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Bishops and Brookes

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The Anglican Mission
and the Brooke Raj in Sarawak
1848-1941

Graham Saunders

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For Anne and Hannah

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Abbreviations

BCMI	Borneo Church Mission Institution
BEM	Borneo Evangelical Mission
BMA	Borneo Mission Association
<i>BMJ</i>	<i>Brunei Museum Journal</i>
CLR	Copies of Letters Received
CLS	Copies of Letters Sent
CMS	Church Missionary Society
HEIC	Honourable East India Company
Hj.	Haji
<i>JMBRAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Malaysian (Malayan) Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
OLR	Original Letters Received
Pg.	Pengiran
RL/SM	Rajah's Letters/Sarawak Museum
SDA	Seventh Day Adventist
<i>SMJ</i>	<i>Sarawak Museum Journal</i>
SPCK	Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge
SPG	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (<i>see</i> USPG)
USPG	United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (<i>see</i> SPG)

Glossary

<i>adat</i>	custom and tradition
<i>ayah</i>	children's nurse
<i>batang</i>	major river
<i>Datu</i>	non-royal Malay chief
<i>haj</i>	pilgrimage to Mecca
<i>haji</i>	one who has performed the pilgrimage to Mecca
<i>imam</i>	religious leader of the Muslim community
<i>kampung</i>	Malay village
<i>kongsi</i>	Chinese business co-operative
<i>manang</i>	Dayak witch-doctor or shaman
<i>Orang Kaya</i>	literally, 'rich man'; a title given to a district chief
<i>padi</i>	rice
<i>pengiran</i>	a Brunei noble, connected to Brunei royalty
<i>prahu</i>	native boat
<i>Rajah</i>	ruler
<i>Rajah Muda</i>	heir apparent
<i>Tuan Muda</i>	literally, 'young lord'

Note on Terms

'SARAWAK' originally referred to that area consisting of the Sarawak, Samarahan, and Lundu river basins. Originally a dependency of Brunei, this area was transferred to the rule of James Brooke in September 1841. As further territory was acquired by James Brooke and, later, Charles Brooke, the name was applied to this as well. The capital was Kuching, on the Sarawak River, but the name 'Kuching' did not come into general use until the 1870s. Until then, 'Sarawak' applied both to the territory and to the capital. Similarly, 'Brunei' could mean the territory over which the Sultan of Brunei claimed sovereignty, or the town of Brunei itself, which in the first half of the nineteenth century was often called 'Borneo Proper'. 'Outstations' were any administrative centres outside Kuching. 'Natives', as used by Bishop McDougall and James Brooke in earlier years, encompassed all Asians—Chinese, Indians, and Malays, as well as Dayaks. As will be seen from the text, its use changed and the Chinese and Indians were excluded. In practice, the Malays were also differentiated from the Dayak peoples, although in Brooke writing they were encompassed by the term 'Native'. In Sarawak, 'Native' had, and has, no pejorative meaning. In Brooke times, 'Dayak' (or 'Dyak') was used to identify all non-Muslim Natives. In this study I have retained the terms 'Land Dayak' and 'Sea Dayak' for those people who are now designated 'Bidayuh' and 'Iban' respectively, these latter terms having only come into general use in recent times. Likewise, I have, on the whole, retained the word 'Mission', even though before the Second World War, the Anglicans referred to the Anglican Church. The term 'Mission' continued to be in popular use long after the war, and the term is certainly apt for the period of this study. The currency referred to is either the Pound Sterling (£) or the Sarawak Dollar (\$), which, in the inter-war years, like the Straits Dollar, was worth Stg. 2s. 4d.

Introduction

MUCH has been written about the Brookes of Sarawak, rather less about the Anglican Mission; very little has appeared about the interaction between the two. In writings on Sarawak under the Brookes, attention has been focused largely on the reign of Rajah James Brooke. Writers have made reference to the Mission and, in particular, to Bishop Francis Thomas McDougall, the latter as a source of material on the Brookes (Harriette McDougall's writings have been influential in this regard) or as a party to the polemics of the period. Biographies of Rajah James have tended to concentrate on his public life. An exception is Gertrude Jacob's early biography, which gives due place to his religious views and personal development, while Owen Rutter's selection of letters between James Brooke and Miss Angela Burdett Coutts also reveals something of the private man. Likewise, Emily Hahn attempted to balance the more public image of the first Rajah with personal revelations. His latest biographer, Nicholas Tarling, has uncovered some interesting early material on James Brooke, but is soon embroiled with the public and diplomatic aspects of his reign.

On the Mission side, C. J. Bunyon's biography of McDougall and his wife was largely polemical in that it was an effort to counter adverse publicity that McDougall had suffered during his lifetime. Similarly, Max Saint's recent publication, *A Flourish for the Bishop and Brooke's Friend Grant: Two Studies in Sarawak History 1848-68*, has the express intention of rescuing McDougall's reputation. The present study attempts to appraise McDougall as objectively as the surviving material allows, and concludes that his detractors, while exaggerating his faults in the heat of controversy, nevertheless had grounds for their criticism. One aspect of the public quarrel that flared between the Bishop and the Rajah in 1862 that has not been fully enough appreciated is the part it played in the Rajah's disillusionment with his nominated successor, John Brooke Brooke. Brooke's failure to take a firm stand on the Rajah's side against the Bishop, whom the Rajah believed had impugned his honour, was a significant factor in the Rajah's ready

disinheritance of Brooke. Similarly, the Bishop's animosity towards the Rajah fuelled Brooke's own impatience at the reluctance of Sir James to surrender full powers to him and prompted him to construe the worst from any action or statement of the Rajah. McDougall did not create the rift between Brooke and Rajah James, but he was no steadying influence at the time of crisis, and his involvement has not been given its due emphasis.

Personalities aside, the interaction of the Brookes with Christian missions has been touched on in the general histories, such as those by Steven Runciman and Robert Payne. Specialist studies have commented more fully. Lily Chan has studied Brooke policy towards the Christian missions in general and has seen the consistency of Brooke policy. Various studies have referred to the effect of Mission education on native groups. Craig Lockard has considered the role of the missions in the development of Kuching; James Madison Seymour in the development of education under the Brookes. Ethnographic studies have had to take into account the influence of Christianity upon traditional societies and *adat*. In a few cases this has been linked with consideration of Brooke policy. Robert Pringle, for example, has noted Rajah Charles's ambivalent attitude and his reluctance to see the Dayak way of life subverted by Christian values. Whereas Rajah James saw a Christianized Dayak population as a possible bulwark of the Raj and a balance to the Muslim Malays, Charles Brooke regarded traditional Dayak society as providing the cradle for warriors required for the defence of the state. Colin Crisswell has also noted Rajah Charles's ambivalence in his biography of the second Rajah.

Writers have thus seen that there could be tension between the purposes and functions of the Mission and those of the Brooke Government. To a large extent this died away during the reign of the third Rajah. Sarawak was at peace by the mid-1920s, and the Sarawak Rangers and the Constabulary were by themselves sufficient to maintain order: there was no need to call out Dayak levies to protect the Raj. The Anglican Mission, with its educational and medical roles, supplemented the work of the Government in social welfare and assisted in the dissemination of agricultural knowledge and skills. To this extent, it acted almost as a branch of government. Rajah Vyner has attracted no biographer and his reign is rather briefly dealt with in the general histories, due to a lack of excitement and glamour and to a relative dearth of sources—although there are more of both than has been credited.

The impression of his reign has been largely acquired from the Rancee Sylvia's writings, but Robert Reece's study of the Cession crisis in 1946 indicates that historians have not been asking the right questions of Vyner's reign. Sarawak historians have begun to look at twentieth-century Sarawak history in the light of their experiences and interests, so that aspects of Vyner's reign, and of the Brooke period in general, are likely to attract new attention. One can expect that, in time, a deeper understanding of the non-European communities and their leaders in pre-war Sarawak will emerge. However, there are also interesting figures within the Brooke administration and the European community in general in Sarawak, of whom one may expect more to be written.

Writing on the Anglican Mission has served the purposes of the Mission itself. Early in the twentieth century the purpose was to awaken interest and to win support for the Mission. This lay behind the publication of Eda Green's *Borneo: Land of River and Palm* and other, briefer, publications of the SPG. More recently, Peter Varney and Brian Taylor, who served as priests in Sarawak, have contributed articles on the Mission to the *Sarawak Museum Journal* and Taylor has published a chronicle of the Mission based on material in the SPG Archives, the Borneo Mission Association *Chronicle*, and other Church archives. This provides a valuable outline of the development of the Mission and the personnel who served it.

The relationship between the Brooke regime and the Anglican Mission changed over the years largely because of changes that were happening in the Western world in general and in Britain in particular. The relationship between Church and State in Europe was becoming more distinct as secularism triumphed and clericalism retreated. The Anglican Church in England was not disestablished, but the rights accorded to those of other denominations and faiths, and to those with no faith at all, were based upon their status as citizens, not upon their confessional allegiance. At the beginning the Mission in Sarawak had seen itself enjoying a special relationship with the Government, but James Brooke soon made it clear that it could not expect special treatment, and this was made clearer still under Rajah Charles. By the twentieth century this position of the Church was accepted by Anglican clergy and laity as a matter of course, but only because the same battles had been fought in England and what had appeared revolutionary or controversial in one generation had become accepted as normal practice in the next.

The Church had itself changed in its approach to missionary

activity. No longer was it enough to send pious men and women to convert the simple heathen. It had become clear by the end of the nineteenth century that missionaries required adequate training and experience before they could be of much use in the mission field. This training, it was realized, should have a practical element. That McDougall was medically qualified was happenstance in 1848, but by the 1930s it was customary to provide missionaries with some medical training. Lay missionaries were also better qualified for their task and those in clerical orders more realistic in their assessment of what was possible in proselytizing among a non-Christian population. Perhaps this reflected a decline in Western arrogance as a consequence of the First World War. Just as Brooke administrations had come to accept that change should be gradual—partly because of the constraints imposed by financial and manpower considerations, partly because of respect for local cultures and traditions—so, too, did the missionaries, and for the same reasons. With some few exceptions, missionaries and Brooke officials did not see themselves as rivals, but as partners in a common enterprise. The improved quality of missionaries enabled them to work as equals with government officials and this mutual respect was a feature of the inter-war period.

The Japanese invasion and occupation of Sarawak marks the end of this study. After the war, in 1946, the Brooke Raj came to an end and Sarawak passed to the British Crown. As a British colony it began a more rapid modernization to fit it for eventual independence, but many of the Brooke traditions of government survived. The Mission, too, survived, as an independent Sarawak Church. Missionaries who had not escaped were interned during the Japanese Occupation, but the Sarawakian priests and lay workers maintained the life of the Church. In the post-war years, the Church in Sarawak continued to receive personnel and monetary support from overseas, but the development towards a fully independent Church continued apace. This development is outside the scope of this study, although post-war research studies of the native races have included reference to the impact of Christianity, which spread more rapidly in the post-war years. These studies have cast light upon the factors working for and against the conversion process amongst the natives of Sarawak before the war, and, while not directly relevant, have suggested lines of enquiry which, unfortunately, there has not been time to follow.

Inception

FIRST there was a Brooke. That precedence was to determine the relationship between the Anglican Mission and the Brooke Raj, for Sir James Brooke, who invited the Anglican Church to establish a mission in Sarawak, was able to lay down his terms and conditions. As ruler of the country, he felt he had the right to define the areas within which the Mission might work and to give advice as to the methods it should employ. In the Rajah's view this was common sense and he did not doubt his prerogative. Nor did the first missionaries, who regarded him as their protector, embodying all that was finest in English virtues. They saw no contradiction or clash of interests in assisting Sir James Brooke in establishing his rule, and in furthering British expansion.

