prosperity to the country and in 1864 Sarawak was recognised as an independent kingdom by Great Britain. The Raja made his capital at Kuching (so named in 1872), and by the turn of the century, when this photograph was taken, the town was a neat and thriving spot on the banks of the Sarawak River. This view is taken from the junction of Gambier Road and Main Bazaar and shows the Court House which overlooks the landing place and the Raja's Istana on the further side of the Sarawak River. (Rhodes House Library, Oxford)

98 Police Station and Carpenter Street, Kuching, Sarawak, ca. 1900. The Police Station stands in the right foreground at the junction of Carpenter Street and Rock Road in this view looking east along Rock Road. (Rhodes House Library, Oxford)

99 View of Kuching, Sarawak, ca. 1900. This general view of Kuching is taken from the Church of St. Thomas and looks northwards towards the Sarawak River, with the Raja's Istana visible on the further bank. The palace was built by the second Raja, Charles Anthony Brooke, who succeeded to the title after the death of his uncle in 1868, and it was completed in time for the reception of his wife Margarete de Windt, who returned with him to Kuching in 1870. In the left foreground of the photograph is the shaded Padang, with Rock Road running down to the river. In the centre of the print is the Resident's Office which lay behind the Court House. The roof of the Police Station can be seen near the palm trees in the right foreground. (Private Collection, U.K.)

100 Dyak Group, Kuching, Sarawak, ca. 1900. The colourful culture of the Dyak tribes of Borneo was most fully exhibited in their love of elaborate costume, both for war and festive occasions. These Iban, or Sea Dyaks, at Kuching are posed for the photographer in their finest clothes. As Charles Hose, who made a close study of the Dyaks of Sarawak at the turn of the century, remarked in *Natural man, a record from Borneo* (London, 1926): 'The Iban especially delights in winding many yards of brilliantly coloured cloth about his waist, in brilliant coats, gorgeous turbans, leathers and other ornaments.'

By means of these he manages to make himself appear as a very dressy person in comparison with the sober Kayan.

The women in this group wear brightly patterned woven cotton skirts, above which are the 'corsets' made from rattan sheathed in small brass rings. (Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology, Leiden)

101 Dyak woman, Kuching, Sarawak, ca. 1900. While such studies as this were directed mainly towards the tourist market and those with a taste for the 'exotic', they now possess considerable historical importance in their detailed recording of a way of life now largely disappeared. This view of a Dyak woman in her finery gives a particularly clear indication of the method of dressing the hat, with shells and other adornments worked into the complicated arrangement. (Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology, Leiden)

102-103 New Guinea scenes, ca. 1900. These views of jungle and seashore scenery in western New Guinea (now Irian Jaya) testify to the lengths to which Lambert & Co. were prepared to travel to secure a comprehensive series of photographs throughout the whole of Southeast Asia. This inhospitable island had defeated the colonising attempts of all the major trading nations of Europe in turn, and although the Dutch laid claim to its vast natural wealth, their influence was restricted to small stretches of the coast. Only towards the end of the nineteenth century did they make any serious moves towards administration of the unknown interior, and even in 1900 Netherlands New Guinea was a hazardous place to visit, its climate unhealthy and its inhabitants hostile. It was not until three major exploring expeditions were made in 1907, 1908 and 1909 that steps were taken to explore the agricultural possibilities of the island, and it was not until the inter-war years that any great progress was made in this field. (The National Museum, Singapore)

104 Group of Batak women, Sumatra, 1880s. Some of Lambert & Co.'s portraits of the Batak or Batta people of the Sumatran interior were used to illustrate the Southeast Asian section of H.N. Hutchinson's *The Living Races of Mankind* (2 vols, London, ca. 1900), where the Bataks are described in the following terms:

The Bataks — to the south of Ache, are an inland hill people, and somewhat like the Dyaks of Borneo, taller and darker than the true Malays. Their hair is straight, and they bear no trace of the Negro. They may perhaps have come under Hindu influence.

For centuries they have been cannibals, their victims being criminals, slaves and prisoners of war. Their marriage system is matrilineal, as in Tibet — a woman having several husbands, and holding property in her own right.

In preceding centuries, the Bataks had been rulers of the Kingdom of Aru and boasted a rich literature written in Indian script. By the end of the nineteenth century, however, their power had waned in the face of European encroachment and the activities of Christian missionaries. (Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology, Leiden)

105 Batak villagers, Sumatra, 1880s. This photograph and the preceding plate are part of a series of views taken for Lambert & Co. by either Charles Kleingrothe or H. Stathell showing life in the Batak villages which were coming into increasing contact with Europeans through the opening up of the Deli and Lankat hinterland to tobacco cultivation. (Royal Commonwealth Society Library, London)

106 Gambier manufacturing, 1890s. The location of this and the three following plates has not been precisely identified, and the prints may originate from any of a number of places in Southeast Asia. Gambier was grown in Singapore before the advent of the British, and its cultivation spread to the Malay peninsula and the outlying islands of the archipelago during the nineteenth century, being introduced into Sarawak, for instance, by the Chinese in 1870s. The leaves and small twigs and branches of the plant were boiled to extract the gambier essence, which was then dried and formed into blocks for export to Europe where it was in particular demand in the tanning industry. This view is taken outside a boiling hut and shows Chinese workers tying up bundles of the plant. Gambier was generally grown in conjunction with pepper, since the refuse of the extraction process made an excellent manure for the pepper tree. (Private Collection, Singapore)

107 Rattan factors, 1890s. The East Indies were the world's primary source of rattan, a creeping jungle plant with a multiplicity of uses from walking sticks, canes and ropes to building material in house construction. This photograph shows labourers bringing in the cane to be treated to remove the outer bark. (Private Collection, Singapore)

108 Pepper plantation, 1890s. Pepper had been an important produce throughout Southeast Asia for hundreds of years, and had been one of the spices which had attracted European traders to the East centuries before. This photograph was possibly taken in a Sarawak pepper garden towards the end of the century. The shrub was probably introduced into Borneo by Indian traders and farmers, but the foundations of the trade in Sarawak were laid in 1876 when the Raja offered free passage from Singapore for pepper planters. Immigrant planters, attracted by this and other concessions, left the overcrowded Singapore market and moved to Sarawak where they set up plantations mainly in the Kuching and Bau areas. By the mid-1880s, exports totalled nearly 400 tons and reached their highest point in 1906 when over 5000 tons were produced. (Private Collection, Singapore)

109 Coffee plantation, 1890s. Some success with coffee planting was obtained in the Malay states in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, but competition from Brazil and the consequent fall in prices spelt the end of Malayan coffee as a major industry. Other areas of Southeast Asia remained economically viable for the crop, however, and this view shows Chinese labourers at work, probably on a Sumatran plantation. (Private Collection, Singapore)

110 Tobacco estate house, Borneo, 1880s. This view of a European manager's or assistant's house on a tobacco estate was probably taken in the area administered by the British North Borneo Company. This chartered company took over the territories ceded by the Sultan of Brunei in 1882. The introduction of tobacco into the company's territories at first received little support from its administrators, but a sample bale sent to London in

1884 proved to be of such high quality that the following years saw a rush of planters eager to exploit the untapped land. By 1890 there were 61 estates and by the end of the century *The Landed Victorian's Review* (January 1899) was able to wax lyrical on 'Borneo's inherent natural advantages [which] should enable it in a very brief space of time to out-distance all its rivals.' This production proved over-confident, however, and after 1902 revenue started to decrease to the extent that by 1910 only twelve estates remained, and in 1929 production ceased altogether for a period. (Royal Commonwealth Society Library, London)

111 Tobacco estate manager's house, Brahrang, Lanjak, Sumatra, 1880s. The Deli and Lanjak areas of northeast Sumatra had been opened up for tobacco production in 1863 when a concession was signed between the Dutch and the Sultan of Deli. The first contingent of Sumatran land received such a favourable response in Europe that in the succeeding decades tobacco from the island was in greater demand than from any other location in the East. Much of the success of the early industry was due to the Deli Maatschappij, founded in 1869, and by the mid-1880s some 125,000 bales of tobacco were being exported annually. After one crop, tobacco land was either abandoned or left fallow for some years and the consequent demand for land rapidly outstripped availability, so much so that by 1887 *The Singapore and Straits Directory* was reporting that suitable land in Deli and Lanjak 'is now running short, and several estates are being opened in adjoining districts.' 'In contrast to the more humble accommodation offered to assistants on the estate, the managers of the Sumatran tobacco industry lived in some style, with large bungalows, numerous servants, and with access to European society and amenities such as the tennis courts seen here. (Royal Commonwealth Society Library, London)

112 Interior of the palace of the King of Siam, Bangkok, 1890s. Commenting on the speed and alacrity with which Siam was becoming increasingly dependent on imported European goods and fashions in the later years of the nineteenth century, the architectural historian James Fergusson wrote that 'the new civilisation is not indigenous, but an importation. The men of progress wear hats, the ladies French gowns, and they build palaces with Corinthian pilars and sash windows.' This was particularly true of the royal palace which, as Florence Lady recorded in *To Siam and Malaya* (London, 1889), was 'Renaissance, or Italian cinquecento throughout' and 'furnished palatially... in the showy style of southern Germany.' A number of buildings and apartments in the palace complex were, however, designed in more appropriate style and this view shows a room luxuriously furnished in Chinese taste. (Private Collection, U.K.)

Portraits

113 Chinese woman, in European dress, ca. 1900. Allister Macmillan, writing in *Snapshots of the Far East* (London, 1907) in praise of the artistic mastery of Lambert & Co.'s portrait work, made particular mention of the

light and general appointments of their studios, so that with the abundance of artistic backgrounds and other accessories, pictures and poses of all kinds can be arranged to suit the most fastidious tastes.