James Brooke's career had captured the British imagination and he and his successors were not averse to cultivating the legend conjured up by the phrase 'the White Rajahs of Sarawak': neither were the propagandists for the Anglican Mission.¹ It is necessary to make a conscious effort to stand back from the romanticism which shrouds the reality. While the Brooke regime might have been unique, it was in fact only one manifestation of that urge to expand which characterized nineteenth-century imperialism. Similarly, the Anglican Mission was only one example of the corresponding drive by the Christian Church to carry its faith to the non-European world. The broader perspective must be borne in mind as we follow the developments in the relationship between the Anglican Mission and the Brooke Raj.

When James Brooke first touched at Sarawak in 1839, Christian missionary enthusiasm was already well developed. In England it had been sparked off by the Evangelical revival at the end of the eighteenth century and by the development of industry and commerce after the Napoleonic War. In Britain, Europe, and America, nearly thirty religious and philanthropic societies came into being, one of the more important in England being the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in 1799.² This evangelical enterprise was based on the conviction that it was the duty of every Christian to propagate the Gospel. The older societies, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG)

and the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SPCK), had focused on North America and the West Indies, but, spurred by the new societies, they extended their activities at home and abroad. The SPG emulated the techniques pioneered by the Anti-Slavery Movement, utilizing improvements in communications to create local associations and to hold public meetings. The first Parochial Association in support of the SPG was formed in 1819 during the appeal to raise funds for the Bishop's College, Calcutta. In 1838, the young Queen Victoria became patron of the Society and thus boosted its drive for membership. By 1845 there were 1,700 associations. SPG publications stimulated interest, beginning with its *Quarterly Papers* in 1834, which contained missionary reports. The Reverend Ernest Hawkins, who became Secretary of the SPG in 1843, began publishing *The Church in the Colonies* (1843) and *Missions to the Heathen* (1844), using missionary journals and despatches, and in 1847 began compiling *Annals of the Colonial Church* from old records. The Society's Annual Reports became increasingly informative and interesting. In 1850 membership of the Society was thrown open without restriction.³

The reform of Parliament by the Reform Act of 1832 prepared the way for Church reform, creating new controversy. Thus the Irish Bishops Bill of 1833 prompted John Keble's sermon on National Apostasy, from which is usually dated the beginning of the Oxford Movement. At about the same time, the Government announced that it intended to withdraw its grants for maintaining clergy overseas. The Bishop of London responded by proposing the creation of a Council and a Fund to support colonial bishoprics. The Fund was launched in 1841. Subscriptions from the SPG, SPCK, and CMS were augmented from public sources as the archbishops and bishops of the English and Irish Churches gave it their support. Responding to a plea from Bishop Broughton for more clergy for his diocese in Australia, Edward Coleridge of Eton collected subscriptions which were used to found St Augustine's College, Canterbury, to train men specifically for the Mission field. The College opened in 1848.⁴

This range of activity took place while controversy raged within the Church. The Tractarian Movement brought new vigour into the life of the Church, as Evangelism had done before it, but provoked strong reaction. The controversy between Low and High Church had doctrinal implications and in 1846 the SPG

instituted a Board of Examiners, appointed by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and the Bishop of London, which would examine all clergymen before their acceptance as missionaries of the Society.⁵ The continued division within the Anglican communion was reflected in the composition of the two main missionary societies. In practice the CMS obtained its main support from Low Churchmen, while the SPG attracted High Churchmen and those with moderate views, who approved of the SPG's deference to episcopal authority.

It was within this context that the proposal to establish a mission in Sarawak was brought forward. Fittingly enough, given the unorthodox political status of the infant Brooke regime, the Sarawak Mission was at first independent of the established mission associations. The SPG agreed to assist it with £50 a year for five years, but did not feel it could take on a fuller financial commitment. Nor could the CMS. Therefore, in 1846, the Borneo Church Mission Institution (BCMI) was created to raise funds to support the first mission. Those nineteenth-century instruments of organization and propaganda, the public meeting and the public subscription list, were brought into play, with James Brooke himself appearing in 1847 to add glamour to the proceedings.

The decision to send missionaries to Sarawak was inspired by James Brooke, whose exploits were publicized by those working on his behalf. In later years, the SPG, which took over responsibility for the Mission in 1854, and the Borneo Mission Association (BMA), which was established in 1909, closely identified the establishment of the Mission with James Brooke. In his history of the SPG published in 1951, Revd H. P. Thompson declared: 'It was James Brooke, the "White Rajah", whose call brought the first mission out to Borneo.'⁶ In the SPG's 1911 publication, *Historical Sketches, Borneo*, we are told that Rajah James desired to introduce into Sarawak 'not only the blessings of peace, but those of a settled government with its civilising influences'. These included the establishment of a Christian mission.⁷ This publication and Eda Green's history of the Borneo Mission published in 1912 were part of a campaign associated with the re-establishment of a separate diocese for Borneo in 1909 and the inauguration of the BMA. Green wrote glowingly of James Brooke that seldom had 'a trust been accepted with higher aims or from more disinterested motives',⁸ and exploited the

romance of his name and his career to the full; Green repeated that James Brooke had appealed to the Church to help him establish a mission.⁹ However, the latest chronicler of the Anglican Church in Borneo, the Revd Brian Taylor, notes that Brooke was never much interested in organized Christianity or in evangelistic work and suggests that the initiative may have come from the Revd C. D. Brereton, a friend and distant relative of the Rajah, whose son, William, was in the Rajah's service.¹⁰ This presumption does not do the Rajah justice. He had a genuine interest in religious enquiry and, from the beginning of his involvement with Sarawak, had considered introducing a Christian mission. As the initiative did come from him, it is necessary to consider what his opinions and views on religion were at the time the Mission was proposed.

James Brooke's opinions were late in forming and in religious matters perhaps never arrived at certainty. It is as though he underwent a late adolescence. The ideas young men avidly discuss regarding politics, philosophy, and religion were still the subjects of his conversation as he approached forty. Most revealing are his journals and letters during his first voyage east of India on the *Castle Huntley* in 1830, when he was 27, and on the *Royalist* to the Celebes and Borneo in 1839, and also the glimpses one catches of him in the writings of others. From all these, the impression gained is of a somewhat immature man, enthusiastic, often naïve, boisterous, bubbling with schemes and ambitions, filled with romantic notions and idealistic visions in which his role would be heroic and beneficent.¹¹ His delight in the company of younger men and boys is well attested. Spenser St John writes disapprovingly of the horseplay in his cabin with the midshipmen of HMS *Maeander* while returning to Sarawak in 1848: it undermined discipline.¹² On the *Castle Huntley* Brooke formed attachments which he kept for years. He also indulged in pranks and escapades which are normally associated with boyhood and adolescence.¹³ Yet there was time also for long discussions on philosophy and religion.¹⁴

The *Castle Huntley* voyage shaped Brooke's life because he became deeply interested in the region then often referred to as the 'Eastern Seas', encompassing the archipelago stretching from Singapore to northern Australia. He read widely and was particularly attracted to the ideas of Thomas Stamford Raffles. Raffles had died in 1826, but his views had been re-expressed in G. W. Earl's *The Eastern Seas*, published in 1837. Brooke was influenced anew

by Earl's book and in 1838 tried to persuade Earl to join his Borneo expedition. Earl, however, was preoccupied with his scheme for developing Port Essington and opening up northern Australia, but C. M. Turnbull regards Earl as being indirectly responsible for the foundation of Sarawak.¹⁵

Turnbull says of Raffles and Earl that they did not represent official British policy, narrow commercial ambitions, or conventional Christian proselytizing. They advanced rather a civilizing mission, which aimed to combine altruistic humanitarian with practical economic benefits. Earl shared Raffles's confidence in the civilizing power of Britain. He hated slavery, believed commerce would bring social blessing, admired the innate virtues of the indigenous peoples of the eastern archipelago, and disliked the Dutch political control and commercial monopoly, which inhibited not only the expansion of British trade, but also the prosperity of the archipelago. He supported Raffles's ideal of co-operative effort between the British, the local peoples, and Chinese immigrants to bring wealth and happiness to the region, and he went further than Raffles in developing the theory that Britain had a duty to spread her civilizing and pacifying mission whether or not any profit accrued to British trade.¹⁶

Brooke accepted this view entirely. This was the vision and the policy he tried to realize. In it there was a role for Christian missions, as part of an overall civilizing process.

Imbued with the ideas of Raffles and Earl, Brooke prepared in 1838 a declaration of his aims in proceeding to the 'Malayan Archipelago'.¹⁷ The region presented 'an extended field for Christianity and commerce', those two agents of civilization as he and his mentors saw it.¹⁸ The Malay states had fallen into 'a state of anarchy and confusion ... repugnant to every dictate of humanity and to the prospect of commercial advantage'.¹⁹ With regard to Borneo and the Celebes, apathy reigned in British circles and no attempt was being made 'to relieve the darkness of Paganism and the horrors of the Eastern slave trade'.²⁰ This type of assertion was designed to 'rouse the zeal of slumbering philanthropy',²¹ and the appeal to Christian values, like that to humanitarian and commercial interests, was part of his campaign for support: but that is not to say that his views were not sincerely held.

Writers have tended to agree with Charles Bunyon, brother-in-law of the first missionary to Sarawak, Francis McDougall, that Brooke's motive in establishing a mission was 'in the first instance

political'.²² Emily Hahn has called his attitude towards the Church and its emissaries 'Utilitarian to a degree, bordering on the tactless . . . he knew that where the missionaries went, public support was sure to follow, and so without compunction he now used the conventional arguments'.²³ This is being too cynical. Brooke's motives were political, but not exclusively so. He was a more complex character than some of his critics credit and one cannot simply dismiss his public utterances as mere cant.

At the time he settled in Sarawak, Brooke's religious views were still in a state of flux, as they were to be for most of his life. Although Brooke was brought up an Anglican, and his sisters Emma and Margaret married clergymen, he appears not to have thought deeply about religious matters until his illness on the *Castle Huntley* at Canton.²⁴ At about the same time, he met an American missionary named Abeel, who impressed him greatly.²⁵ Drawn by his reading towards Unitarianism, Brooke was strongly opposed to Romanism and to the Oxford Movement, writing a rebuttal of J. H. Newman's *Tract of the Times*, No. 90, in 1842.²⁶ He read widely in theology and had many theological works in his library in Sarawak.²⁷ To men of fixed faith his delight in theological argument might have smacked of dilettantism,²⁸ but his journals and letters reveal a belief in God which appears to go beyond mere conventional phrase-making. Unsure as he was of the full truth of the doctrinal teaching of the Church, he was tolerant of the beliefs of others. He had a sense of relativity when it came to matters of faith and morals, remarking that 'in forming a judgement, we must not forget a man's education, the society in which he lives, and the force of example from childhood'.²⁹ Christianity was superior because it represented a higher level of civilization as well as a nearer approach to religious 'Truth'. It has been pointed out that there is no evidence that Brooke and his companions in Sarawak performed religious services before the arrival of the Mission.³⁰ Brooke mentions once taking the Sunday service on the *Royalist*, overcoming his horror at hearing his own voice before an audience,³¹ and once performing the burial service, 'that impressive and beautiful service of the Church of England'.³² He mentions, too, discussions with a German missionary named Hupé, who was for a short time in Sarawak,³³ but there is no mention of him performing services. No doubt Brooke and his companions attended Sunday services on visiting British navy vessels and while with them at sea. Whether they met at other times for any act of communal worship in the absence of a

resident chaplain is not known. What is known is James Brooke's own continued theological interest, and his repeated expressions of his desire to introduce missionaries to Sarawak.