In this particular case the studio background and European clothes of the subject — most strongly reminiscent of a rustic English scene — comment more penetratingly on cultural ambiguities than on the character of the woman portrayed. (The National Museum, Singapore)

114 Straits Chinese family, ca. 1900. The costume of this family group, with its mixture of Chinese, Malay and European elements, clearly denotes the members as Straits-born Chinese or *Peranakan*. The history of the Straits Chinese goes back several centuries to the early Chinese merchants who traded with the peninsula in the days of the Malacca Empire. Many eventually settled permanently in the Straits — particularly in Malacca — and took Malay wives. In time this community became a distinct population, adopting certain forms of Malay dress and developing a patois which absorbed Malay words and expressions. These peculiarities of dress were retained by the Straits-born Chinese up to the Second World War, and although their distinctive costume and customs have now largely disappeared, their cultural heritage is still proudly remembered by the descendants of this racial group. (The National Archives, Singapore)

115 Indian children, ca. 1910. The splendid uniforms worn by these children were probably studio props supplied by the photographer, and without any specific significance. (The National Museum, Singapore)

116 Straits Chinese children, ca. 1910. The jewellery and head-gear of these Chinese children proclaim their *Peranakan* background. It was the methods of bringing up their children which accounted for much of the development of the Straits Chinese as a distinct social group. In the early days of Chinese settlement in the Straits male children born of Malay mothers were taken back to China to be educated while the girls remained in Malaya, although they were forbidden to marry into the indigenous population. In the course of time the males would return from China to marry either girls of mixed parentage or Malays, and in this way the Chinese families steadily increased in number. Over the years direct contact with China was, in the majority of cases severed, and although many Chinese customs and characteristics remained, they had, in the words of Dr. Lim Boon Keng, 'developed such distinct social qualities and have shown so many characteristic ethnic and anthropological aspects that they constitute a class by themselves.' (The National Museum, Singapore)

117 European children, ca. 1910. Before the widespread use of the camera by amateurs, child portraiture provided one of the photographer's most steady sources of income, as fond parents commissioned images of their quickly growing offspring. The provision of miniature furniture as a standard prop attests to the demand for this form of work, although the worried faces of this little boy and girl, dressed up in starched frocks, appear ill at ease in the unfamiliar and intimidating environment of the studio. (The National Archives, Singapore)

118 European child, ca. 1910. This charming portrait of a young girl with her doll is one of the most successful of the surviving portraits by Lambert & Co. Despite the conventional studio setting of painted backdrop and potted plants, the photographer has achieved a relaxed and informal pose and made a delightful study. (The National Museum, Singapore)

119 Chinese amah and child, early 1900s. The lot of the female Chinese in Singapore throughout most of the nineteenth century was generally deplorable. Vastly outnumbered by the male population (in the mid-1880s the ratio between men and women in the Chinese community was approximately ten to one), large numbers were sold into prostitution, and those who found employment in European households could consider themselves fortunate despite their often menial positions. Many European children were brought up almost entirely by their amahs for the early years of their lives, and often formed lasting bonds of affection with them. (The National Museum, Singapore)

120 Chinese amah and child, 1906. The note on the edge of this negative identifies the surname of this child as Darke and the date of the photograph as 19 October 1906. (The National Museum, Singapore)

121 Portrait of a dead child, early 1900s. To modern eyes this portrait of a young child in death has overtones of the morbid and the macabre. Yet until the early years of the present century the photographing of the dead was not uncommon, and from the 1850s such scenes (sometimes including the parents and with the child arranged as if in sleep) were commissioned by grieving relatives. The practice was most widespread in America, where some photographers offered this type of documentation as a speciality, but examples exist from all over the world. Such photographs say much about changing attitudes to death and offer a poignant reminder of the high rates of infant mortality in the tropics. (The National Museum, Singapore)

122 Chinese man, ca. 1900. Photography was initially a medium operated primarily by and for Europeans, and it is therefore understandable that the majority of surviving portraits of Chinese from the turn of the century show men and women exhibiting some western influence in their dress. Rarer are portraits such as this showing a Chinese man in traditional costume, although even here European influence is evident in the studio backdrop. (The National Museum, Singapore)

123 Chinese man with child, ca. 1900. From the early years of the century the more Europeanised Chinese started to abandon the wearing of the queue, but it was still retained by

this more traditional man. With the downfall of the Manchu Dynasty after the revolution of 1911, however, the queue was generally discarded by all sections of the Chinese community in Singapore. (The National Museum, Singapore.)

124 Chinese young men, ca. 1900. Unlike so many studies of Asiatic groups posed among the props of the European studio, these young men seem quite at ease in this environment. The results of the increasing intercourse between the two cultures at this period were noted and described in *Twentieth Century Impressions of British Malaya*:

They have grafted the latest benefits of Western science on to their more ancient civilisation, which is, in point of fact, the oldest in the world, yet of a precocious development inexplicably arrested. Their brain-power is abnormal, and from the highest grades of society to the lowest they excel in whatever they undertake. Young men return from British and American universities imbued with tremendous zeal for uprooting archaic customs — eager for their work and to be educated, resolved to curtail the tedious ceremonies and profligate expenses at marriages and funerals, anxious that the rule prohibiting young people from meeting before marriage should be rendered obsolete, and determined to abolish the useless towchang and foot-binding.

(The National Archives, Singapore.)

125-127 Nonya women, 1900s. These three dignified portraits of Straits-born Chinese women all show the traditional costume of *baju kangkung* worn over a sarong. Nonya women such as these were poorly served educationally and lived a secluded existence within the community until the time of their marriages. This situation changed somewhat with the growth of the *Petramakan* English school in the early years of the twentieth century. Dr. Lim Boon Keng started an English school for girls in Singapore in 1899, and in 1911 the Chung Hua Girls' School was founded; these and other educational establishments at last began to offer some measure of opportunity to this educationally disadvantaged section of the population. (The National Museum, Singapore.)

128 Chinese women, 1912. Although wearing traditional Chinese clothes, it is probable that the women in this portrait are Straits-born Chinese and that the costume has been donned purely for the purpose of the photograph. (The National Museum, Singapore.)

129 Mrs. Lee Choon Guan, ca. 1905. Mrs. Lee Choon Guan was the daughter of Tan Keong Saak, an entrepreneur with extensive interests in the Singapore shipping business. In 1900 she married the wealthy businessman Lee Choon Guan and husband and wife were generous philanthropists both within the Chinese community and in Singapore generally. Mrs. Lee Choon Guan was particularly concerned with medical matters, and among her many benefactions to medical missions were the scholarships she instigated for the training of Chinese midwives. In 1918 she was awarded the M.B.E. for her work, and is believed to be the only Chinese woman to have been so honoured. (The National Museum, Singapore.)

130 Chinese woman, ca. 1900. This traditionally dressed Chinese woman effectively complements the portrait of the Chinese man seen in Plate 122. (The National Archives, Singapore.)

131 Chinese woman with servant and child, ca. 1910. Like many of the portraits of Chinese men and women taken in the early years of the century, this photograph offers a fascinating insight into the varied cultural influences at work in Singapore society at this period. Note in particular that while the child is dressed in European clothes, the mother wears the traditional Manchu beeled slippers. (The National Museum, Singapore.)

132 Chinese group, ca. 1910. This confident group of young men, wearing a combination of Chinese and European dress, epitomises the Oriental ability to absorb the influences of other cultures. This enthusiastic adoption of western culture and habits was especially evident in the early 1900s as the Manchu Dynasty moved towards collapse and the Chinese, both at home and abroad, looked towards the West for new political direction and new social structures. (The National Museum, Singapore.)

133 Chinese man, ca. 1905. The subject of this portrait has not been positively identified, but it probably shows Ong Tiang Soon (b. 1855), who was the son of Ong Ewe Hai, the headman of the Chinese community in Sarawak and also a prominent merchant in

Singapore. Ong Tiang Soon continued to run his father's rice and general produce business from premises on North Boat Quay into the present century. His residence was the very substantial mansion 'Bonny Grass' at 100 River Valley Road. (The National Museum, Singapore.)

134 Indian man, ca. 1910. This studious looking young man, wearing the *songkok* and a European suit, is a member of that group of Indian Muslims who settled in the peninsula and inter-married with the Malay population. The mixed class thus produced was known as *Tajeri Peranakan*, and being largely English educated were well-placed to profit in the commercial world of Singapore. With the Arabs, the *Tajeri Peranakan* were leaders of the Malayan Muslim community in Singapore, and were responsible for the issuing in 1876 of the first Malay language newspaper, the *Tajeri Peranakan*. (The National Museum, Singapore.)

135 Nonya woman, ca. 1900. This Straits-born Chinese woman wears the Malay *baju nipan* fastened by *keosan* also seen in Plate 163. (The National Museum, Singapore.)

136 Tan Juk Kim, ca. 1900. Tan Juk Kim [1859-1917] started his career as an apprentice in the firm of Kim Seng & Co. and thereafter went into partnership in 1884 with his uncle, Lim Beng Gam. A keen supporter of Anglo-Chinese friendship and co-operation, he became a municipal commissioner in 1886 and served on the Straits Settlements Legislative Council from 1889-1915. He was also one of the founders in 1890 of the Straits Steamship Company, which was one of the first joint Chinese-European business ventures in the Malayan peninsula, and which dominated trade in the coastal market for many years. He was awarded the M.C.G. in 1912 for his work on behalf of the Singapore Volunteer Infantry, and his generous donations to the British war effort during the First World War ensured that an aeroplane was named after him. (The National Museum, Singapore.)

137 Indian man, ca. 1900. The pose of this Indian Muslim is presumably designed to indicate his status as a teacher or scholar. (The National Archives, Singapore.)

138 Woman of the Malay aristocracy, ca. 1900. The subject of this portrait has not been identified, although a connection with Johore is probable since the *taara* she wears appears to be identical to that worn by the Sultana of Johore in Plate 167. (The National Museum, Singapore.)

139 The Sultana of Johore, ca. 1890. Posed in a cluttered studio and wearing an exotic mixture of European and Malay dress, this portrait illustrates one example of the following of English fashions by the court of Johore. Of particular interest is the *Malay selendang*, here used in the manner of a shawl. Mrs. Florence Lady met the Sultana while visiting Singapore in the late 1880s, and described her thus in *In Sum and Malaya* (London, 1889):

She is no longer young, but the Sultan esteems her highly and consults her in everything. It is true he has other, younger wives, but only the Sultana is a power in the State. She possesses also the power of the purse, for 'in Malay marriage contracts it is agreed that all savings and 'effects' are to be the property of the husband and wife equally, and are to be equally divided in case of divorce.' It is generally reported that the Sultan has already spent his share, or rather invested it in improvements, jewels, furniture and splendour, and it is rumoured she gives him an allowance.

Anyway, they seem an amiable couple.

(The National Museum, Singapore.)

140 Two Nonya women, 1906. The intimate and informal pose of these two Straits-born Chinese women seems to signify that they are mother and daughter. (The National Museum, Singapore.)

141 Malay woman, 1910. The calm and assured gaze of this beautiful young Malay woman bears out most strikingly of all the portraits in this chapter, the words of Alistair Macmillan in commenting on the Lambert studio in *Snapshots of the Far East* (London, 1907):

The quality of elegance contributes to the value of what may or may not be a faithful portrait. Herein comes the artistic faculty of the operator, without which no likeness, however truthful, can be elegant.

(The National Museum, Singapore.)