As early as September 1839, before he had acquired any territorial interest in Sarawak, Brooke was writing of the Sibnowan Dayaks, whom he had briefly visited, as 'open to conviction of truth and religious impression'. He mistakenly believed them to have no religious beliefs of their own, which would make the missionary's task easier. He also believed that they would need to be educated first; 'for without previous culture, I reckon the labours of the missionary as useless as endeavouring to read off a blank paper'.³⁴ At this stage he was indulging in idle speculation, for he was preparing to continue his voyage to the Celebes. But in April 1841, when he told his mother of his intention to settle in Borneo, he wrote of an aboriginal population 'free from prejudice, who, to the missionary, offers a field for his vocation not found elsewhere'.³⁵ On 24 September 1841, Pengiran Muda Hassim, the Sultan of Brunei's representative in Sarawak, bestowed upon James Brooke the governorship of Sarawak. Three days later James Brooke told his mother: 'If I hold here a year, I propose entering into communication with some intelligent missionary, and taking his opinion on the best and most feasible means of establishing some of his brethren.' He inclined towards American missionaries, whom he believed were superior to the English, because 'they aim almost solely at the education of the young, and ingratiate themselves with the older people by the practice of physic—some knowledge of which they almost all acquire'. He clearly approved of this practical approach to 'conversion to the truth'.³⁶ To his friend John Templer he wrote in November: 'I am very decided on the great advantages to the commerce of the Archipelago by the development of this place, and more decided still on the vast field for Christianity.' Somewhat prematurely, for his own position was not confirmed by the Sultan of Brunei until the following July, he saw the missionary as having the power and local authority to encourage the people 'and to repress the unjust demand of the Malay . . . and his doctrine would be beneficially introduced by the amelioration of the temporal condition of a most unhappy race. . . . I should expect a rapid advance in Christianity, when once they were relieved from oppression'.³⁷ The 'unhappy race', as later letters make clear, was the Land Dayaks, now known as Bidayus, who inhabited the hinterland of Kuching.

In December, Brooke launched his public appeal for support in a letter to his agent in London, James Gardner, whom he instructed to approach the Secretary of State for the Colonies. In 1842 the letter was published under the direction of John Templer. In his threefold appeal to commercial, Christian, and humanitarian interests, Brooke specifically referred to the Land Dayaks, said to number some 10,000, who could easily be converted to Christianity 'provided they were rescued from their present sufferings and degraded state'. Until that was done, it would be 'vain to preach a faith to them, the first precepts of which are daily violated on their persons'.³⁸ 'If a case of misery ever called for help, it is here: and the act of humanity which redeems the Dyak race from their condition of unparalleled wretchedness, will open a path for religion, and for commerce which may in future repay the charity which ought to seek no remuneration.'³⁹ An eloquent peroration again appealed to the commercial, the religious, and the humane.⁴⁰

Brooke awaited the response to *A Letter from Borneo* with impatience, writing in May to Templer: 'I can hardly believe, that amid all the rich, the charitable, the religious bodies, such an appeal will be altogether neglected, and amongst the commercial it must be important.'⁴¹ He continued to press Templer to approach religious and humanitarian leaders,⁴² and his Journal reiterated the theme that if the Dayaks could be released from bondage and oppression, 'Christianity might easily be introduced amongst them: civilization would advance, commerce be greatly extended, and this vast island laid open as a field for the enterprise and knowledge of enlightened things'.⁴³ Thus it was with exasperation that he wrote to his mother in October the same year, incidentally giving the clearest picture there is of the kind of Christian mission he had in mind, one based on the American examples he had first seen in China:

What does _____ mean by my not stating whether a Christian mission could come here? Do I not talk about it? Do I not urge the benefits of Christianity? The fields for missionary labour? . . . The truth is, there are two sorts of Christian missions, the one of unmixed good, the other, somewhat dangerous. Some missionaries begin at the wrong end, by preaching Christianity, and running down Mahomedanism, or any other received belief; these show gross ignorance of human nature, and neglect the principles of toleration—for if we abuse another's belief, we confirm him in it, and make him a bigot, and he will rather retort abuse, than hear reason. Such a mission will never succeed in any Malay country,

and probably not among the Dyaks. The other sort of mission is the American, who live quietly, practice medicine, relieve the distressed, do not dispute or argue, and aim to educate the children.⁴⁴

He would have none of the former, but would welcome the latter.

They were not to appear from England for almost six years. Brooke underestimated the difficulties in organizing a missionary venture and no established body responded to his call. He was still relatively unknown and lacking in influence. Nor did he follow up his first initiative with any practical proposals, largely because for the next few years he was preoccupied with securing his own political position in Sarawak. In October 1843, Pengiran Muda Hassim was removed from Sarawak to Brunei, where he and his brother, Bedruddin, became supporters of a pro-British and pro-Brooke policy. Brooke was confirmed in his position as Rajah of Sarawak by Sultan Omar Ali Saifuddin II. In the ensuing months, Hassim's chief rival, Pengiran Yusof, was provoked to revolt and was defeated. Brooke's hopes of establishing a pro-British Government in Brunei amenable to his influence were dashed when Hassim and his family were killed at the end of 1845 or the beginning of 1846 by what James Brooke called 'the piratical party'.⁴⁵ British vengeance did not go so far as to displace the Sultan, but the island of Labuan was ceded to Britain and Brooke's territory in Sarawak granted to him and his successors in perpetuity.

In the meantime, with Royal Navy help, Brooke had defeated potential part-Arab rivals, the Sharifs Sahap and Mullar, with their strongholds on the Batang Lupar and Undup rivers, in Brunei territory, and had captured and returned to the Brunei capital Pengiran Makhota, previously Governor of Sarawak, who had, understandably, thrown in his lot with Brooke's opponents. Brooke emerged from these years of war and intrigue as a national hero whose exploits against those whom he labelled 'pirates' were made known by the publication of extracts from his Journal by Captain Henry Keppel of HMS *Dido*, who had become a close friend of Brooke during their joint actions in Borneo. Keppel's two volumes appeared in 1846. Their impact may be gauged by a comment which appeared in an article in the November 1847 issue of the *Colonial Church Chronicle and Missionary Journal* which was reprinted by the BCMI as a pamphlet entitled *Mr. Brooke and Borneo*. The article mentioned James Brooke's arrival in England and remarked on the interest excited by his

adventurous career recorded in 'Captain Keppel's delightful narration of his expedition to Borneo'⁴⁶—'delightful' not being the adjective one would normally associate with an account of bloody expeditions against piratical Dayaks. Keppel's book went into its third edition in 1847 and Brooke's reputation rode on its success.

When Brooke returned to the idea of establishing a mission, he turned to the Anglican Church. There is a lack of evidence as to the progress of his thinking because early in 1843 his mother died and it was to her that he had most frequently confided his views on religion and on the role he envisaged for a mission. However, as an English gentleman engaged with the support of the Royal Navy in securing his position in Sarawak and seeking recognition from the English Government, and given his personal connections with English clergymen, it was natural that he would turn to the English Church, in particular to the Revd Charles David Brereton, to whom he was distantly related.⁴⁷ In 1845, Brereton tried to interest the SPG and the CMS in Sarawak, but both refused for financial reasons. Brereton then obtained the Bishop of London's permission to organize a separate Borneo Church Mission. A provisional committee was formed from among Brooke's friends and met on 2 May 1846. Present were Captain C. R. D. Bethune, who as Captain of HMS *Driver* had visited Sarawak and Brunei in 1845, and Henry Wise, Brooke's agent, who had accompanied Bethune on that voyage. Bethune and Wise produced a copy of the Sultan of Brunei's deed of cession of Sarawak to James Brooke and told the meeting of Brooke's desire to establish a Church of England mission.⁴⁸ Fully satisfied 'of Mr. Brooke's desire to introduce the blessings of Christianity into his settlement of Sarawak, as well as of his ability and disposition to protect and endow, by grants of land, a Church, Mission House, and School in that province', the Committee resolved to collect funds. The Committee expressed the ambitious desire to extend 'the blessings of Christianity throughout the Island of Borneo, and the adjacent countries inhabited by the Aboriginal and Malay races'. They placed their newly created Borneo Church Mission Institution under the authority of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London until 'it shall seem good to them to transfer the same to some other Episcopal authority of the Church of England'.⁴⁹

The Committee also published a *Proposal* which stressed to potential subscribers the security offered to the Mission by virtue

of Brooke's position as 'the hereditary ruler' and the encouragement he would give to 'any well-advised scheme' to educate and elevate the Dayaks, 'the crowning purpose of which will be to bring to them the knowledge of the saving truths of the Gospel'. Conversion would not be hindered by the 'prejudices of caste', as in India, and the 'grateful and simple-minded Dyaks' were 'ready to welcome with cheerful confidence any who will come among them in the name of their "white friend"'.⁵⁰ From its inception, the Anglican Mission was inextricably linked with the name of Brooke.

Already, however, there was a hint of future conflict of interest. Brooke had written that the Mission should at first be on a moderate scale, 'for it will [thus] remove any chance of rousing a feeling of distrust amongst the natives who profess the religion of Islam'.⁵¹ In its initial enthusiasm, the Committee of the BCMI had written of extending the blessings of Christianity beyond Borneo and to the Malay as well as to the Aboriginal races. Brooke did not welcome such extravagant zeal. There was a further hint of divergence of method, if not of purpose, the following year at a public meeting held at the Hanover Square Rooms on 22 November 1847 to introduce the man chosen to head the Mission, the Revd Francis Thomas McDougall. Brooke spoke as the hero of the hour, promising to protect the members of the Mission and to render them every assistance. He made it clear, however, that the decision to have a mission was his. He therefore felt entitled to tell the meeting that he expected the Mission to operate 'in charity and peace'.

If we proceed gradually; if the members of the Mission, whilst they show a Christian example, strive in every way to gain the love and confidence of those around them; if they educate the young; if they alleviate human suffering; if they attend upon the sick; if gradually and imperceptibly they change the native character; if gradually and imperceptibly they raise new feelings in the native mind, then, indeed, our success will be very great.

This was what he had earlier referred to as the American approach. He was not seeking quick results: '... how short and insignificant appears to be the lapse of a few generations, when we consider the end to be obtained.' Thus, while hoping that on this occasion the contact of civilization with the native people would be conducive to their improvement both temporal and spiritual, he was serving notice that, as ruler of Sarawak, he had interests other than the mere gathering of souls.⁵² But to the Hon. and Revd H. Montagu

Villiers, the purpose of the Mission was not to civilize but to preach the Gospel: 'Mr Brooke would die to civilize, but Christ died to redeem.' And, instead of peace, he proclaimed, 'If they are faithful, they must be opposed', and looked to a power higher than James Brooke for the missionaries' ultimate protection.⁵³ This was a concept of the Christian mission opposed to that of James Brooke.

The Revd F. T. McDougall appeared to meet Rajah James's requirements for the head of the Mission. A fit, robust man who had rowed in the Oxford eight which beat Cambridge in 1842, he had trained as a surgeon at King's College, London, where he had won the gold medal in the examination for the Diploma in Surgery and was appointed Demonstrator in Anatomy. He became a Member of the Royal College of Surgeons in 1838, before going to Oxford (1841-2) where he obtained a BA in 1842, proceeding to the MA in 1845. At Oxford he was remembered as a colourful character who kept a dog in his rooms in defiance of the rules of his College, Magdalen, and who once dived into the flooded river in a vain attempt to rescue a man whose boat had gone over a weir. He did not settle to practise medicine and in 1843 married Harriette Bunyon, whose father's iron works he was managing in Wales. Harriette and Frank were devout Church people, although his Evangelistic upbringing had been modified by his time at Oxford. His brother-in-law and biographer, Charles Bunyon, was to call him an Evangelical High Churchman.

Born on 30 June 1817, McDougall was 30 when he was chosen to head the Borneo Mission. He had decided on entering the Church relatively late. Bunyon suggests that he made the decision while at Oxford, but it was not until his father-in-law's iron works closed down that he took the step. Another story has it that it was at Harriette's prompting, as she had vowed only to marry a clergyman. If so, his late decision may account for his lack of confidence in theological argument, which he eschewed when in Sarawak. Whatever the case, he was made deacon in 1845 and ordained priest in 1846. He volunteered for Borneo after two short curacies in Norwich and another in London, withdrawing at his wife's initiative from an appointment at the British Museum for a career she thought suited his talents and temperament better.*

*The Museum appointment would not have prevented him from retaining his London curacy at Christchurch, Woburn Square.

In this, Harriette McDougall was probably correct. McDougall came from a military family, being the only son of Captain William Adair McDougall, who had fought in the Peninsula War and had been wounded at Torres Vedras. Captain McDougall was the son of General Patrick McDougall, who had served with the East India Company, and nephew of Vice-Admiral McDougall, who had been promoted to that rank after the Battle of Trafalgar. Francis McDougall was proud of his family's military tradition and it reinforced his combative nature. As a boy he grew up in Corfu, Cephalonia, and Malta, and was physically active and fond of the sea. His sailing skills served him well in Sarawak, while it was at the University of Malta that he began his medical studies.

In Malta, too, occurred an incident that may have had an unfortunate impact. His biographers all remark on McDougall's swarthy complexion, 'almost southern in aspect', with black hair and eyes, writes Bramston, biographer of Harriette McDougall. Bunyon claims that his colouring was 'not uncommon in the race in the west coast of Scotland from which he sprang', but the Revd Max Saint points to a family tradition that General Patrick McDougall had had a relationship in India with an Armenian lady and that William Adair McDougall, Francis McDougall's father, was an offspring of this union. If McDougall was aware of this aspect of his parentage, then the incident described by Bunyon as happening in Malta might well have increased McDougall's sensitivity to persons of mixed race. A 'fanatical person', says Bunyon, linking the fact that the University of Malta was in the convent buildings of the dispossessed Jesuits, charged that McDougall was an Italian Jesuit seeking to creep into the Church of England in order to destroy it. Whatever the truth, McDougall appears to have had a prejudice against people of mixed race which surfaced in events in Sarawak in the early 1860s.⁵⁴

The other priest chosen for the Borneo Mission had been the Revd Samuel Faulkener Montgomery, but it had pleased God, 'of his inscrutable wisdom and mercy',⁵⁵ to remove him on 7 November with a fever caught while visiting in his parish of Upper Gornal in Staffordshire. The third missionary was William Bodham Wright, who was in deacon's orders and did not attend the meeting. McDougall responded to the meeting's Resolution wishing the missionaries protection, support, and guidance. His speech paid due respect to the achievement of James Brooke, acknowledged his own unworthiness for the work ahead, but

accepted it as an honour and a privilege 'to be allowed to be the humblest pioneer, to lay the smallest stone in the foundation of this new Church'. He noted that the funds yet raised were small and called on those present to be generous in their support. He concluded with an impassioned appeal to the Apostolic tradition of the Church.⁵⁶ Spenser St John later wrote that the tone of his speech caused the Rajah to sigh and to doubt the wisdom of his selection. St John implies that the cause of concern may have been McDougall's oratory, but it appears to be no more high-flown than that of other speakers. Perhaps it was the combination of evangelical zeal and High Church attachment to Apostolic principles which caused the Rajah to hope 'that his actions would be more sensible than his words'.⁵⁷

The Committee of the BCMI could well congratulate themselves. Recognized by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, they had a titled Chairman, the Earl of Ellesmere. There were branches in Bath, Cambridge, Oxford, Exeter, Liverpool, and Manchester apart from London, reflecting the interest of quality, academe, and commerce, as well as that of the Church. The Committee consisted of private gentlemen, clerical gentlemen and, in keeping with James Brooke's naval exploits, five naval gentlemen, including Captains Keppel, Mundy, and Bethune, with their Sarawak experience, and Admiral Sir Francis Beaufort. The Dowager Queen Adelaide headed the subscription list. This drumming up of support was largely the work of the Revd Brereton, the Hon. Secretary, whom Brooke publicly acknowledged as 'a friend of my own, who has laboured zealously in the cause'.⁵⁸ Yet, McDougall had seen that this first enthusiasm had to be maintained; and the enthusiasm owed much to the name of James Brooke. Brooke had called the Mission into being, whatever the efforts of others: its future was linked with his. There would be differences and disagreements, as foreshadowed at the public meeting in the Hanover Square Rooms. Brooke called for gradualism, tolerance, and forbearance, and the Bishop of Norwich believed that in McDougall he had found a safe man and a discreet one.⁵⁹ but McDougall saw his mission to be to plant the Apostolic Church in Borneo, and this aim did not necessarily preclude methods to which the Rajah might object.

1. The SPG pamphlet, *Historical Sketches, Borneo* (SPG, London, 1912), begins: 'For romance in political and ecclesiastical history no field presents more absorbing interest than the island of Borneo.'
2. H. P. Thompson, *Into All Lands*, p. 106.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 109-10. Until 1850 there was a statutory limit of 300 full members.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 112-13.
5. In November 1842, the Revd Archibald Montgomery Campbell, Secretary of the SPG, injudiciously replied to questioning at a strongly Protestant gathering at Cheltenham, that the Society never knowingly sent out anyone holding High Church views. The furor this roused was one reason for Campbell's resignation in 1843. It subsided only when the Society formally denied that it applied such tests, saying that a candidate's theological opinions were always inquired into and decided upon by the bishop who ordained or appointed the missionary. In July 1843, Bishop Daniel Wilson of Calcutta criticized the theological views of some of his clergy. These and other disputes and misunderstandings caused the SPG to set up the Board of Examiners: *ibid.*, p. 114.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 204.
7. SPG, *Historical Sketches, Borneo*, pp. 1-2.
8. Eda Green, *Borneo: The Land of River and Palm*, pp. 90-1.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 103.
10. Brian Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, pp. 1-2.
11. The portrait of James Brooke by Sir Francis Grant, which hangs in the National Portrait Gallery, captures this aspect of his character perfectly. For a short time Brooke achieved what the painter portrayed, the idealization of the romantic hero, the white man ruler of a savage state.
12. Spenser St. John, *The Life of Sir James Brooke*, p. 132.
13. Gertrude L. Jacob, *The Raja of Sarawak*, p. 18, describes a boisterous jaunt in Penang from which he and his companions returned to Georgetown dishevelled and unruly, to the scandal of the respectable citizenry taking their evening promenade. Jacob mentions also a family tradition that Brooke and his following had entered Canton (forbidden to foreigners) in disguise and had disrupted the Feast of the Lanterns: *ibid.*, pp. 26-7.
14. In Canton he was ill with influenza and discussed theology at length with the ship's surgeon, a young Scot named Cruickshank, who became a warm friend: *ibid.*, p. 27.
15. George Windsor Earl, *The Eastern Seas* (reprint), p. xvii.
16. *Ibid.*, p. viii.
17. Captain the Hon. Henry Keppel, *The Expedition to Borneo of HMS Dido*, Vol. I, Appendix IV, and John C. Templer (ed.), *The Private Letters of Sir James Brooke, K.C.B.*, Vol. I, pp. 2-33, give the text of Brooke's paper, a brief abstract of which was published in the *Journal of the Geographical Society*, Vol. 8, 1838, p. 443.
18. Keppel, *The Expedition to Borneo of HMS Dido*, Vol. I, p. 368; Templer, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 3.
19. Keppel, *The Expedition to Borneo of HMS Dido*, Vol. I, pp. 369-70; Templer, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 5.
20. Keppel, *The Expedition to Borneo of HMS Dido*, Vol. I, p. 370; Templer, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 18-19.

21. Keppel, *The Expedition to Borneo of HMS Dido*, Vol. I, p. 371; Templer, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 20.

22. C. J. Bunyon, *Memoirs of Francis Thomas McDougall*, p. 123. Brian Taylor's views have been noted on p. 4 above. Lily Chan Lean Choi, 'Christian Missions and the Iban of Sarawak', p. 6, implies similar views.

23. Emily Hahn, *James Brooke of Sarawak*, p. 33.

24. As well as his discussions with Cruickshank, he began a study of the New Testament. In January 1831 he wrote in his Journal:

'Finished reading the Gospel of St. John for the first time with attention: felt comforted by the perusal only, inasmuch as its simplicity is a relief after the damning dogmas of the theologians. Could not help my mind seeking matter for and against the Trinity. I certainly can say with sincerity that I find nothing by which my reason would discover the doctrine, much more warrant its belief. It is, indeed, only the inevitable damnation assigned to its rejection by St. (so-called) Athanasius, and, through him, by the Church, that makes it of importance. If I come to a wrong conclusion, may God forgive me, and may he enlighten my heart.'

On 14 January he was up before seven reading St Matthew and thought that he had discovered a difference between him and St John: Jacob, op. cit., pp. 27-8.

25. 'I cannot help respecting this man, who, from zeal in his religious belief, forsakes his home and his friends, and becomes a humble and despised missionary of the Christian religion. How much prejudice exists about missions and missionaries—and prejudice soon leads to passion, and passion to violence. As long, however, as the mission is of Christ, and guided by his precepts, there *cannot possibly* be any harm, and he must be a heathen who denies the good that might result.' (Ibid., p. 28.)

Brooke was to develop a deep respect for the American approach to missionary endeavour. He was particularly impressed by their practical approach.

26. J. Brooke to his mother, 16 March to 7 April 1842 (this part dated 20 March 1842), in Templer, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 185. Tract No. 90 had been published in 1841 and the furore roused by its defiantly pro-Roman stance with regard to the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Anglican Church assured that it would be the last of the series. Newman was to secede to the Roman Church in 1845. Brooke called the Tract a disgrace to its writer, 'it is in the worst jesuitical spirit, false, subtle, and hypocritical'. He repeated these sentiments in a separate letter to Templer: J. Brooke to J. Templer, 22 June 1842, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 204.

27. St John referred to a clerical visitor who, finding such a wide range of theological literature in the Rajah's library, denounced him 'as an *Infidel and an atheist or worse still, an Unitarian*': MSS Pac. s 90, Box 4, file 6, f. 50. This file contains Charles Grant's comments on the original manuscript of St John's *The Life of Sir James Brooke*.

28. Brooke's approach to theological argument may be best judged, perhaps, from his own account, from a few years later, of an evening of fervid debate. See p. 56 below.

29. Keppel, *The Expedition to Borneo of HMS Dido*, Vol. I, pp. 280-1.

30. Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, p. 1.

31. Jacob, op. cit., p. 97.

32. Keppel, *The Expedition to Borneo of HMS Dido*, Vol. I, p. 145.

33. 'Our society has been enlivened lately by a little German missionary, who, with all his religion, is transcendental and disputative; and we have some curious clatter of words on entity and nonentity, fate and free-will, and other topics, which are discussed without benefit and without end.' (J. Brooke to H. Keppel, 23 November 1844, postscript dated 24 November, in Templer, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 39.)

Johan Michael Carl Hupé had arrived in Dutch Borneo in March 1844 as a member of the Rhinish Mission. He reached Sarawak on 4 December 1844. Over the following two years he spent some time in Kuching but was more often in Dutch Borneo or Singapore. He departed finally early in 1847: Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, p. 1, and note 3 to Chapter 1, p. Notes -1. Brooke remarked in his Journal for 4 January 1845 that Hupé had a low opinion of the morals of Dayak women: R. Mundy, *Borneo and Celebes*, Vol. II, p. 2. Hupé appears to have made no impact, his tracts ending up as wrapping paper in the Chinese bazaar: Harriette McDougall, *Sketches of Our Life at Sarawak*, p. 18.

34. Keppel, *The Expedition to Borneo of HMS Dido*, Vol. I, pp. 57 and 59-60.

35. J. Brooke to Mrs Brooke, 7 April 1841, in Templer, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 93-6.

36. J. Brooke to Mrs Brooke, 27 September 1841, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 122.

37. J. Brooke to J. C. Templer, 10 November 1841, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 136.

38. J. Brooke to J. Gardner, 10 December 1841, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 158.

39. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 164.

40. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 178.