142 Members of the Johore Royal Family, ca. 1905. The costumes of these members of the household of Sultan Ibrahim of Johore shows clearly the mixture of Malay and European influences which had been encouraged by the royal family. Sultan Ibrahim's father Abu Bakar had been noted for his interest in and acceptance of European modes and customs, and in the 1870s Frederick McNair had particularly noted the adoption of European dress at his court, remarking that

in this question of dress, as well as in more weighty matters, the Malays of the peninsula have good reason to feel gratified to the Maharajah of Johore, who has set an admirable example in adopting the sensible customs of the Europeans, to the rejection of those unfitted for the climate and absurd. (*Perak and the Malays*, London, 1878, p.149)

(The National Museum, Singapore)

143 European woman in riding clothes, ca. 1910. This portrait and the following four plates offer not only a fascinating insight into the ways in which European subjects chose to be portrayed by the camera, but also demonstrate the extensive series of props and scenic backdrops which the photographer had to keep in stock to help his clients realise these images of themselves. In this portrait, the elements have been reduced to a simple outdoor scene without connotations of the tropics. The supports for this painted rural scene can be made out in the right background, but such disturbing destroyers of illusion would have been cropped from the final prints given to the customer. This particular backdrop is also seen in Plate 118. (The National Museum, Singapore)

144 European man, ca. 1910. Although posed in the identical rattan chair seen in Plate 147, this figure has adopted a more formal stance as well as choosing a carpeted interior in which to be portrayed. As in the preceding print, the illusion of the scene is destroyed in the uncropped print by the edges of the backdrop at the right, with part of the studio visible beyond. (The National Museum, Singapore)

145 European man, ca. 1910. This series of European portraits is most interesting not for any psychological insight into the sitters' characters, but as historical documents giving some flavour of life at this period. The conventions of pose and background are, of course, unconvincing judged by the more informal standards of later portraiture, but this supposedly outdoor scene does demonstrate most clearly the narrative elements which the photographer often attempted to introduce into his studies. The young man seen here is presumably a planter, the *utap* bungalow in the background, the working clothes and the stump of a felled tree all evoking a life lived far from the centres of civilization and dedicated to the opening up and commercial exploitation of the Malayan interior. (The National Museum, Singapore)

146 European man in Malay dress, ca. 1900. While to the modern eye portraits such as this possess a somewhat mannered and theatrical air, heightened no doubt by the artificiality of the jungle background, it was in fact a not uncommon practice for Europeans in Malaya to adopt, at least partially, the local dress. Frederick McNair in *Perak and the Malays: Sarung and Kri* (London, 1878) remarked on the habit and was in no doubt as to its practical benefits.

... Startling as the statement may seem, a gracefully put on sarong, either with our ordinary dress, or even a military uniform, has not only an admirably picturesque effect, but it is invaluable to the European, and those who have worn it day and night in these latitudes will, from the better health they have enjoyed, have learned to respect the Malays for their experience-bought knowledge of what is most suited for their climate...

(The National Museum, Singapore)

147 European man reading the *Straits Times*, ca. 1910. In contrast to many of the figures who seem so uncomfortably trapped between the camera's probing lens and the photographer's unnatural studio landscapes, this sitter presents a potent image of the colonial ruling class in the relaxed informality and assurance of his pose. Such photographs were sent back to relatives at home and no doubt played their part in creating a vision of the compensations of the administrator's life in the Far East. The uniform worn by this subject emphasises that such relaxation on the verandah is only taken as the reward for the day's labour. (The National Museum, Singapore)

148-151 European women, ca. 1910. The subjects of these four portraits taken in the first decade of the century have not been identified. Plate 150, according to the photographer's note written in the margin of the negative, shows a member of the Sarkies family and was taken in January 1908, but beyond this no information is known. The portraits are perhaps best seen as representative of the large volume of run-of-the-mill studies emanating from the Lambert studio when the firm was past its peak in creative terms. The features of the subjects themselves are possibly recalcitrant to the production of flattering or expressive portraiture, but in the lighting of Plate 148 and the posing of Plate 149 little photographic expertise has been utilised to mitigate the impact of the subjects' less happy characteristics. (The National Museum, Singapore)

152 European woman and servant, ca. 1900. Conventions of status and hierarchy were faithfully and doubtless largely unconsciously reflected by the photographer in his grouping of the elements of a picture. The commanding figure of this seated European lady with her servant standing to one side makes a tact statement about relationships between ruler and ruled. Without knowing the identity of the sitter, however, alternative interpretations of the servant's presence are possible: she may be included as a favoured and valued member of the household or, alternatively, she may have been placed in the picture at the photographer's suggestion, acting as little more than a 'prop' to complete this studio-built evocation of a turn-of-the-century Singapore drawing room. (The National Museum, Singapore)

153 Japanese women, 1890s. Trading links between Japan and the Malay peninsula date back to the days of the Malacca Empire, when a few junks would arrive in the Straits each year to sell their cargoes of silks, porcelains and precious metals. By the end of the nineteenth century a small merchant community was settled in Singapore and Malaya, although up until the First World War a significant proportion of the female Japanese population was engaged in prostitution. This portrait shows four geisha girls, a calling occupying a nebulous social position between hosting and outright prostitution. (The National University of Singapore Library)

154 Indian family, 1890s. This elegantly posed group of Indian men and women was probably photographed in Penang, and illustrates well the costumes and fine jewellery of these South Indian immigrants who were employed in many of the more lowly labouring jobs in Singapore and Malaya. (Private Collection, Singapore)

155 Malay man and child, ca. 1900. Photographer's ability to document the lives and customs of unfamiliar cultures also made it capable of pondering to a less creditable and more voyeuristic interest in unpleasanter aspects of tropical life such as the examples of disease seen in this photograph of the deformities of this Malay child and her father. Of interest in the child's dress is the modesty plate or *caping* worn from the waist. (The National Museum, Singapore)

156 Malay women, 1890s. The plain background of this portrait probably indicates the use of a backdrop in the field. The wary expression of these mainland Malay women also suggests a lack of familiarity with the intimidating procedures of portrait photography. The facial characteristics of these women suggest that they originate from the north of the peninsula, possibly even Sum. (The National University of Singapore Library)

157 Malay women, 1890s. This portrait shows two Malay women of the lower classes — possibly prostitutes, although this would not have been made explicit in the captioning of a photograph at this period. (The National Museum, Singapore)

158 Malay guards, ca. 1900. Although here captioned simply 'Malay men', other copies of this photograph identify the figures as guards, a description whose likelihood is strengthened by the stout Malacca cane held by the man on the right. The headresses seen in this portrait are of interest, since by the end of the nineteenth century the wearing of the *putar* was dying out in favour of the black velvet cap known as the *songkok*. By this time few Malays outside the royal households would have been able to explain the many terms used for the various very intricate foldings and styles which could be applied to the *putar*. The clothes worn by these men are a clear illustration of the three main elements of Malay dress: the *batu* or loose-fitting jacket worn over the sarong or *kain*, with trousers (*seluar*) beneath. (The National Archives, Singapore)

159 Achenee lady, 1860s. This Malay woman comes from Achin (or Aceh) on the northeast coast of Sumatra, although she was probably photographed in Singapore which was home to a significant Achenee community. Achin had been visited by Dutch, English and French traders since the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but had staunchly resisted colonial penetration. At the period that this photograph was taken, the whole of northern Sumatra was the scene of a bitter holy war against Dutch domination which lasted from the 1870s into the early years of the present century, and many members of the Malay community moved to Singapore and the mainland to escape the effects of this turmoil. This woman shows clearly the method of wearing the *selendang* or headscarf, one of the basic components of the Malay woman's costume. (Private Collection, Singapore)

160 Malay woman, 1890s. The brightly patterned sarong or *hain* of this woman is complemented by the embroidered slippers (*kaat kolo*) that she wears. This portrait also shows the gold rings that Malay women generally wore on the little and next fingers of the left hand. The *selendang*, also seen in the preceding plate, is here carried under the arm. Its use is most precisely described in N. B. Dennis' *Descriptive Dictionary of British Malaya* (London, 1894).

The *selendang* is a piece of coloured cloth, about nine feet long and three feet broad, folded on itself and thrown over the head and shoulders, two corners being drawn in front on one side of the shoulder, and then held by the hand on that side, so as, when pulled tight over the face, to conceal it entirely, while the other hand is interposed on the other side between the face and the cloth, and constantly employed in keeping it open, to the extent which the lady considers proper. The young, when walking in a public place, leave only a sufficient opening for the eyes; the old are less scrupulous, and leave the greater part of the face exposed.

(The National Museum, Singapore)

161 Malay woman, 1890s. The thick bracelets worn by this Malay woman are characteristic of jewellery from the Padang area of the west coast of Sumatra. Also of interest in her costume are the head jewellery, the method of wearing the *selendang*, and the tobacco box she holds in her left hand. (Private Collection, Singapore)

162 Persian woman, 1890s. Singapore was home from the early days of the settlement to a small number of Persians who formed one of the wealthy merchant elites of the town. Like their fellows in Bombay, where the largest Parsi community in the East was situated, they formed a highly Europeanised minority, much involved in philanthropy and emphasizing their Persian origins rather than their more recent Indian background. (Private Collection, Singapore)

163 Malay woman, 1890s. The open-fronted *baju ripan* of this woman is fastened with the traditional brooches known as *kerawang*. The *baju ripan* was generally fastened by two, but sometimes three such brooches, which gave the wearer the opportunity to display their wealth and taste. One or two of these brooches were round with flowers embossed or engraved on the surface, while the remaining one, the *kerawang ati ati*, was shaped like the leaf of the *ati ati* plant and also adorned with flowers. (Private Collection, Singapore)

164-165 Malay women, 1890s. The women in these two prints, although described as Malay by the photographer, appear from their facial features to be *Jawa Peranakan* of mixed Indian and Malay blood. (164, Private Collection, Singapore; 165, The National Archives, Singapore)

166 Indian woman, 1890s. While the Indian population dominated such trades as boatmen and other labouring jobs in the harbour area, many of their womenfolk such as this Indian woman found employment as servants in Chinese and European households. This studio portrait of a domestic maid shows a girl wearing the distinctive nose-ring and jewellery favoured by the South Indian community. (Private Collection, Singapore)

167 The Sultana of Johore, ca 1900. This head and shoulders study of the Sultana of Johore presents her in a more informal and sympathetic light than the portrait at Plate 139. (Private Collection, Singapore)

168 I-III The late Sultan of Johore, ca 1800. Sultan Abu Bakar (1835-1895) was a lineal descendant of the Temenggongs who in the early nineteenth century had possessed

themselves of the powers nominally held by the sultans of Johore. In an agreement made in 1855 Sultan Ali formally abandoned his pretensions to the throne in favour of the Temenggong, who then took the title of Maharajah, the sultanate itself becoming extinct on Ali's death in 1877. Abu Bakar succeeded his father as Maharajah in 1862 and became Sultan when the title was revived in 1885. In 1866, he became the first Malay ruler to visit Britain and remained staunchly pro-British throughout his reign. It was during his period of power that Johore was opened up to European and Chinese trade and became the most prosperous state in the peninsula. Abu Bakar made several further visits to England, and it was there that he died on 4 June 1895. Renowned for the splendour of his lifestyle, Abu Bakar was succeeded by his son Ibrahim, whose main problems were, as *The Times* (6 June 1895) tactfully worded it, 'likely to arise from possible financial embarrassments resulting from the Oriental lavishness of generosity which mingled with the more European qualities of his father's character.' (The National Archives, Singapore)

169 Chinese Mayor, Singapore, ca 1890. This portrait shows the Chinese businessman Tan Yeok Neo (ca 1827-1902) who had come to Singapore from Teochow as a young man and set up in business as a cloth pedlar. By 1866 he had become prominent in the gambler and pepper trade (with premises on Boat Quay under the shop of Kwang Hong), and he was also much involved in the opium and spirit farms in Singapore and Johore, where he was made Maor China by the Sultan in around 1870. This title may explain the confusing caption given to the photograph. His large fortune was shrewdly invested in property in Singapore, and in the years of his retirement he lived for a time in the Hotel De La Paix before building a large mansion in Chinese style in Tank Road. His last years were spent in his native village in China, where he died on 21 May 1902. (The National Archives, Singapore)

170 I-III The Yam Tuan of Riau (Riau), 1890s. The Johore-Riau Empire was the successor to the Malay sultanate of Malacca which had been abandoned to the Portuguese in 1511. Sultan Mahmud then made his headquarters on Bintan, the largest island of the Riau archipelago, and although the seventeenth century saw a decline in influence in the face of Dutch power, a brief resurgence of the empire was brought about in the early eighteenth century when authority was seized by the Bugis, who had originally been employed as mercenaries by Johore. Riau was finally relegated to the sidelines of power by the treaty of 1824 which placed the area under Dutch domination and from then on excluded it from participation in the affairs of the Malay peninsula. This portrait shows Abdul Rahman Ma'adullah Shah, who was installed by the Dutch in 1885 on the death of Sultan Sulaiman, the last direct male descendant of the Malay Johore-Riau line. Abdul Rahman was descended on his father's side from the Bugis Yam Tuan Muda line, and through his mother was a grandson of Mahmud Mazafir Shah, who ruled from 1842-57. Abdul Rahman was the last Sultan of Riau-Lingga, being deposed in 1912 by the Dutch, who disapproved of his pan-Islamic and pro-British leanings. His exile and later years were spent in Singapore. (The National Archives, Singapore)

171 I-III The Sultan of Kutai (Kutai), ca 1900. The Sultanate of Kutai was situated in southeast Borneo and ruled by a line of Kutais probably of Dyak ancestry, although by the nineteenth century the area was dominated by Bugis traders. Up till this time Kutai had largely escaped European attention, although the murder of an English trader named Eskine Murray in 1844 led to the permanent installation of a Dutch resident in 1846. This fine studio portrait shows the Bugis Sultan Mohammed Sulaiman, who was born in 1836. According to Carl Beck, who describes his meetings with the Sultan in *The Headhunters of Borneo* (London, 1881), Mohammed Sulaiman was 'one of the most intelligent rulers in the Malay archipelago,' and 'a well-built man of gentlemanly bearing, about the middle height, [with] a clean-shaven, fleshy and rather heavy-looking face [which] was set off by a pair of extraordinarily bright eyes, flashing like fire.' The clothes seen here are evidently those also worn in Beck's presence, and described by him as a 'hussar uniform' - dark blue cloth with gold lace, exactly copied from the one worn by his Majesty the King of the Netherlands; and his breast was adorned with the great gold Medal of Merit, suspended from a heavy chain, and with the Dutch Order of the Lion. On his head he wore a shako or helmet of the old pattern, with a great plume of the tailfeathers of the bird of paradise.' (Private Collection, Singapore)

172 Indian minister and wife, 1890s. The term 'Kling' was once applied indiscriminately to all Indians resident in the Straits Settlements and Malaya. Although the term is derived from the ancient kingdom of Kalinga on the Coromandel Coast north of Madras it had become by the Second World War a derogatory term. (Private Collection, Singapore)

173 Indian family, 1890s. This Indian family, posed warily against the painted backdrop of the photographer's studio, illustrates the change in the composition of the Indian community in the island in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Up until the 1860s, Indians had come to Singapore mainly as soldiers, camp followers or convicts and although by this time they formed the second largest section of the population after the Chinese, it was not until after this date that their womenfolk came to the island in any significant numbers. The racial and religious differences between the various Indian groups prevented them gaining the influence that the more cohesive Chinese community achieved. (Private Collection, Singapore)

174 Chinese family, 1890s. Most of the portraits seen on these two pages (Plates 172-179) were posed by the photographer as representative 'types' of the various communities rather than as portraits of individuals. This study of a traditional Chinese family is one of the few which transcend this purely informative function and succeed as true portraits. (Private Collection, Singapore)

175 Malay boy and ayah, 1890s. Smartly turned out though he is, the inferior status of the servant is made explicit by the feather duster under his arm. The posing of such figures as this, one full face and one in profile, is reminiscent of anthropological studies and emphasizes how far the people seen in such photographs were envisaged as illustrations of classes and types of people rather than as individuals. (Private Collection, Singapore)

176 Chinese boy serving his master, 1890s. With a whisky bottle at hand and a punkah or fan above, this European is waited upon by a Chinese servant wearing an impressive queue. The tableau forms one of a series of prints illustrating colonial life in a domestic context. Such photographs were popular with visitors to the island and clearly indicate the European view of the relationship between ruler and ruled, reinforcing and propagating ideas of racial superiority and status. (The National Museum, Singapore)

177 Chittis [Chettiar], 1890s. Chettiar is the caste label applied to those southern Indians involved in the banking and money-lending businesses. This figure has the characteristic shaved head and wears the muslin garments of the group. Although a well-established group in Singapore with their own temple in Tank Road, the Chettiards as a whole were not popular on the island because of their calling. The Chettiards are one of the few Hindu castes to maintain their caste identity due to their strict marriage customs. (Private Collection, Singapore)

178 Malay huntsmen, 1890s. Malay trackers and beaters with dogs such as these were commonly employed by Europeans who found the jungles, hills and marshlands a rich habitat of big game and wildfowl suitable for stalking. (Private Collection, Singapore)

179 Chinese street barber, 1890s. Florence Caddy, remarking on the bustle of the Chinese quarters of Singapore in *To Siam and Malaya* (London, 1889), noted one exception: "When not busy carrying out something, they are being shaved." As well as the crowded barber shops (seen in Plate 50), the town also boasted numerous barbers who plied their trade on the streets, offering, in addition to haircuts, other cosmetic treatments such as the ear cleaning seen in this photograph. The characteristic shaved foreheads of the period were a customary symbol of loyalty introduced by the Ching Dynasty. (Private Collection, Singapore)

180 Dyak man, 1890s. Photographed against a makeshift backdrop probably in the Kuching area, this young Iban or Sea Dyak warrior is posed in the act of drawing his sword, known as *parang ilan* or *malat*. Although by the time of this photograph headhunting was in decline in Sarawak, the Ibans were renowned for the practice above the other Dyak tribes such as the Kayans and Kenyahs, and were reputed to engage in warfare solely for the purpose of collecting heads, to which they attached great social value. The term Sea Dyak is in fact something of a misnomer, since the Ibans were not a seafaring people. The name originally came into use because of the Ibans' association with the

piratical expeditions of the coastal Malays in the early nineteenth century. (The National Museum, Singapore)

NOTES TO THE TEXT

- 1 Ernest Lacan, *Esquisses photographiques à propos de l'Exposition Universelle et de la guerre de l'Orient* (Paris, 1856), p. 22
- 2 *The Malta Penny Magazine*, 11 April 1840
- 3 Helmut Gernsheim, *The Origins of Photography* (London, 1982), p. 99
- 4 *The Humber Times*, 14, 18, 21 December 1839
- 5 A demonstration of his early work to members of the Bengal Asiatic Society on 2 October 1839 is recorded in *The Asiatic Journal* 1840, pp. 14–15. Professor Sir William Brooke O'Shaughnessy as he later became, was Director-General of Telegraphs in India, 1852–61.
- 6 Alan Dawkes & Peter Stambury, *The mechanical eye in Australia: Photographs 1841–1900* (Melbourne, 1985), pp. 6–8
- 7 Clark Worswick, *Imperial China, photographs 1850–1912* (Perthwick, Crown, 1978), p. 134
- 8 Advertisement in *The Friend of India*, 28 January 1840
- 9 *The Hikayat Abdullah*, an annotated translation by A. H. Hill, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Malaysian Branch*, vol. XXVIII, pt. 3, 1958, pp. 534s., pp. 256–257
- 10 *ibid.*, pp. 257, 258
- 11 Gilbert Gannon, 'Jules Irier, Daguerrotypist', *History of Photography*, vol. 5, no. 1, July 1981, pp. 225, 244, p. 227
- 12 Jules Irier, *Journal d'un voyage en Chine en 1843, 1844, 1845, 1846* 3 vols. Paris and Marseilles, 1848–53, vol. 1, pp. 200, 202, 205
- 13 *ibid.*, p. 211
- 14 *Singapore Free Press*, 15 February 1844
- 15 *ibid.*, 14 March 1844
- 16 The advertisement appeared in the *Singapore Free Press* on 7, 14, 21 and 28 December 1843
- 17 Charles Burton Buckley, In *Anecdotal History of Old Times in Singapore* (2 vols. Singapore, 1902), p. 745
- 18 *Straits Times*, 10 February 1857
- 19 *ibid.*, 11 February 1853
- 20 *ibid.*, 25 April 1854
- 21 *ibid.*, 6 June 1854
- 22 *ibid.*, 30 September 1856
- 23 *ibid.*, 2 and 16 December 1856
- 24 *ibid.*, 12 December 1856
- 25 *ibid.*, 13 January 1857
- 26 *ibid.*, 3 February 1857
- 27 Helmut Gernsheim, *op. cit.*, p. 119
- 28 Horne, Thornthwaite and Wood, *Catalogue of photographic apparatus and chemical preparations* (London, n.d. ca. 1852), p. 4
- 29 *Straits Times*, 13 February 1858
- 30 *ibid.*, 15 May 1858
- 31 *ibid.*, 18 December 1858
- 32 *ibid.*, 17 August 1861
- 33 *ibid.*, 28 December 1861
- 34 John Thomson, *The Straits of Malacca, Indo-China and China* (London, 1875), p. 54
- 35 *ibid.*, pp. 53–54
- 36 *Straits Times*, 13 May 1862
- 37 *ibid.*, 1 November 1862
- 38 John Thomson, *op. cit.*, pp. 8, 9
- 39 *ibid.*, pp. 9–10
- 40 *British Journal of Photography*, 10 August 1866, 17 August 1866, 24 August 1866, 14 September 1866, 5 October 1866, 12 October 1866
- 41 *Straits Times*, 27 August 1864
- 42 *ibid.*, 17 September 1864
- 43 *Singapore Daily Times*, 5 January 1874
- 44 *Penang Argus*, 4 March 1869
- 45 *ibid.*, 11 March 1869
- 46 *Singapore Daily Times*, 29 June 1874
- 47 *ibid.*, 4 October 1873
- 48 *ibid.*, 9 December 1873
- 49 *Straits Observer*, 13 May 1875
- 50 *Singapore Daily Times*, 17 November 1875
- 51 *ibid.*, 3 January 1876
- 52 *Straits Observer*, 4 January 1876
- 53 *Singapore Daily Times*, 5 June 1876
- 54 *The carte de visite*, a small portrait mounted on card and cheaply produced, was introduced in Europe in the mid-1850s and achieved world-wide popularity in the 1860s. The cabinet portrait, similar in format but larger (measuring about 6½ × 4½ inches) was introduced in England in 1866, and continued to be produced well into the present century. See Oliver Matthews, *The album of carte de visite and cabinet portrait photography 1854–1914* (London, 1974), for a survey of the phenomenon
- 55 (ed. Arnold Wright), *Twentieth Century Impressions of British Malaya* (London, 1908), p. 705
- 56 *Singapore Daily Times*, 3 January 1878
- 57 (ed. Arnold Wright), *op. cit.*, p. 702
- 58 *Singapore Daily Times*, 15 May 1877
- 59 *ibid.*, 7 May 1878
- 60 *ibid.*, 6 September and 14 November 1878
- 61 *ibid.*, 131 February 1880
- 62 *Straits Times*, 3 January 1884
- 63 *ibid.*, 4 January 1886
- 64 (ed. H. O. Arnold-Foster), *The Queen's Empire* (London, 1897), p. x
- 65 Song Ong Siang, *One Hundred Years' History of the Chinese in Singapore* (Singapore, 1923), p. 325
- 66 *Singapore Free Press*, 21 July 1887. The advertisement was for Michael's Original Ferrotypic Studio at 626 North Bridge Road. The ferrotypic, also known as the tintype, produced a collision image on a metal backing which was both quick and cheap to produce. Its greatest popularity was in America, and this, together with the naming of some of Michael's studios, also termed American, gives a likely indication of his nationality.