41. J. Brooke to J. C. Templer, 18 May 1842, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 195.

42. He mentions Mrs Fry, presumably the prison reformer, Elizabeth Fry, and Sir Fowell Buxton: J. Brooke to J. C. Templer, 22 August 1842, *ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 209-10. Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton (1786-1845) had married in 1807 a sister of Mrs Fry, and wrote and spoke in favour of reforms of prisons and criminal law.

43. Mundy, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 325.

44. J. Brooke to Mrs Brooke, 16 October 1842, in Templer, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 229-30.

45. Brooke was inclined to regard all those who opposed him in Brunei and Sarawak as piratical. It legitimized his use of Royal Navy forces which had instructions to suppress piracy in the region. See D. K. Bassett, *British Attitudes to Indigenous States in South-East Asia in the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 44-8, for a discussion of this.

46. BCMI, *Mr. Brooke and Borneo*, London, [1847], p. 3, SPG Bound Pamphlets, 15008, item 18, USPG Archives.

47. Brereton's son, Willie Brereton, a boy of thirteen, was on HMS *Samarang* when it hit a rock and foundered in the Sarawak River in 1843, and James Brooke took an avuncular interest in the boy: Jacob, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 250. Willie Brereton joined the Rajah's service in 1845.

48. Peter D. Varney, 'The Anglican Church in Sarawak', pp. 377-8.

49. *Report of the Borneo Church Mission Institution, 1848*, p. 2. The five resolutions passed at the meeting of 2 May 1846 were reprinted in this and subsequent reports of the BCMI (SPG Bound Pamphlets, 15008, item 15, USPG Archives).

50. An optimistic view which did less than justice to the independence of mind of the Dayaks: C. D. Brereton, *An Address with a Proposal for the Foundation of a Church, Mission House, and School at Sarawak*, p. 1.

51. Quoted in Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, p. 2.
52. BCMI, *Proceedings at a Public Meeting of the Friends of the Borneo Church Mission, Held at the Hanover Square Rooms, Monday, Nov. 22, 1847*, pp. 12-13, SPG Bound Pamphlets, 15008, item 19, USPG Archives.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
54. Charles John Bunyon, McDougall's brother-in-law, wrote the standard biography, *Memoirs of Francis Thomas McDougall and of Harriette His Wife*. Chapter 1 deals with McDougall's early career. See also Max Saint, *A Flourish for the Bishop*, pp. 16-17. For references to McDougall's appearance and to the incident in Malta, and to McDougall's family history, see also Bunyon, *Memoirs of Francis Thomas McDougall*, pp. 10-11; and M. Bramston, *An Early Victorian Heroine*, pp. 8-11: interview with Revd A. J. M. Saint, June 1986.
55. BCMI, *Proceedings*, prefacing p. 1.
56. *Ibid.*, pp. 21-3.
57. St John, *The Life of Sir James Brooke*, p. 129.
58. BCMI, *Proceedings*, p. 3.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 9. A summary of this meeting and mention of other meetings held in Bath, Exeter, and other provincial towns is in Mundy, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 373-4.

The Early Years, 1848-1851

THE missionaries sailed from London on the *Mary Louisa* on 30 December 1847. The McDougalls had decided to leave their elder child, Charles, aged two years, in England,¹ and the party consisted of McDougall, Harriette, their second son, Harry, and their servant Elizabeth Richardson, the Wrights and their servant, and a young man, Harrington Parr, who was a nephew of Mrs Wright. The ship was forced back to Deal for a refit after a storm and did not reach Singapore until 23 May 1848, and the party arrived in Sarawak on the Rajah's ship *Julia* on 29 June. James Brooke was at that time away on an expedition and did not return to Kuching until 5 September. The missionaries stayed the first few days in his house, and then moved to a building by the river which had been erected by the German missionary Hupe and used as the Court House since his departure.

At the end of 1847, Brooke had written to G. Ruppell, his agent in Sarawak. The Mission had placed £100 on credit in Sarawak and Brooke suggested that this be used to buy building materials and domestic utensils so that the missionaries could choose a site and begin building without delay. He was anxious about the impact of the Mission upon the Malays, advising Ruppell: 'We must pave the way for [the missionaries] to gain the affection of the Natives and trust to their discretion and judgement, so as to temper their zeal as to prevent even the faintest chance of uncharitable feeling arising between the Christian and Mahometan communities.'² The legitimacy of Brooke's rule was based on the formal cession of territory and authority to him by the Sultan of Brunei. He ruled with the consent and assistance of the Sarawak Malay leadership, the Datus, whose lives he had persuaded Pengiran Muda Hassim to spare as a condition of his intervention to assist Hassim suppress their revolt against Brunei rule. As Rajah of Sarawak, he had promised to respect the law and religion of the country. He was therefore anxious to reassure the Malays that the establishment of a Christian mission posed no threat to their position or to their religion.

While reassuring the Malays, Brooke gave every assistance to the Mission. Given McDougall's medical skills and the decision to establish a school, the Mission had begun on the lines Brooke approved. McDougall immediately established a dispensary, hoping that as a healer of bodies he might be accepted as a healer of souls.³ Kuching was a Malay town in 1848 and it was the fasting month of Ramadan when McDougall arrived. McDougall was impressed by the strictness with which the Malays kept the fast, the sick refusing medicine until after sunset. Their sincerity was a 'rebuke to the Christians in these countries who have the light and choose not to walk in it—the very name of Christian fasts and feasts seems to be forgotten by them'.⁴ Wright opened the school in an abandoned house on 5 August. Nine little boys attended the first day; some young Malay 'nobles', as McDougall called them, expressed a polite interest in learning and the school was an object of curiosity for several days. The missionaries optimistically reported all signs of interest, not understanding that Malay courtesy cloaked prevarication.⁵ McDougall was particularly heartened by the attitude of the young Datu Bandar, the second-ranking Malay leader, described by Hugh Low as 'a young man of mild, pleasing, and elegant manners'. He was 'very anxious to learn English', and Low believed that if the missionaries did not interfere with his religion 'of which he was a strict observer and zealous advocate', they would find him of great service to them.⁶ The Datu Patinggi Gapor, the most important Sarawak Malay, was also friendly, although McDougall found his visits a bore.⁷ McDougall believed that those to whom he had ministered as a doctor were more inclined to listen to him when he spoke 'as a padre'.⁸ He was not the first missionary to confuse gratitude, courtesy, curiosity, or a desire for useful knowledge with incipient conversion.

McDougall, aware of the Rajah's feelings, approached the Malays with caution, but did not hesitate to speak of religion to them, emphasizing 'those principles of religion, truth and equity' which Muslims and Christians held in common⁹ and hoping that they might 'at no very distant period, be brought into the Christian fold'.¹⁰ He maintained this naïve optimism throughout 1849. Some Malay workmen had been given 'cottages' by the Rajah to wean them from their 'gypsy-like' ways. McDougall thought that 'in due time and with proper management', those agricultural and settled Malays would 'be brought to embrace Christianity'.¹¹ In the middle of the year, he recruited from Singapore a Malay named Rati to run the day-school. Rati had been educated in the

Theological Institute run by the Revd Keasbury in Singapore, and McDougall hoped to baptize him.¹² In December he baptized the 6-year-old son of a poverty-stricken Brunei *pengiran*. The child was to be brought up by the McDougalls for ten years, by which time McDougall hoped he would be capable of assisting 'in converting his brethren'.¹³

These hopes were not to be fulfilled. The effect of the Mission's activity was to stimulate a Muslim revival. McDougall had organized regular services as an example to the local Muslims.¹⁴ The Muslims responded. Attendance at the mosque improved and by June 1850 McDougall admitted that the growth of the Church had aroused them and that 'a new importation of Hadjis from Arabia' had 'stirred up their bigotry and zeal for Islam not a little'. He feared that a Muslim missionary movement might forestall his own mission among the Dayaks.¹⁵ Yet he still clutched at straws of hope. A new *imam* from Mecca was a zealous Muslim but encouraged Malay parents to send their children to school. McDougall argued that this would 'doubtless help our views in the long run—for if instruction is imparted to Malays they will shake off Mahometanism'.¹⁶ He even regarded the stricter observance of Islam as a hopeful development for the Church. Malays were being fined for not attending the mosque and many were ill with fasting. In reality, he asserted, the foundations of the bulwarks of Islam were crumbling and it would fall of its own weight. He thus advocated restraint: an open assault would arouse bigotry and mistrust.¹⁷

In issuing such an admonition, McDougall was responding in part to the Rajah's anxiety over the possible attitudes of newly arrived missionaries.¹⁸ In addition, the Malays had witnessed the building, and then the consecration on 22 January 1851, of McDougall's church, prominent on its hill. McDougall had realized by then that no direct proselytism among the Malays was possible,¹⁹ and placed his faith in education. In July 1851, he gained the support of the Datu Patinggi to reopen the Malay school,²⁰ which had closed when the McDougalls went to Penang early in 1850. It opened in the Court House in August with equipment supplied by Captain John Brooke Johnson Brooke, who was then in charge of the Government in the Rajah's absence. The pupils were taught by W. W. Nicholls, a newly arrived catechist from Bishop's College, Calcutta, and the Datu Bandar had promised to attend with twenty of his followers. McDougall regarded the Malay school as 'the first great move towards a system of national education in Sarawak'

which would teach 'the great moral and religious truths which were held in common between Christians and Mahommedans'.²¹ In fact the school never thrived. The Muslim *haji* saw it as a threat,²² and it depended on the active support of the Datu Bandar.²³ An extension of the school opened in the Datu Bandar's house in May 1852 but foundered when Nicholls resigned in October.²⁴ This marked the end of the Mission's active work among the Malays. Its pointlessness was symbolized by the apostasy of the Malay 'Christian' schoolteacher Rati, which prompted a greatly disappointed McDougall to say of the graduates of the Revd Keasbury's Institution that there was not one of them who had not become a Muslim.²⁵ By the end of 1852, all Malay services in Kuching had been abandoned and the newly arrived missionary priest, the Revd A. Horsburgh, wrote that in his view, no progress could be made among the Malays.²⁶ McDougall's early naïve optimism was by 1857 replaced by equally exaggerated fears of Malay Muslim hostility.²⁷

When the Rajah had returned to Kuching in September 1848, he had approved of the Mission's dispensary and school,²⁸ and had tolerated the early cautious attempts to influence the Malays. McDougall suggested that some local children be housed at the Mission and brought up entirely free from Malay influence. The Rajah agreed, but the four he chose were Eurasians, the children of English fathers and native mothers. He supplied sufficient rice to feed them, so that their cost to the Mission was small.²⁹ These children were the nucleus of what McDougall called his Home School, and were baptized on 3 December. The Rajah also allotted to the Mission land chosen by McDougall upon which to build a church and a mission house. In these early months McDougall found the Rajah very kind and willing to give every assistance in his power.³⁰

However, interpersonal relations within the Mission had not got off to a good start. Differences between McDougall and Wright resulted in the latter resigning in February 1849. It is difficult to apportion responsibility. Partly to blame were the crowded and uncomfortable conditions under which the two families lived. The Court House was 30 square feet. Downstairs were the court room, which was used for church services on Sundays, a room which McDougall converted into his dispensary, a store room, a servant's room, and a matted-off corner for Harrington Parr. There was also a separate kitchen, walled with palm leaves, and a bathing place by the river. Upstairs there were four rooms and a passage

divided only by matting partitions.³¹ In this confined space lived the McDougalls with their son Harry and the Wrights with their baby born on the voyage. Mrs McDougall was pregnant and on 15 November gave birth to a son who died the following day.³² During the day there was little private life. Wright opened a morning class for men in the dispensary at the end of July 1848, although it did not last long, and he was soon occupied with the school for boys opened in a separate building in August. The dispensary was open from noon until two or three o'clock in the afternoon and attracted Malay and some Dayak patients. Malay women and girls visited the ladies out of curiosity and Mrs Wright and Mrs McDougall attempted some informal teaching. The four young Eurasian children entrusted to their care in September were housed nearby with the Portuguese Christian wife of the McDougalls' cook.³³