GLOSSARY OF PHOTOGRAPHIC TERMS

The following glossary supplies brief explanations of some of the more important 19th century photographic processes. These descriptions have been reduced to their most general level and restricted to those processes mentioned in the introduction. It should be noted that from the beginning of photography, experiment and investigation introduced innumerable modifications and improvements to the processes here described, and that from time to time elements from various photographic procedures were amalgamated in one operation. Readers interested in the technical aspects of early photography are referred to the many general histories dealing with the subject. The complexities of 19th century photographic equipment and technique are illustrated and described in a particularly clear manner in Brian Cox's *Cameras from daguerotypes to instant pictures* (London, 1978).

Calotype. William Henry Fox Talbot had succeeded in making his first negative in 1835 but his improved process, the calotype or Talbotype, was not perfected until 1840 and was patented the following year. Talbot's process, involving the making of a paper negative from which a positive print was then produced, laid the foundations of photography as it is practised today. The making of a calotype negative involved forming a light-sensitive coating on paper by the application of potassium iodide and silver nitrate solutions. This was exposed in the camera (for periods upwards of 10 seconds to a matter of hours depending on light conditions and the size of negative) and then developed in a solution of gallic acid and silver nitrate, and finally fixed in hypos. After processing, the negative was often waxed to increase transparency and then contact printed (using the sun as a light source) onto paper treated with a salt solution and sensitised with silver nitrate. A variation of the calotype process, the waxed paper process, was introduced by Gustave Le Gray in 1851 and for some years rivalled the collodion negative process (see below) in popularity, possessing as it did the advantage that negatives could be prepared in advance and the photographer did not need to travel with a cumbersome dark tent for immediate processing; but by the early 1860s the process had become largely outmoded. Although the calotype and waxed paper processes were widely used in India, where they were popular with a large number of amateur photographers, little evidence for their use in Singapore and Malaya has been found.

Collodion Negative Process. Use of Frederick Scott Archer's collodion process, made public in 1851, rapidly became standard for amateur as well as professional photographers, ousting the daguerreotype and the calotype and combining in one process the advantages of both. The complete transparency of the glass plate used as the medium for carrying the emulsion made possible the production of negatives capable of reproducing the fine detail of the daguerreotype, while the fact that this was, like the calotype, a negative positive process permitted limitless duplication from the original negative. To operate the process, a sheet of glass was coated with collodion (a mixture of gum cotton dissolved in ether) and this viscous film was made light sensitive in a bath of silver nitrate. The process is commonly known as the wet collodion process since the coating of the plate, exposure in the camera and subsequent development of the negative all had to be carried out before the emulsion dried. These manoeuvres involved considerable skill and judgement on the part of the photographer as well as requiring a good deal of cumbersome equipment (in particular, a portable dark tent in which to coat and develop the plate). Dry collodion plates, ready coated and protected by a layer of albumen for future use, became available in the mid-1850s but their lower sensitivity did not prove popular with photographers, and the wet collodion process reigned supreme until gelatin dry plates became available in the 1870s. The wet collodion process was commercially introduced to Singapore by Edward Edgerton in 1857 or 1858, and was used by all photographers from that time until the 1880s.

Collodion Positive Process. Sometimes mistaken for a daguerreotype (see below) since it was generally taken in a similar (though normally cheaper) manner, the collodion positive was made by backing a somewhat underexposed wet collodion negative with black material or paint, resulting in a positive image when viewed by reflected light. The idea had first been suggested by the inventor of the wet collodion process, Frederick Scott Archer, and collodion positives (often

also known as ambrotypes) continued to be produced until the 1890s, although their popularity was fading by the mid-1870s. They can be most easily distinguished from daguerotypes in that they will show a positive image whether viewed against a dark or a light ground. Another advantage they enjoyed over the daguerreotype was that the picture was not laterally reversed. Collodion positives were introduced to Singapore simultaneously with the wet collodion negative process, as can be seen from Edward Edgerton's 1858 advertisement offering portraits 'on glass or paper', glass here referring to collodion positives, paper to prints on albumen paper from wet collodion negatives. The process was also advertised in Singapore by Thomas Hermitage in 1861.

Daguerreotype. The daguerreotype was the first practical photographic process to be announced, and was publicly described by its inventor Louis Daguerre in 1839. The daguerreotype consisted of a copper plate covered in a layer of silver which was polished and buffed to remove all impurities and blemishes. The plate was then placed in a container over a tray of iodine whose vapours rose, and on coming into contact with it formed a coating of light-sensitive silver iodide over its surface. The plate was next transferred to the camera and the exposure made, the light reducing the silver iodide to silver in proportion to its intensity. The latent image thus formed was developed by placing the plate, suspended in a frame at an angle of 45°, over a tray of metallic mercury. A spirit lamp beneath the tray heated the quicksilver so that vapours rose and came into contact with the plate, the microscopic globules of mercury adhering to the surface. Because the daguerreotype, in common with most early photographic processes was primarily sensitive to blue light, the progress of development could be checked through a yellow window let into the side of the box and halted at the optimum moment. Because of its susceptibility to damage from abrasion, the image was then generally framed behind glass and mounted in a leather or composition case. At first lack of sensitivity necessitated long exposures, but technical improvements led to the general adoption of the daguerreotype in painting by the mid-1840s. The draw-backs of the daguerreotype — the fact that each one was a unique image, the lateral reversal of the picture, and the need to view the plate in the reflection of a dark background in order to see it clearly — ultimately led to its abandonment. The heyday of the daguerreotype was about 1850 and by the mid-1850s the process had started to fall into disuse as the collodion process gained in popularity. By the mid-1860s it had been entirely superseded.

Daguerreotype portraits were often coloured, a procedure involving considerable skill in delicately brushing on dry powdered colour mixed with gum, which was fixed to the image by breathing on it. A second method was to paint on colours mixed in an alcohol solution which quickly evaporated. Both of these methods were patented in the early 1840s, and coloured daguerreotypes were offered for sale by Gaston Dutronquay in Singapore in 1848 and by H. Huband in 1853.

Ferrotypes. A type of collodion positive using blackened tinsplate rather than glass as a support for the emulsion, the ferrotypes was popular in America from the mid-1850s and was particularly suitable for producing quick and cheap portraits, not generally of very high quality. Like the daguerreotype and the collodion positive, the ferrotypes was often mounted in a small frame or case, although this was also generally reflected in its quality the cheapness of the process. Evidence for its use in Singapore is seen in the naming of George S. Michael's 'Original American Ferrotypes Studio' in North Bridge Road in

the mid-1900s, and accords well with Michael's expressed desire to produce portraits 'for the million and not for the few'. In America, ferrotypes were commonly known as 'tinypes'.

Platinotypes. Invented in 1873 and marketed from the end of the decade, the platinum print or platinotype was produced on paper impregnated with light-sensitive iron salts and a platinum compound, after exposure this paper was developed in potassium oxalate which deposited pure platinum to form the image, rather than silver as with other processes. The platinum print has a distinctive tone range from rich blacks to very delicately defined mid-tones and highlights. The process enjoyed considerable popularity for its aesthetically satisfying appearance, particularly among consciously 'artistic' photographers towards the end of the 19th century, and was used by Lambert & Co. at this period in compiling the album presented to the Duke and Duchess of York in 1901. An additional advantage of the process was its imperviousness to fading compared to silver prints. The process went out of use after the First World War due to the rise in the price of platinum.

Stereoscopic Photographs. The principle of the stereoscope, by which a startling impression of three dimensional reality is given by viewing two pictures of the same scene through a binocular apparatus, was known in the 1830s, but it was with the invention of photography that the stereoscope became universally popular. Stereoscopic daguerotypes were produced in the 1840s and in 1853 J.B. Dancer invented a binocular camera for taking the two photographs simultaneously but from slightly differing viewpoints. With the advent of prints from collodion negatives the cost of production dropped sharply and for the rest of the century and up to the First World War stereoscopic prints remained extremely popular. The prints were generally mounted on card for viewing and were often issued in sets relating to such topics as travel, architecture, works of art and humour. The making of stereoscopic photographs to order in Singapore is mentioned in the advertisements of such operators as Edward Edgerton, John Thomson and Thomas Heritage.

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INDEX OF PHOTOGRAPHERS
IN SINGAPORE AND MALAYA
1813-1914

The following list presents in dictionary form the known biographical and professional information on photographers operating in Singapore and the Malay States from the 1840s up to around the First World War. Photographers active mainly in Sumatra have also been included where a connection with Singapore is known to have existed, and a number of entries from Siam (Thailand) have also been incorporated since considerable commercial intercourse took place with the Straits Settlements and a number of Singapore photographers either visited or maintained studios in Bangkok. Many of the names included are treated in more detail in the introduction, but the listing will in many cases clarify the often confusing movements between different firms of some photographers. The index also aims to place on record the names of lesser known figures not dealt with elsewhere, and to serve as a reference tool in the study of early photography in the area.

While no claims are made to a totally comprehensive series of entries, it is hoped that at the most significant photographers are present as well as the host of lesser figures employed as assistants in the larger firms. The sources used in the compilation are mainly newspapers, commercial directories and almanacs, and scattered references in other printed works. While the accuracy of newspaper advertisements relating to specific events such as the opening and closing of studios can generally be relied upon, considerable caution needs to be exercised when dealing with directories, where businesses are sometimes omitted, initials confused and names misspelled, and firms continue to be entered when other sources convincingly indicate their demise. In addition, almanacs from Singapore as elsewhere were generally published at the beginning of the year to which they relate, and were therefore compiled towards the end of the preceding year. It is therefore safe to assume in most cases that a photographer first listed in, say, 1890 was in fact in business in 1889. The year of arrival in the listing below has therefore been adjusted accordingly. In the absence of corroborative data periods of residence and practice are preceded by 'ca.' and must be considered provisional.

Cross-references in the list to other individual entries are indicated by the use of **bold type**.

- ADAMS, Miss T. Manageress, G.R. Lambert & Co., ca.1912-14.
- AGASSIZ, F. Assistant, G.R. Lambert & Co., ca.1898-97; proprietor, The Photo Stores, 56 Hill Street, Singapore, ca.1898-ca.1905.
- AGNEW, Burl. Assistant, **Wilson & Co.**, ca.1902; assistant, G.R. Lambert & Co., ca.1903.
- ALFRED & EDGERTON. See: **Edgerton**, Edward A.
- ANTONIO, J. Draughtsman, Grass Brothers & Co., Bangkok, ca.1888-92; senior draughtsman, 1892-94; senior draughtsman, Royal Siam Railway Department, ca.1894; proprietor, **Charoen Krung Photographic Studio**, Bangkok, ca.1894-1912.
- APULINAIRE, Monsieur and Madame. "The great photographic artists of Paris", advertising their studio in the Hotel De La Paix, Coleman Street, Singapore, December 1874, to February 1874.
- BEATTIE, Miss A. Assistant, G.R. Lambert & Co., ca.1899-1902.
- BIRCH, James Wheeler Woodford (1826-1875). After brief service in the Royal Navy employed in Ceylon Civil Service, 1846-70; Colonial Secretary, Straits Settlements, 1870-74; first British Resident of Perak, 1874-75, his murder there bringing about a brief British occupation of the state. An able amateur photographer, Birch took photographs of the ruins of Palatium in Ceylon which were later marketed by William Louis Heen Steers & Co of Colombo; sent a series of photographs of his tours in Selangor and Perak to the Colonial Office in 1874; two photographs by Birch are pasted into some copies of *Memoiranda, etc. on the Malayan Peninsula and Perak* (Calcutta, 1875).
- BLUM, Charles. Assistant, G.R. Lambert & Co., ca.1888-ca.91; managing the Deli branch, ca.1888-90.
- BODOM, H. Chief photographer, artist, **Wilson & Co.**, Singapore, ca.1905; proprietor, Northam House Photographic Studio, 15 Northam Road, Penang, ca.1910-20.
- BUCKERIDGE, H. Nugent. Manager, G.R. Lambert & Co., ca.1914-17; photographer and artist, The Burlington, Coleman Street, Singapore, ca.1919-21; photographer, 65 Orchard Road, ca.1921-25; Stamford Road, 1926; Landlaw Building, ca.1926-33; 78 Bras Basah Road, ca.1933-ca.40.
- CARLE, D. Manager of Achin branch of **J.M. Nauta**, ca.1884.
- CARRINGTON, B. Photographer, Fiang Nakhon Street, Bangkok, ca.1891-94.
- CARTER & CO. Took over stock of **Sachtler & Co.** and opened studio in their former premises at 88 High Street, Singapore, January 1875; firm probably ceased trading in late 1875 or early 1876 and stock possibly acquired by **G.A. Schiedemann**.
- CELESTIAL STUDIO. See **Michael**, George S.
- CHIANGONG. Artist and photographer, Bangkok, ca.1892-ca.94.
- CHARLS, J.F. 1st assistant, G.R. Lambert & Co., ca.1881-82; in partnership with **J.C. Van Es** in firm of Charls & Van Es & Co., Weltevreden which was still trading in late 1926 (advertised in *Jaarboek van Batavia en Omstreken* (1927), p. 254).
- CHAROEN KRUNG PHOTOGRAPHIC STUDIO. Commercial studio, Bangkok, ca.1894-ca.1912, owned by **J. Antonio**; studio in New Road, Bangkok, with photographic assistance from Chin San, ca.1898-ca.1900, and with J.A. Collette acting as 'artist painter and photographer', ca.1908-ca.1909; J. Antonio int. also employed by firm ca.1905-ca.10.

- CHI, Francis & Son. Photographer, west side of river near Church of Santa Cruz, Bangkok, ca.1881-ca.88; again recorded as photographer (without son) with studio in New Road, Bangkok, ca.1892-ca.94.
- THE COMMERCIAL PRESS AND FEDERAL PHOTOGRAPHIC STUDIO. Established 1908, with premises in Sultan Street, Kuala Lumpur; advertising photographic stores rather than studio by 1916, and as Commercial Press only by 1921; proprietors in 1911 were Yuen Kai Tsung and Yuen Tak Sam.
- DE ALMIS, James. Assistant, **Stafhel & Kleingrothe**, Medan, Sumatra, ca.1896-ca.98; assistant, **C.J. Kleingrothe**, Medan, ca.1898-99.
- DIERICKS, Heinrich. Assistant, **C.J. Kleingrothe**, Medan, Sumatra, ca.1898-ca.99.
- DITTMANN, R. Photographer, Tandjong Balei, Asahan, Sumatra, ca.1894-96; assistant, Tebing Tinggi Estate, Sumatra in early 1900s, practising as a photographer again at Tebing Tinggi, ca.1902-ca.06, and at Tandjong Balei, ca.1908-ca.12.
- DOUGLAS, R. Manager, photographic studio of **Moses & Co.**, 4 Orchard Road, Singapore, ca.1885-86.
- DOVE, Arthur W. Assistant, **Wilson & Co.**, ca.1901-03.
- DUBAN, C. Opened daguerreotype studio at 'Mrs Clark's residence, Beach Road, Campong Glam', Singapore, 25 April 1854, but announcing his intention of departing by the next steamer to Batavia; in the event, extended his stay in Singapore until 15 June 1854.
- DUTRONQUOY, Gaston. First recorded resident photographer in Singapore; arrived in Singapore, March 1839; advertising himself as a miniature and portrait painter; opened London Hotel in High Street, May 1839; advertising daguerreotype portrait studio at the London Hotel in December 1843 and again in October 1848 to January 1849; disappeared while prospecting for gold in Muar, 1857.
- EASTERN PHOTOGRAPHIC COMPANY. Studio at 133 Prinsep Street, Singapore, 1885; advertising 'American instantaneous photography' (presumably tintypes); 'portraits taken and delivered in 15 minutes; 6 photos in beautiful metallic frames... \$1.50'.
- EDGERTON, Edward A. Advertising photographs 'on glass or paper' (over collodion process) from his house in Stamford Road, Singapore, from February 1858, but possibly active in late 1857; in partnership as Alfred & Edgerton, with newly built studio at 3 Armenian Street (corner of Stamford Road, May 1858); advertising photographic rooms (without Alfred) at southwest corner of Commercial Square (Raffles Place), July 1859 and for some succeeding months; probably continued as photographer until 1860; editor of *The Singapore Review and Monthly Magazine* (1860).
- EHRHICHSON, William. Assistant to **A.E. Kaulfuss**, Penang, ca.1888.
- ERNST, Heinrich. Assistant, G.R. Lambert & Co., ca.1883-ca.86; manager of Lambert & Co.'s Deli branch, ca.1885-86; photographer, Lanak, Sumatra, ca.1888-ca.1914; Ernst probably absent from business ca.1901-09.
- FEDERAL PHOTOGRAPHIC STUDIO. Commercial studios, 39 Sultan Street, Kuala Lumpur, ca.1901-ca.05; managed by Yip Kuan, ca.1901-03; by Ng Kwan Guan, ca.1903-ca.05.
- FEILBERG, K. Commercial photographer, Penang and Singapore, 1846s-1908s; entered into partnership with August **Sachtler** with studio in High Street, Singapore, July 1864; in partnership with Hermann **Sachtler** in firm of **Sachtler & Feilberg**, Beach Street, Penang, 1865-67; there-

after independent business in Beach Street, Penang, exhibited 15 views of Penang and Caylan at Paris International Exhibition, 1907, made a photographic tour in Sumatra, late 1906, or early 1907s, produced a 10-part panoramic view of Penang from the tower in Light Street, ca 1908; studio moved to Penang Road by 1879, probably absent from the colony, ca 1880-ca 87; assistant to George S. Michael in studio at 50 Hill Street, Singapore, ca 1888; photographic artist with the Singapore Photographs Company, 56 Hill Street, Singapore, ca 1889-ca 91; photographic artist with **Moses & Co.**, The Standard Photographic Studio, 4 Orchard Road, Singapore, ca 1892-1901; probably left Singapore, 1901.

FRANCIS, M.R. Assistant, **Wilson & Co.**, Singapore, ca 1908; assistant, **H. Bodmer**, Penang, ca 1910; chief assistant to H. Nugent Buckeridge, Singapore, ca 1919, ca 22.

FRANKLIN, M. Assistant, G.R. Lambert & Co., ca 1897.

FURUSAKI, I. Japanese photographer and artist, 361 Victoria Street, Singapore, ca 1902, ca 03, with Kawazumi practicing as Japanese artist from same address.

GARINER, H.G. Engineer in Bangkok in 1870s, opened a photographic studio in Fuang Nakdon Street, Bangkok, ca 1884-92; address given as Bukk-Loi, ca 1890-92.

GARINER, R. Assistant, G.R. Lambert & Co., ca 1908, ca 10.

GAHER, Messrs. Visiting photographers from Calcutta; studio in the Hamburg Hotel, Singapore, for some months in early 1877.

GRIFITH, D.K. 'Late of Messrs. Dickinson Bros., 114 New Bond Street, London,' assistant to W. Saunders, photographer of Shanghai, 1872-75; photographer, Along's Studio, Hong Kong in 1880; proprietor of own firms in Shanghai and Hong Kong, 1880s-90s; visiting Singapore, January-February 1884, offering views for sale taken on his second cruise aboard the steam yacht *Manfred* of the Celebes, Moluccas, New Guinea, etc.; these photographs sold from studio of **Moses & Co.**

GROUPE, E. Partner, **Robt. Lenz & Co.**, ca 1908-16.

HANSKE, H. Managing photographer, G.R. Lambert & Co., ca 1910, ca 11.

HATA H. A. Assistant, G.R. Lambert & Co., ca 1894, ca 97.

HERBST, Robert. Assistant, G.R. Lambert & Co., ca 1897-1900; manager at G.R. Lambert & Co. during absence of Alexander Koch in Europe, ca 1900-03.