In these cramped and uncomfortable conditions, prevented by social convention from dressing in keeping with the hot, moist climate, irritations abounded and tempers frayed. In January 1849, McDougall and Wright quarrelled over the management of the school. Wright wanted it to be co-educational, but his wife had stopped teaching in it in October 1848 and McDougall argued, correctly, that Malays would not send their daughters to be taught by a man and together with boys. Mrs McDougall taught the girls in a separate room with a separate entrance. McDougall suggested changes in the school to which Wright objected. Wright claimed the right to manage the school as he thought fit and altered the school hours without reference to McDougall. McDougall insisted that he was head of the Mission and that his authority could not be questioned. As he wrote to T. F. Stooks, the BCMI Secretary, it was a question of subordination.³⁴

Wright also objected to McDougall's plans to house both families in the new Mission House. He and his wife found living at close quarters with the McDougalls very trying and wanted separate accommodation. McDougall argued that there was not room on the hill for a separate house and that in any case it would be too expensive. Wright believed that two families in the one house could never be a practical arrangement and informed Brereton on 23 February, 'I can do no good to this mission. I shall endeavour not to encumber it.'³⁵ The Committee of the BCMI rejected his suggestion that he be employed as an independent missionary to the Dayaks and considered his engagement terminated.³⁶ In this they supported McDougall, who considered it would be impossible

to carry on the Mission if those sent out acted 'in the opposing and independent manner Mr Wright has done'.³⁷ The Rajah also supported McDougall, although he hoped that Wright might resume his duties on McDougall's terms. When he did not do so, but remained in Sarawak waiting for the Committee's response, he became an embarrassment and by the end of March both the Rajah and McDougall were wishing him away.³⁸ Eventually, he went to Singapore, where he worked for some years.³⁹ McDougall made an attempt to get him back when the Mission House was finished, but Mrs Wright had had her differences with the McDougalls, who thought she did not pull her weight.⁴⁰ As Mrs McDougall remarked to her mother, 'should the Gentleman be disposed to return the Lady will not'.⁴¹

The Rajah suppressed his disappointment at Wright's departure and tried to alleviate the situation. He generously guaranteed Wright £50 so that he would not be financially troubled in Singapore in the period until the Committee of the BCMI replied to him. When McDougall employed as Wright's replacement in the school Henry Steele, a young man who had been in Ruppell's employ but wished to join the Mission, Brooke allowed him half-pay of \$20 a month until McDougall heard if the Committee approved of his appointment or another clergyman was sent to replace Wright.⁴²

Wright's departure left the McDougalls the sole representatives of the Mission. The number of Europeans in Sarawak was small and inevitably they saw much of each other. Even before the McDougalls moved into the Mission House in August 1849, a pattern had emerged by which they exchanged visits with the Rajah on Tuesday and Thursday evenings.⁴³ These social gatherings reflected not only the friendship developing between Brooke and the McDougalls but also the development of the Mission as a separate entity, especially once the Mission House was complete. McDougall declared it the best, cheapest, and handsomest building in the place,⁴⁴ better even than the Rajah's.⁴⁵ When occupied in August 1849, it became not only a new focus for social activity, but a symbol of the Mission's establishment in Sarawak. When the McDougalls moved from the Court House, that 'bird-cage' by the river,⁴⁶ to the more impressive Mission House, they acquired a new stature. The Mission was taking on a life of its own. The house, and the church which was soon to rise nearby, symbolized a new institution, the Anglican Church in Borneo, just as the Rajah's bungalow on its hill symbolized the authority and power

of the Brooke Raj. Between the two flowed the Sarawak River, and the geographical separation made more marked the change which was to occur. In 1849 neither Missionary nor Rajah saw the implications, but in McDougall's proud comparison of his house with that of the Rajah, the implications were there.

For the moment, however, the Mission was dependent on Brooke, who had called it into being, granted it land, countenanced the Mission's work and assisted it materially. For its part, the Mission identified itself with the Brooke regime and with its policies. This was clearly seen when the Rajah returned in August 1849 from his successful expedition against the Skrang and Saribas Dayaks. His Malay and friendly Dayak levies, assisted by the HEIC steamer *Nemesis* and HMS *Albatross*, had ambushed a large force of Skrang and Saribas Dayaks returning from marauding along the coast. In the subsequent engagement, dignified as the Battle of Beting Maru, much slaughter of Dayaks had occurred with insignificant British and Sarawak casualties. Graphic descriptions of the effect of the steamer's paddle-wheels upon Dayak boats and bodies later horrified an English public, while the receipt of head money by the officers and crew of the *Albatross* for their destruction of these Dayak 'pirates' scandalized humanitarians at home. Brooke's public image was tarnished by the controversy aroused, but in Sarawak the engagement was viewed as a victory. McDougall had welcomed the expedition against the Skrang and Saribas Dayaks, calling them pirates and head-hunters. Their destruction would open new areas to the Mission.⁴⁷ When news of the outcry in England reached him, he was vehement in his defence of Brooke, wishing that people at home, 'instead of giving ear to the maudlin sentimentality and drivelling nonsense of the few political humanity mongers', would use their common sense:

... their best plan for remedying the severities so loudly declaimed against—and preventing their occurrence, would be to strengthen the hands of our Mission and enable us at once to plant missionaries among these misguided and deluded tribes, to teach them those principles of truth, virtue and religion which can alone wean them from their evil habits.⁴⁸

The McDougalls saw nothing incongruous in the presence of the officers of the *Albatross* at the ceremony on 28 August which marked the laying of the massive block of *belian* timber which was the foundation of the first Anglican Church in Borneo. Flags from the *Albatross* brightened the scene,⁴⁹ the procession was led by

McDougall, followed by the Rajah and about twenty-five Englishmen and a few Malays. McDougall read suitable prayers and a psalm and the Rajah put some English coins in a hole in the beam and placed on it an inscription written in Latin on a piece of wood by McDougall (later to be replaced by a copper plaque), stating that the church was founded on that day in the reign of Sir James Brooke, was dedicated to St Thomas and that F. T. McDougall was the priest. In the evening McDougall dined with the Rajah.⁵⁰ There was amiability and concord all round.

This harmony continued, and early in the following year the McDougalls accompanied the Rajah to Penang. Brooke had returned from his expeditions against the Skrang and Saribas Dayaks and against the Dayaks of Kanowit on the Rejang exhausted and 'much pulled down'.⁵¹ He had been 160 days in boats and ships during the past nine months.⁵² His health not improving, he decided, on McDougall's advice, to seek the cooler climate of Penang Hill. The McDougalls also needed rest. Mrs McDougall had been gravely ill. In November she had given birth to a baby who died of convulsions five days later. She herself was near death and the strain on McDougall was severe: '... the mere fatigue of watching and nursing, and still more, the terrible responsibility of having those you most dearly love and esteem, placed as it were by God in one's hands, is a trial which shakes the strongest man in mind and body.'⁵³ Both felt the loss of the baby keenly.⁵⁴ Their grief was compounded when, in Singapore to recover their health, Harry, who was three, died after a harrowing illness of three weeks. They had lost three children in fifteen months. In Harriette McDougall's words, 'the flowers all died along our way'.⁵⁵

Nursing their grief, the McDougalls were firmly persuaded by the Rajah to accompany him to Penang. He behaved to them, said Mrs McDougall, 'like a brother'.⁵⁶ They left Singapore on 20 March 1850 and remained at Penang until 10 May. Also in the party were Spenser St John and Charles Grant. They were a close-knit little group. They stayed in the government bungalow on Penang Hill, in reality two bungalows joined by a covered walk-way. St John, the McDougalls, and the dining-room were in one; the Rajah, Grant, and the drawing-rooms in the other. For one week St John was ill with a bilious fever and Mrs McDougall kept him company and read to him. The Rajah also was ill and was attended to by McDougall.⁵⁷ The McDougalls had their private grief: the Rajah nursed a sense of outrage at the public attacks launched upon him

in England for his proceedings against the Skrang and Saribas Dayaks. St John believed that the experience soured and embittered him. 'He never was again that even-tempered gay companion of former days. He thought too much of these attacks, and longed to answer every petty insult and calumnious insinuation.'⁵⁸ McDougall shared the Rajah's indignation and in retrospect these weeks in Penang appear to have been the high point in their relationship. The Rajah regarded McDougall as 'a really good man, and his wife a charming and sensible person', and esteemed himself 'very fortunate in such friends and neighbours'.⁵⁹ When Mrs McDougall had been seriously ill and her life despaired of the previous November, Brooke had said of her that she was 'so much loved and respected, so amiable and so clever, that we should indeed deplore the loss, and despair of readily making it good'.⁶⁰

On an official level good relations continued. In September 1849 the Rajah had granted the Mission the land selected by McDougall on a 999-year lease at an annual rent of one coconut.⁶¹ The Rajah and other Europeans donated sums towards the building of the church.⁶² In Penang, Brooke and McDougall discussed plans for the extension of the Mission into Dayak areas opened up by the defeat of the Skrang and Saribas Dayaks. Their ideas, which were for close co-operation between the Government and the Mission, were embodied in a letter written by the Rajah to McDougall for transmission to the Committee of the BCMI.⁶³ Basically Brooke's views, they were wholeheartedly endorsed by McDougall.⁶⁴ This identity of view was symbolized in the design for the east window McDougall had ordered for his church: 'The central light will represent the Sarawak cross, a red and purple cross on a golden ground. It is the national flag, and will please the native eye, besides being an appropriate Christian emblem.'⁶⁵

The McDougalls returned to Sarawak in June 1850, while the Rajah undertook a diplomatic mission to Siam on behalf of the British Government. McDougall had raised funds in the Straits Settlements for the church in Kuching and set about completing it by the end of the year, for he wished it to be consecrated by Bishop Wilson of Calcutta when he made his visitation to the Straits Settlements, which were under his jurisdiction. McDougall had an excellent assistant in T. E. Stahl, the German carpenter from the *Mary Louisa*, who had joined the Mission after the ship had sunk in the Malacca Strait, although he was probably attracted more by the charms of the McDougalls' servant, Elizabeth Richardson,

whom he later married, than by the \$15 a month, the wages of 'a common Chinese foreman', which McDougall offered him.⁶⁶ McDougall was anticipating the arrival of further assistance. In response to the Rajah's letter calling for new missionaries, a copy of which McDougall had sent to Calcutta, the Principal of Bishop's College offered two men from the College for service in Sarawak.⁶⁷

Help was needed as the Mission's work expanded. In October 1850, some 5,000 refugees from fighting in Dutch Borneo arrived in Sarawak. They were what McDougall called Dyako-Chinese, Chinese married to Dayak wives or of mixed descent themselves. They had sided with the Dutch in a conflict with the Chinese of Montrado. They included many sick and wounded and McDougall established a temporary hospital. The Government supplied rice. McDougall found that his medical services opened the way for his missionary work among those he treated, and some of the Chinese offered their children to be brought up as Christians by the Mission. The McDougalls accepted thirteen children, nine boys and four girls, nine of them the children of refugees. They were adopted by the Mission for ten years to be brought up in the Home School.⁶⁸ When the Rajah returned to Sarawak, he approved of all that had been done.⁶⁹ He had also protected the Mission from what McDougall regarded as a threat from the Roman Catholics, who had sent Chinese catechists from Singapore to work among the refugees. Brooke had refused permission to their Superior in Singapore to send missionaries.⁷⁰ Sarawak was reserved for the Anglicans. Nevertheless, McDougall used the threat of Roman Catholic intervention as an argument for more assistance, 'to prevent these unprincipled proselytisers from forestalling us'.⁷¹

On 18 January 1851, Bishop Wilson of Calcutta, at 72 a venerable figure in the Church, arrived on the HEIC steamer *Semiramis*, accompanied by the Archdeacon of Calcutta, John Henry Pratt, and Mrs Pratt, and by the Revd H. Moule from Singapore. Following a formal petition from the Rajah and European residents, the church was consecrated on 22 January and dedicated to St Thomas the Apostle. The Rajah was ill in Singapore, but Captain Brooke showed every respect to Bishop Wilson, giving him for his use the state barge presented to Sir James Brooke by Siam. The consecration attracted a large congregation of Chinese, Malays, and Dayaks, although the Datu Bandar left in alarm when the Bishop spoke of Islam and the Malays, striking the pulpit for emphasis in a manner interpreted by the Datu to indicate anger.⁷²

For McDougall, the consecration was not only the climax of his

efforts of the past two and a half years, but the beginning of a new phase in the Mission's activities. He had fulfilled the original, cautious aims of the BCMI. A mission had been established, a school founded, and a church built and consecrated. In terms of contact with the local population, however, little had been achieved, partly because McDougall had been on his own for much of the time. That was to change. Bishop Wilson was enthusiastic about the prospects for the Mission and conveyed his feelings to the Committee of the BCMI. He saw great promise in the Home School, which the Committee regarded as an unnecessary expense.⁷³ He had brought with him from Bishop's College a young man, Charles James Fox, whom McDougall placed in the day-school and eventually hoped to ordain. The Revd Walter Chambers, a missionary from England, arrived on 21 March 1851 to work among the Dayaks. Finally, on 19 April, William Ward Nicholls, another student from Bishop's College, arrived. With a staff of missionaries at last, McDougall could contemplate a new start.