HERMELAND, Thomas. Photographer from London, opened studio at Queen Street, Singapore, 20 August 1860, advertising in newspapers throughout 1860 until August 1861, but possibly active until 1862.

HODGES, Miss M. Assistant, G.R. Lambert & Co., ca 1902-04.

HUBER, F.C. Assistant, G.R. Lambert & Co., ca 1898-98.

HUNTS, W.H. Photographer, 'late of Oxford Street, London,' announcing opening of his studio at 10 Orchard Road, Singapore, 20 June 1862, 'his stay will only be for a short period.'

HONTEN, Otto. Assistant, **Wilson & Co.**, Singapore, ca 1901-02.

HOOPE, M. Assistant, G.R. Lambert & Co., ca 1890.

HOCK, J. Managed studio of Henry Schuren during his absence in Bangkok, ca 1874.

HUSBAND, H. Opened daguerrotype studio at 1 Hill Street, Singapore, January 1853, 'he will remain here but a short time.'

ISHII, T. Assistant, G.R. Lambert & Co., ca 1908, ca 109; later active as photographer in Malacca.

ITIER, Alphonse Eugene Jules (1802-1877). Entered French Consulate in Singapore, took daguerrotypes on journey to Senegal, 1842-43; visited Guyana and Guadeloupe, 1843; appointed chief of commercial mission to China, 1844-46; and took daguerrotypes in India, Singapore, China, Macao, Philippines and Egypt; his daguerrotypes of Singapore are probably the earliest photographs which survive of the settlement, on return to France appointed First Inspector at Marseilles, 1853; Director of Customs, Montpellier, 1848; Principal Receiver, Marseilles, 1853; retired, 1857; author *Journal d'un voyage en Chine en 1843, 1844, 1845, 1846* (3 vols, Paris and Marseilles, 1848-53).

JAGERSPACHER, J. Assistant, G.R. Lambert & Co., ca 1886-87.

JENSEN, H. Th. Originally employed as photographer by Reulinger of Paris; assistant, G.R. Lambert & Co., 1906; manager of studio in Penang, ca 1905, at 10 residence at 7 Willie Road, Singapore; portrait reproduced in Arnold Wright (ed.), *Fiftieth Century Impressions of British Malaya* (London, 1908, p.704).

JONES, William. Advertising business as photographer and gilder, Tammy Street, Singapore, 24 March 1865; photographic rooms in the Victoria and Albert Hotel, Penang by September 1865; later with studio in Penang Road; possibly absent during 1870s; in partnership with August Kaulfuss in Penang from ca 1888.

KALLIUS, August E. (b 1861). Born at Robinsons, Slesia and worked in photographic studio of Otto von Bosch, Frankfurt, ca 1876-78; practised photography in various parts of Germany and served for two years in the German navy; arrived in Penang, 1883; assistant to J.M. Nauta, ca 1884; travelling photographer, 1886; photographs studio at 9 Tanjong Street, Penang in partnership with Albert Schmalz, ca 1888; with Robert Stamp, Manufactory, at 9 Beach Street run by William Jones, stamp making business closed ca 1891; photographic studio transferred to 27 Tanjong Street, ca 1892 ca 1908; Kaulfuss returned to Europe, ca 1888; photographer by appointment to the Sultan of Kedah from ca 1896.

KLEINGROTHE, Charles J. Assistant, G.R. Lambert & Co., ca 1888-89; manager D'El, Sumatra branch, partner, Kleingrothe & Stallahl photographers, Medan, ca 1889-94; proprietor, Stallahl & Kleingrothe, Medan, ca 1894-ca 98; proprietor, C. J. Kleingrothe, Medan, ca 1898-1896; Kleingrothe probably left Sumatra in 1915; produced and published a portfolio of photogravure views of Singapore and Malacca entitled *Malay Peninsula* (n.d. ca 1907).

KOCH, Alexander. Assistant, G.R. Lambert & Co., 1883 (possibly from late 1883); managing partner, G.R. Lambert & Co., 1886-1906; residence at Judah Terrace, Mount Elizabeth, Singapore.

KOHN SUN. Commercial photographer, 179 South Bridge Road, Singapore, ca 1910-17; managed by Lee Poh Yan.

KUNZ, H. Assistant, G.R. Lambert & Co., ca 1888-ca 91; assisting at Medan branch and managing it, ca 1890-ca 91.

LA BROOYE, E. Assistant, G.R. Lambert & Co., ca 1900-01.

LAMBERT & CO. G.R. Lambert from Dresden opens photographic studio at 1 Hill Street, Singapore, 10 April 1861, advertising his return to studio at 10 Orchard Road, Singapore, 15 May 1877; moves studio to other side of Orchard Road, May 1878; returns from Saum and reopens his Orchard Road studio, 7 February 1880; Lambert left Singapore, ca 1886, leaving business under managing partner Alexander Koch who ran firm until ca 1906; studios at 430 Orchard Road, 1870s, ca 86; 186 Orchard Road,

ca 1886-ca 1902, with additional premises at Gresham House, Battery Road, ca 1894-ca 1910; 3A Orchard Road, ca 1901-18; 1B Orchard Road, ca 1910-12; business managed by H. Th. Jensen, 1905-ca 10; briefly formed into limited company, ca 1908-12; business ceased trading 1918 and managed in last years by Miss T.M. Adams, H. Hanke, H. Nugent Buckeridge, George S. Michael.

LEE BROTHERS. Artists and photographers, 58-4 Hill Street, Singapore, ca 1910-23; proprietor Lee Keng Yan, with photographic work undertaken by Lee Fook Hong.

LEE YUK. From Canton, advertising as 'portrait painter and daguerrotype artist' and photographer from premises at 139 Telok Ayer Street, Singapore, 1861; probably departed 1862.

LENZ & CO. Robert. Commercial photographer, corner of Hill Street and Stamford Road, Singapore, ca 1895-98; branch house at Telok Ayer Street opened ca 1907; maintained until 1916; appointed photographer to the King of Siam, ca 1898; Lenz probably left firm, ca 1909; business continued by E. Groote and C. Pruss until 1916.

LEWIS, George P. Manager, **Wilson & Co.**, Singapore, ca 1903, ca 05.

LOUITS, W.K. Photographer, with studio near Fatu Pec; Bangkok, ca 1880, ca 87.

MANSION, Johann JD. Assistant, G.R. Lambert & Co., ca 1888-86.

MCNAIR, John Frederick Adolphus (1828-1910). Entered Madras Artillery, 1845; Private Secretary to Governor of the Straits Settlements, 1857; Comptroller of Indian Convicts in the Straits Settlements, 1857-73; as Colonial Engineer designed Government House, Singapore, and supervised the construction of St Andrew's Cathedral; amateur photographer while serving in Perak in 1857; and later introduced teaching of photography to convicts in Singapore, officiated as Lieutenant Governor of Penang, 1880-84; author *Perak and the Malacca, Sarawak and Kru* (London, 1878); *Prisoners their own slaves* (London, 1899).

MARTIN, W. Assistant, **Moses & Co.**, The Photographic Studio, Stamford Road, Singapore, ca 1878-81; photographer, Hill Street, Singapore, ca 1884-ca 86.

MAZARAKI, M. Assistant, **Stallahl & Kleingrothe**, Medan, Singapore, ca 1896-97; photographer, Medan, Sumatra, ca 1901, ca 07.

MICHAEL, George S. Proprietor and manager, The Original American Lighting Gem Photographic Studio, 626 North Bridge Road, Singapore, 1886; Proprietor, The Original American Ferrotype Studio at same address, 1887; proprietor, The Celestial Studio, 50 Hill Street, Singapore, ca 1888; proprietor, The Singapore Photographic Company, 4 Hill Street, Singapore, ca 1888-92; proprietor, The Straits Photographic Club, 87 and 89 Robinson Road, Singapore, ca 1896-98; proprietor, The Photographic Studio and Stores, 87 and 88 Robinson Road, Singapore, ca 1898-99; proprietor, The Photographic Stores, 1 Robinson Road, Singapore, ca 1899 (ca 1902); proprietor, The Photographic Studio and Stores, 1 Robinson Road and 136 Orchard Road, Singapore, ca 1902-04; partner, **Wilson & Co.**, photographers, 17 Armean Street and 186 Orchard Road, Singapore, ca 1901-05; partner, 186 Orchard Road only, ca 1905-18; with branch office at 63 Battery Road, ca 1905-18; manager, G.R. Lambert & Co., ca 1915-18; Michael left Singapore, ca 1918.

MICHAEL, S.S. Assistant, **Wilson & Co.**, Singapore, ca 1903-ca 15.

MITTAG, A. Assistant, Charles J. Kleingrothe, Medan, Sumatra, ca. 1905- ca. 08.

MİYAHATA, Sekki, Assistant, G.R. Lambert & Co., ca. 1911.

MOLLER, Hans, Assistant, Charles J. Kleingrothe, Medan, Sumatra, ca. 1902- ca. 03.

MOSES & CO., W.C. Purchased chronometer, jewellery and watchmaking business of J.N. Tenck & Co., returning it to Moses & Co., July 1874; opened photographic studio at 19 Battery Road, Singapore, January 1875, advertising that the firm had acquired the negative stock of **G.A. Schlesselmann** (and others); moved to The Photographic Studio, Stamford Road, Singapore, 15 October 1879; moved to premises in Orchard Road, ca. 1881, and to 30 Orchard Road (formerly houses of G.R. Lambert & Co.), ca. 1885; transferred to 4 Orchard Road, ca. 1888 and remained in business there until 1922, name of firm changed to The Standard Photographic Studio, ca. 1890; Moses probably left Singapore ca. 1901.

NAIHE, A. Assistant, G.R. Lambert & Co. ca. 1891, cf. 93.

NAKAIJIMA & CO., M.S. Photographer and artist, photographic dealers, Japanese currencies, 235, 247, 239 High Street, Kuala Lumpur, ca. 1911- 21, and at 17 and 19 Old Market Square, Kuala Lumpur, ca. 1921- 22, at 145 Batu Road, Kuala Lumpur, ca. 1922- 23, photographic branch at Klang managed by N. Shimizu.

NAUTA, J.M. Photographer, High Street, Singapore, ca. 1868; studied at 8 Fergarhat Street, Penang, ca. 1876- ca. 88; branch at Medan, Sumatra, managed by **Albert Schlumpf**, ca. 1884- ca. 85, and at Achin, managed by **D. Caree**, ca. 1884- ca. 85; exhibited 4 albums of Penang scenes and native life in colonial and Indian Exhibition, London, 1886.

NEWMAN, J. Daguerrotypist, opened American Photographic Rooms, Church Street, Campong Belokkand, Singapore, 23 September 1896, advertising in December 1896 that he will remain a few days longer, and offering a 25% reduction on charges, let on trip to Malacca, 13 January 1897 and returned February 1897; left Singapore June 1897.

NORITAMA HOUSE, PHOTOGRAPHIC STUDIO, Penang. See **Bodum, H.**

OWATA, F. Assistant, G.R. Lambert & Co., ca. 1908; assistant, **Wilson & Co.**, Singapore, ca. 1909.