In this he was confident of the Rajah's full support. Before leaving Singapore for England at the end of January, Brooke expressed the wish that McDougall have conferred upon him the ecclesiastical authority properly to control his clergy now that new men were arriving. This was not only an expression of his confidence in McDougall. It also reflected the Rajah's revived fears of the effects of haste and zeal upon the Muslim population now that the Mission was to expand.⁷⁴ Despite his call for caution, however, he still supported the expansion of the Mission into the Dayak areas and expressed affection for the McDougalls. From Malta he wrote to McDougall:

My mind is generally far away from my body, and lingers with you all, in Sarawak and Borneo. What are cities and temples to jungles and Dyaks! And what are the knightly remains of Malta compared to our little Church! . . . I hope you are all happy, and have a little society, and are gay—for I don't like solemn people; and I hope Mrs. McDougall continues strong and well. How does our school progress? That is my delight, and I often think of the 'Good night, sir,' which greeted me in my evening drives. What is Mr. Chambers doing? I hope you will send him to Sakarran—he will be a great support to Brereton.⁷⁵

'Our school', 'our little Church'—the Rajah closely identified himself with the achievement and work of the Mission. On the church bell, cast from the metal of old gongs, was inscribed 'Gloria in excelsis Deo', the date, November 1850, and the name of McDougall

on one side and that of Sir James Brooke on the other.⁷⁶ Like the Sarawak cross in the church window, it symbolized an identity of purpose shared by the Mission and the Government, an identity which was not long to survive.

1. It was to him that Mrs McDougall wrote those letters from Sarawak which were published in 1854.

2. Brian Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, pp. 5-6.

3. F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, Secretary, BCMI, 1 August 1848, USPG Archives, Borneo Box 1.

4. *Loc. cit.*

5. *Report of the Borneo Church Mission Institution, 1848*. See the reports of Wright and McDougall.

6. Hugh Low, *Sarawak*, p. 114.

7. F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 1 August 1848, USPG Archives, Borneo Box 1.

8. F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 30 November 1848, *ibid.*

9. *Loc. cit.*

10. *Report of the Borneo Church Mission Institution, 1848*, pp. 12-13.

11. F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 25 August 1849, USPG Archives, Borneo Box 1. Most Malays were agricultural and settled. Those referred to may have been migratory Malays.

12. F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 9 June 1849, *ibid.* McDougall's hope that he would one day baptize Rati was ill-founded, seeing that Rati was married to the daughter of a local Haji.

13. F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 21 December 1849, and to Capt. C. D. R. Bethune, 27 December 1849, *ibid.*

14. *Report of the Borneo Church Mission Institution, 1848*, p. 15: McDougall's report dated 6 January 1849.

15. F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 29 June 1850, USPG Archives, Borneo Box 1.

16. F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 13 December 1850, *ibid.*

17. *Loc. cit.*

18. *Loc. cit.*

19. F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 15 April 1851, *ibid.*

20. F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 14 July 1851, *ibid.*

21. F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 15 August 1851, *ibid.*

22. F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 13 May 1852, *ibid.*

23. W. Chambers to F. T. McDougall, 23 April 1852, *ibid.*

24. W. W. Nicholls to F. T. McDougall, 14 May 1852, and to T. F. Stooks, 19 October 1852, *ibid.*

25. F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 29 March 1851, *ibid.* McDougall said that Rati had for some time professed himself a candidate for baptism, but McDougall had doubted his sincerity and refused him.

26. A. Horsburgh to T. F. Stooks, 19 October 1852, *ibid.*

27. F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 15 August 1857, USPG Archives,

OLR, D6b. He mentioned fears of Muslim hostility in Singapore and Java. 'Even in Sarawak I have long felt Mahometan jealousy on the increase and it has only been the personal esteem they have for us and the caution we have used that has under God prevented it hitherto breaking out into a flaming and open opposition.' True, this was while the Indian Mutiny was still in progress, but in Sarawak the Muslims had been loyal to Rajah Brooke during and after the Chinese attack on Kuching in February and McDougall does appear to be exaggerating the danger. His reference to 'any stupid frenzied Hadjee' who could rouse an outcry is indicative of his unrestrained language at times of stress.

28. F. T. McDougall to C. D. Brereton, 18 September 1848, USPG Archives, Borneo Box 1.

29. *Loc. cit.* What their mothers thought when directed to hand their children over to the Mission is not recorded. Perhaps they accepted as readily as Brooke and the McDougalls that English ways were innately superior to native ways and that their children would benefit.

30. F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 26 March 1849, *ibid.*

31. F. T. McDougall to C. D. Brereton, 31 July 1848, *ibid.*

32. F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 30 November 1848, *ibid.* At the time, McDougall was downriver at Santubong recovering from fever.

33. F. T. McDougall to C. D. Brereton, 18 September 1848, *ibid.*

34. F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 24 February 1849, *ibid.*

35. W. B. Wright to C. D. Brereton, 23 February 1849, *ibid.* There was sufficient mission land to have found a site for another house, but expense was a valid factor. A compromise would have involved redesigning the plans for the Mission House as proposed by McDougall.

36. Peter D. Varney, 'The Anglican Church in Sarawak', pp. 385-6.

37. F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 24 February 1849, USPG Archives, Borneo Box 1.

38. F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 26 March 1849, *ibid.*

39. In 1857 McDougall, by then Bishop, examined Wright for the priesthood and ordained him on 9 August. Wright became Chaplain of Malacca and in 1862 defended McDougall against allegations made by Spenser St John about his treatment of his clergy.

40. F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 26 October 1848, USPG Archives, Borneo Box 1. Mrs Wright had dismissed her *ayah* (children's nurse) and stayed at home nursing her baby instead of teaching in the school.

41. H. McDougall to Mrs Bunyon, August 1849, McDougall Papers. Mrs McDougall also claimed that Mrs Wright had not liked Sarawak. Wright himself also complained of his low pay, and McDougall agreed that Sarawak was an expensive place to live—see, for example, F. T. McDougall to C. D. Brereton, 18 September 1848, USPG Archives, Borneo Box 1.

42. F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 24 February 1849, USPG Archives, Borneo Box 1. McDougall described Steele as a well-conducted young man and a regular communicant. He had been educated at the Blue Coat School (Christ's Hospital) before going to sea as an apprentice. Steele resigned when he was appointed court interpreter at the end of June 1849.

43. H. McDougall to Fanny Sawyer, 8 May 1849, McDougall Papers.

44. F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 24 February 1849, USPG Archives, Borneo Box 1.

45. F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 1 January 1849, *ibid.*

46. F. T. McDougall to C. D. Brereton, 31 July 1848, *ibid.*
47. F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 2 May 1849, *ibid.*
48. F. T. McDougall to C. D. Bethune, 8 April 1850, from Penang Hill, *ibid.*
49. F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 25–28 April 1849, *ibid.*
50. *Loc. cit.* and H. McDougall to Mrs Bunyon, 28 August 1849, McDougall Papers. Sir James Brooke had approved the inscription in June: F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 9–25 June 1849, USPG Archives, Borneo Box 1.
51. F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 25–28 August 1849, *ibid.*
52. Spenser St John, *The Life of Sir James Brooke*, p. 212.
53. F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 20 December 1849, USPG Archives, Borneo Box 1.
54. Mrs McDougall had been looking forward to the baby as a companion for Harry, now three years old: H. McDougall to Mrs Bunyon, August 1849, McDougall Papers. After its death, when she visited the grave, she found often that McDougall had been there because he had tended the plants around it: H. McDougall to Ellen Bunyon, n.d. [but after 5 November 1849], McDougall Papers.
55. Quoted in M. Bramston, *An Early Victorian Heroine*, p. 32.
56. C. J. Bunyon, *Memoirs of Francis Thomas McDougall*, p. 57.
57. *Ibid.*, pp. 58–9.
58. St John, *The Life of Sir James Brooke*, p. 212.
59. J. Brooke to J. C. Templer, 1–9 April 1850, comment dated 7 April, in J. C. Templer, *The Private Letters of Sir James Brooke, K.C.B.*, Vol. II, p. 281. The British Naval surgeon, Dr Edward Cree, met the Rajah and the McDougalls together at Singapore in May 1850: Michael Levien (ed.), *The Cree Journals*, p. 210.
60. J. Brooke to Revd Charles Johnson, 4 December 1849, in Templer, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 245.
61. F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 24 September 1849, USPG Archives, Borneo Box 1. The lease was not formally concluded until 29 June 1852: Diocesan Register, Kuching.
62. F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 21 December 1849, USPG Archives, Borneo Box 1. The Rajah donated £20, Charles Grant and St John £5 each, and others lesser sums. McDougall had earlier remarked that the Rajah had helped build the mosque, so he could be expected to help build the church: F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 30 November 1848, *ibid.* Captain Farquhar of the *Albatross* promised £50 from the head-money he would receive for the slaughter of Dayaks at Beting Maru, an offer McDougall did not see as in any way out of keeping with the spirit of his faith: F. T. McDougall to C. D. Bethune, 8 April 1850, *ibid.*
63. J. Brooke to F. T. McDougall, 27 April 1850. See Bunyon, *Memoirs of Francis Thomas McDougall*, pp. 60–2.
64. F. T. McDougall to Revd Ernest Hawkins, May 1850, USPG Archives, OLR, D6b. Also Bunyon, *Memoirs of Francis Thomas McDougall*, p. 65.
65. F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 6 April 1850, from Penang Hill, USPG Archives, Borneo Box 1.
66. Stahl had had experience building wooden houses in Berlin, which made him particularly useful: F. T. McDougall to C. D. Brereton, 18 September 1848, *ibid.*

67. F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 12 September 1850, *ibid.*; Bunyon, *Memoirs of Francis Thomas McDougall*, p. 65.
68. F. T. McDougall to C. D. Brereton, 23 October 1850, USPG Archives, OLR, D6b.
69. *Loc. cit.*, postscript dated 25 October.
70. *Loc. cit.*
71. *Loc. cit.*
72. F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 22 January 1851, *ibid.*; H. McDougall to Ellen Bunyon [after 23 January] 1851, McDougall Papers; Harriette McDougall, *Sketches of Our Life at Sarawak*, pp. 54-6; Bunyon, *Memoirs of Francis Thomas McDougall*, pp. 71-4.
73. F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 10 June 1851, USPG Archives, Borneo Box 1.
74. J. Brooke to F. T. McDougall, 28 January 1851, in Templer, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 29-32.
75. J. Brooke to F. T. McDougall, 30 March 1851, quoted in Gertrude L. Jacob, *The Raja of Sarawak*, Vol. II, pp. 39-40.
76. McDougall, *Sketches of Our Life at Sarawak*, p. 47.