THE ORIGINAL AMERICAN FERROTYPY STUDIO. See **Michael, George S.**

THE ORIGINAL AMERICAN LIGHTING GEM PHOTOGRAPHIC STUDIO. See **Michael, George S.**

PARSON, Frederick, 1st Assistant, G.R. Lambert & Co., ca. 1882- 83.

PETERSEN, C. Assistant, G.R. Lambert & Co., ca. 1892.

THE PHOTOGRAPHIC STUDIO AND STORES. See **Michael, George S.**

THE PHOTO STUDIO. See **Agassiz, F.**

PILTERS, M. Assistant, G.R. Lambert & Co., ca. 1891.

PILLAY, M. Assistant, **Stathell & Kleingrothe**, Medan, Sumatra, ca. 1897.

PREUSS, C. Assistant, **Robert Lenz & Co.**, ca. 1900- 16.

ROGNER, O. Photographer from Paris, visited Singapore November/December 1861, possibly remaining until 1862; studio in Hotel de l'Europe, and then offering views of China and photographic work from his house, Redan Quay, Osley Road.

RODRIGUEZ, J.A. Clerk, G.R. Lambert & Co., ca. 1881- ca. 1901, assistant, The Photographic Studio (George S. Michael, ca. 1901; assistant, **Wilson & Co.**, Singapore, ca. 1902.

ROLFE, H.W. English master, Tuan Kulah School, Siam, ca. 1890; headmaster, ca. 1891; photographer, Bangkok, ca. 1892- 93.

SACHTLER & CO. Firm probably founded in 1863, in which year a panoramic view of Singapore from the tower of St. Andrew's Church was issued; business taken over by August Sachler and **K. Feilberg**, with studio in High Street near the Court House, July 1864; Feilberg then set up business of Sachler & Feilberg with E. Hermann Sachler in Beach Street, Penang, 1865- 67; Hermann Sachler returned to Singapore ca. 1869, with studio in Battery Road to which Sachler & Co. returned; studio moved to 88 High Street, January 1874; Hermann Sachler probably left Singapore in 1872 and August Sachler in 1873; business managed by **A. Van der Crab** until June 1874 when negative stock and equipment were advertised for auction; negatives purchased by **Carter & Co.**

SALIN & CO., J.E. Opened studios at 50 North Bridge Road, Singapore, July 1872; probably a short-lived establishment.

SARDAN. Advertiser his daguerrotype studio in the London Hotel, Singapore on 1 May 1855, stating that he will be staying only "for a short time".

SCHLEESMANN, G.A. Opens photographic studio at 30 Orchard Road, Singapore, 20 March 1875; takes over studio of **Henry Schure** at 89 High Street, Singapore, 1 December 1875, having purchased Schure's negatives at auction; photographic expedition to Deli, Sumatra, 1876, returning to Singapore, January 1877; household effects sold by him, 27 June 1877; **Moses & Co.** advertising that they have acquired Schlesselmann's negatives, 1 January 1878.

SCHLEMMER, O.O. Albert. Managing Medan, Sumatra branch of **J.M. Nauta**, ca. 1884; in partnership with August E. Kaulfuss, Penang, ca. 1888; independent photographic business in Medan, Sumatra, ca. 1889- 91; photographer with The Standard Photographic Studio (**Moses & Co.**, ca. 1891- ca. 93; assistant, G.R. Lambert & Co., ca. 1894- 95; retoucher, **Robert Lenz & Co.**, ca. 1895- 97; probably left Singapore 1897.

SCHREIBER, August. Partner, **Wilson & Co.**, Singapore, ca. 1901- ca. 05.

SCHUBEL, H. Assistant, G.R. Lambert & Co., ca. 1894- ca. 05.

SCHUMMAN, F. Assistant, **Moses & Co.**, ca. 1881.

SCHUREN, Henry. Practised photography in studios in Brussels, Paris and London before coming to the east, where he was employed in the Batavia studio of Woodbury and Page in the early 1870s (see **Woodbury, Walter**); opened studio in Hotel de l'Europe, Singapore, 1 October 1873; visited Bangkok in early 1874, leaving studio under management of **J. Huck**; studio at 89 High Street, Singapore, 1874, advertising as photographer by appointment to the King of Siam, September 1874; visited Manila, early 1875 and his negative stock acquired in his absence by **G.A. Schlesselmann**; returned to Singapore, May 1876, finally left Singapore for Bangkok, August 1876.

SCHUTTE, R. Assistant, G.R. Lambert & Co., ca. 1890- ca. 93.

SCHWERTSBERGER, R. Assistant, **Stathell & Kleingrothe**, Medan, Sumatra, ca. 1894- 96.

THE SINGAPORE ART STUDIO. Commercial photographers at 101 North Bridge Road, Singapore, ca. 1911- 16; proprietor, **Loan Weng Ke**, photographer, Lee Yee Sun. THE SINGAPORE PHOTOGRAPHIC COMPANY. See **Michael, George S.**

STAPHELL, H. Assistant, G.R. Lambert & Co., ca. 1886- ca. 88; managing Deli, Sumatra branch; partner with Charles J. Kleingrothe in firm of Kleingrothe, Stathell & Kleingrothe, Sumatra, ca. 1889- 94 and Stathell & Kleingrothe, ca. 1894; Stathell probably left Sumatra ca. 1894.

THE STANDARD PHOTOGRAPHIC STUDIO, SINGAPORE. See **Moses & Co., M.C.**

THE STRAITS PHOTOGRAPHIC CLUB. See **Michael, George S.**

STEN QUA. Photographer from Canton, advertising studio at 26 Malacca Street, Singapore, 25 March 1867.

TERKELTOBA, Lewis, Assistant, G.R. Lambert & Co., ca. 1901- ca. 02, ca. 1905- 11; assistant, Charles J. Kleingrothe, Medan, Sumatra, ca. 1903- ca. 04.

THOMSON, John (1837- 1921). Born and educated in Edinburgh; made first visit to Southeast Asia in 1861; commercial photographer in Singapore, 1862- 65; his brother William had preceded him to Singapore and was working as a photographer from ca. 1860, first in partnership as Sack and Thomson and independently from 1861- 62; on arrival of John Thomson firm became known as Thomson Brothers, with studio at 3 Beach Road; watch-making and silk chandlery business also run by brothers at Battery Road, where photographic business later moved; Thomson Brothers continued in business as photographers until ca. 1869, although both brothers had by this time departed; John Thomson left Singapore and travelled in Siam, Laos, and Cambodia, 1865- 66; travelled to Hong Kong via Indo-China, setting up studio in Hong Kong from which he made a number of photographic expeditions into China, 1867- 72; made a photographic study of the London poor in collaboration with Adolphe Smith, 1877; photographic journey to Cyprus, 1878; established studio in London, 1881; appointed instructor in photography to explorers, Royal Geographical Society, 1886; author: *The antiquities of Cambodia, a series of photographs taken on the spot, with letterpress description* (Edinburgh, 1867); *Illustrations of China and its people* (4 vols., London, 1873- 74); *The Straits of Malacca, Indo-China, and China, or ten years' travels, adventures and residence abroad* (London, 1875); with Adolphe Smith, *Street life in London* (London, issued in parts, 1877- 78); *Through Cyprus with the camera in the autumn of 1878* (2 vols., London, 1879).

VAN DER CRAB, A. Photographer with studio in Hotel De La Paix, Coleman Street, Singapore, ca. 1873; photographic studio at 5 High Street, Singapore, by 1874; manager of **Sachler & Co.**, 88 High Street, 1873- 74 and supervised auction of stock, June 1874.

VAN ES, J.C. Recorded as 'Pilot, Siam', ca. 1880; managing partner, G.R. Lambert & Co., ca. 1880- 82; administrator, Medan Estate, Deli, Sumatra, ca. 1884; photographic, Surabaya, and agent for Lambert Brothers' coach works, ca. 1888; in photographic partnership with **J.F. Charls** in firm of Charls & Van Es & Co., Weltevreden, which was still trading in late 1920s (advertised in *Tjaarboek van Batavia en Omstreken* (1927), p. 254).

VAN GEULEN & CO. Opened photographic rooms, 103 Prinsep Street, Singapore, 1 June 1875; probably a short-lived concern.

VOHRE, C. Visiting photographer to Penang, departed 25 January 1868; probably on route from Burma to India; advertising Burmese views for sale; studio in Cribbon Road, Bangalore in early 1870s.

- VON KATTE, Hans, Assistant, G.R. Lambert & Co., ca 1898-1903, assistant to August E. Kaulfuss, Penang, ca 1904, manager, ca 1905.
- WARTENBERG, E., Assistant, Charles J. Kleingrothe, Medan, Sumatra, ca 1899-1901, also listed as assistant, G.R. Lambert & Co. during same period.
- WELLSCHLÖ, Assistant, J.M. Nauta, Penang, ca 1886-89.
- WELLS, M., Assistant, G.R. Lambert & Co., ca 1898.
- WETTER, R., Manager, Robert Leuz & Co., ca 1899-1940.
- WILSON & CO., Photographers, 17 Armenian Street and 186 Orchard Road, Singapore, ca 1901-03, and at 186 Orchard Road only, ca 1903-18 (with branch office at 6A Battery Road, ca 1905-18); photographers to Sultan of Johore from ca 1910, business owned by George S. Michael, possibly in partnership with W.D. Wilson, previously of the Singapore Dispensary.
- WINTERHALTER, R., Assistant, G.R. Lambert & Co., ca 1903-06.
- WOODBURY, Walter (1834-1885), Photographer and inventor, apprentice in a patent office, Manchester, 1849-51, went to Australian gold fields, 1852, after a number of jobs took up professional photography and emigrated with James Page to Java in 1858; where the photographic firm of Woodbury and Page was founded in Batavia; returned to England ca Singapore, where in January 1863 he advertised his photographic views for sale at John Little & Co.; these no doubt included some of the series of Far Eastern views which had been published in London by Negretti & Zambra in 1861; responsible for a number of photographic inventions, including the photo-mechanical printing process named the Woodburytype (1864).
- WOODFORD, W., Photographer, Waterloo Street, Singapore, ca 1866-67.
- WRAY, Leonard (1852-1912), Entered Public Works Department, Perak, June 1881, Superintendent, Government Hill Garden, Larut, January 1882, Curator, Perak State Museum, Tapang, January 1883, State Geologist, Perak, 1890, Director of Museums, Federated Malay States, 1904-08, a dedicated amateur photographer, Wray had joined the Photographic Society, London in 1872 and was a founder member and President of Perak Photographic Society, 1897, made a series of ethnographical studies of Malay aborigines in 1888-90, made and collected a large photographic archive for the Tapang Museum in 1898; produced an album documenting public works in progress in Perak, 1892-93.

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John Falconer

From the editor

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Gretchen Liu