To Civilize a Savage Race: The Dayak Mission, 1851–1857

JAMES BROOKE had envisaged missionary work being undertaken among the Dayaks, particularly among the Land Dayaks. The defeat of the Skrang and Saribas Dayaks and the capture of Kanowit in 1849 opened up the Sea Dayak areas to Brooke rule. The formal accession of territory did not take place until 1853, but that did not deter Brooke from establishing forts on the 'piratical' rivers, nor did it deter McDougall from extending the work of the mission into these areas in collaboration with the Government. Writing to the Secretary of the SPG in May 1850, he recommended those 'Reverend worthies' critical of Brooke's action at Beting Maru

... to exercise their Philanthropy by endeavouring to Evangelize and redeem the Dyaks from slavery, instead of slandering a good man, who has more real humanity in him, and does more good to his fellow creatures every week of his life, than the whole Exeter Hall full of such foul-mouthed blubbering spouting humanity mongers would do, if they lived a thousand years.¹

McDougall had a gift for invective when his blood was up.

As early as July 1848, McDougall had appealed to the BCMI, 'O do try to send us some Dyak Apostles.'² The *Orang Kaya* or chiefs of the larger tribes were asking for European teachers, and haste was needed to forestall Islam.³ With the opening of the Saribas and Skrang he saw a great opportunity for the Mission. The Rajah had brought back from the Saribas an infant girl whose father had been killed and mother wounded by Brooke forces. She was entrusted to the McDougalls and baptized Mary Nelson. In her, McDougall saw his hopes for the conversion of the Saribas, 'the first born to the Church of those who from their past actions seem truly to have been children of the devil and the enemies of God'.⁴

The expected victory was not to be for Christ alone. McDougall was a patriotic Englishman, from a military family, and by nature combative. He shared Brooke's aversion to the Dutch, whose

influence he regarded as 'quite [as] prejudicial to the advancement of the aborigines as that of the Malays'.⁵ He believed that the Dayaks were predisposed to the reception of the Gospel and to English rule.⁶ McDougall regarded the expansion of Brooke rule as an extension of English influence and an influence for good; especially if it enabled the Anglican Church to forestall Muslim and Roman Catholic missionaries.⁷ To convert the Dayaks was thus both a Christian and a patriotic duty. Ten years younger than the Rajah, McDougall admired him greatly. He fully endorsed the Rajah's letter of 27 May 1850 wherein the latter urged the rapid extension of missionary activity to the Dayak areas in conjunction with his own rule. 'As we suppress piracy and head-taking the hope of success increases, and to effect these objects is a task worthy of the Church missionary as well as the statesman.' Brooke urged that young men should be sent out as missionaries and that McDougall, who should remain at Kuching, should have powers 'of controlling and arranging their functions'. He believed that once a few Dayaks were converted, the rest in any place would soon follow. He wondered, however, if the BCMI had sufficient funds for the effort.⁸

McDougall sent copies of the Rajah's letter to the Committee of the BCMI, the Secretary of the SPG, and the Principal of Bishop's College, Calcutta.⁹ The BCMI appealed in July 1850 for the means to send out as speedily as possible 'the four missionaries and four catechists, so earnestly desired by Mr McDougall and Sir James Brooke'.¹⁰ It published also Brooke's letter to McDougall and McDougall's letter to the Chairman of the Committee. In the latter, McDougall pointedly noted that Brooke's earlier caution had been abandoned, his fears of Muslim jealousy allayed, so McDougall claimed, by the strength and spontaneity of the Dayak desire for 'the arts of civilization and the knowledge of our religion'.¹¹ However, the McDougalls, like Brooke, doubted whether the BCMI had the means to undertake the task. Mrs McDougall agreed with her brother, Charles Bunyon, that nothing would be effected until the SPG took over the Mission.¹² McDougall's letter to Ernest Hawkins, Secretary of the SPG, was intended to inspire the SPG to do just that. He vigorously defended the Rajah against his critics, and by reference to the Borneo Bishopric Fund suggested how the ecclesiastical control of new missionaries which Brooke wanted might be attained.¹³ The immediate response to these appeals was the sending of Chambers from England and Fox and Nicholls from Bishop's College. After

the consecration of McDougall's church, Bishop Wilson added his weight, declaring to Brereton, '*It is my full persuasion that there is no Mission, on the face of the earth, to be compared with that of Borneo.*' Sir James Brooke, he said, was an 'English gentleman of benevolence, talent and singular wisdom and tact for governing'. He likened the peace that Brooke had established in Sarawak to that of 'the Roman Empire at the Incarnation of our Lord' which 'prepares for the Gospel, renders the diffusion of it practicable, and calls imperatively to the Christian Church at home to seize with eagerness the occasion, to which nothing parallel has ever occurred'. He wrote of millions of Dayaks with no religion of their own, who, out of gratitude to the Rajah, sought instruction in his religion.¹⁴ The good bishop's words were inflated and inaccurate, but, instructed by McDougall, he correctly gauged the importance of the Rajah's influence. McDougall, writing to the BCMI in January 1851, trusted that the Rajah's forthcoming visit to England would do the Mission much good.¹⁵

Having encouraged the Mission to expand, the Rajah began to have second thoughts. He was alarmed to hear from Captain Mundy that some members of the Committee of the BCMI desired to send out 'zealots, and intolerants, and enthusiasts, with brains heated beyond the rational point, and who begin the task of tuition by a torrent of abuse, against what their pupils hold sacred'. Such persons he did not want. 'Whilst our endeavours to convert the natives are conducted with charity, and appeal for success to time, I am a warm supporter of the mission.' But if those Mundy wrote of gained an ascendancy, he would rather the Mission were withdrawn. 'I will protect the missionary from the zeal and denunciations of the Mahomedan, and I will protect the Mahomedan from the zeal and denunciations of the Christian, when either the one or the other threatens the well-being of the community.'¹⁶ Before departing for England, he warned McDougall to be cautious and not to seek 'spurious and speedy results'. 'We have now toleration, charity, and peace, and these blessings must not be risked by the indiscreet zeal of Christian men striving to introduce their faith among others.' McDougall, he said, knew the danger, but he wondered if he had the ecclesiastical authority to control and to direct other clergymen. Would there be any objection to making McDougall Bishop of Sarawak? It would give Brooke's government 'a responsible person with whom it could treat, and in whom it could confide'.¹⁷ The Rajah clearly had confidence in McDougall personally but, possibly

with the Wright affair in mind, recalled that McDougall, lacking the status of a Bishop, had then been unable to assert effectively his authority as head of the Mission. He also appears to have expected a greater influx of missionaries than in fact occurred. There is a clear contradiction in the Rajah's view. He expresses a desire for missionaries among the Dayaks, but is suspicious of that zeal which one would expect a man who became a missionary to have. On the one hand he desired to introduce Christianity as an agent of civilization; on the other he did not want to disturb the peace of his realm. In particular he did not wish the new missionaries to arouse the enmity of the Malays, by whom they could be regarded as rivals for converts among the Dayaks.

Before he left for England, the Rajah met Walter Chambers, the first of the new missionary priests, in Singapore. No doubt he advised him to be cautious in his proselytizing activities. He also told Chambers of the scheme he and McDougall had devised of sending the missionaries to the Dayak areas in company with the government officers. In Chambers's case, it was proposed to send him to the Saribas and Skrang.¹⁸ Schooled by the Rajah and McDougall, Chambers wrote to Breerton:

It would appear to be the wish and ultimate design of the Rajah to place an Englishman on each of the principal rivers of the north-west coast, for the development of trade and the suppression of piracy. These posts will form admirable starting points for Missionaries, and I trust that you will be enabled to have a man ready for each as it opens.¹⁹

With the arrival of Chambers, McDougall also acquired his authority over the new missionaries, being licensed on 22 November 1850 'to perform the Office of principal Chaplain to the British Residents in the Island of Borneo in the East Indies and also to act as Senior Missionary there'.²⁰

Chambers was eager to begin his missionary labours, but McDougall kept him in Kuching to learn Malay, the lingua franca of Sarawak, and to acquire some medical knowledge. In his mid-twenties, Chambers was the eldest of the three new men and had served two years as a curate.²¹ McDougall liked him, admired his physical activity and energy, but thought he lacked good sense and *savoir-faire*.²² He was set in his ways, made slow progress with his medical study and had a 'dreadful ear' for language, 'his English tongue and English prejudices' being very strong.²³ It was somewhat against his better judgement that McDougall sent him with Captain Brooke in September to Skrang to take up his

duties.²⁴ Chambers arrived at Skrang on 5 October and stayed at the fort with Willie Brereton. Within nine days a house was built for him and he opened a clinic. To assist his efforts, Brereton explained to the local people that 'the *real* work of pastors' was connected with the worship of God and that the giving of medicines arose from 'compassion for their bodily sufferings'.²⁵ Here was the missionary as Brooke had envisaged him, working with and supported by the government official.

Chambers had hardly time to settle when he was recalled to Kuching to take charge of the Mission while McDougall sought a change of climate and treatment for a rheumatic knee which had crippled him by the end of 1851. Nicholls, who had come out from Bishop's College, was sent to Skrang, where he achieved little, and Chambers, grief-stricken by news of his father's death²⁶ and overwhelmed by his responsibilities, was in ill health when McDougall returned in May. McDougall concluded he was wanting in tact and too nervous to undertake major responsibilities in Kuching, and that his proper sphere was direct missionary work among the Dayaks.²⁷ Chambers returned to Skrang on 8 June 1852, enjoined by McDougall to get on with a dictionary of the Sea Dayak language, this despite his 'dreadful ear!'²⁸

McDougall was anxious to establish missionaries in other areas beyond Skrang. In October 1851, he informed Hawkins of the SPG that a government officer was being sent to Kanowit, a station through which the influence of the Mission would be carried into the very heart of Borneo and for which he wanted a priest of enterprise and courage.²⁹ His plan to transfer Nicholls from Skrang to Lundu, when a government officer settled there,³⁰ was frustrated when Nicholls decided to return to Bishop's College to prepare for ordination.³¹ However, the College sent as a replacement the Revd William Henry Gomes, a Sinhalese Eurasian of Portuguese descent, who had been ordained deacon in 1850. Gomes arrived on 11 June 1852 and began work in the Home School in Kuching. McDougall considered sending him to Skrang, but feared Chambers would not 'relish a native colleague',³² a remark which in retrospect says more about McDougall than about Chambers. McDougall went on leave to England in October 1852 while Gomes was still in Kuching preparing to go to Lundu. Chambers visited Kuching, and the two men visited the Dayaks at Padungan, a little downstream

from the town, where they opened a school which Fox promised to maintain in their absence. The Dayaks at Padungan were Sebuyaus, speaking the same dialect as the Dayaks of Lundu and Lingga, and Gomes and Chambers believed that through them new missionaries would get an insight into Dayak character and customs which would be useful preparation prior to going up-country.³³

When Chambers returned to Skrang, Gomes accompanied him as far as Lingga. Gomes reported that Lingga was 'a noble field for Missionary operations', with a government fort and a closely settled and accessible population of about 4,000.³⁴ Gomes accepted Chambers's view that Lingga was more promising than Skrang, where the people, influenced by the Sea Dayak war leader Rentap, were becoming increasingly unsettled. After parting from Gomes, who returned to Kuching, Chambers reached Skrang on 18 December 1852. His house had collapsed, there was evidence of trouble brewing, and there were requests from some of the Balau Dayaks at Lingga that he work among them. Captain Brooke advised him to move. He left Skrang for Lingga on 17 January 1853. Fighting broke out the following day.³⁵ Alan Lee, who left Lingga to support Brereton, was killed in a skirmish with Rentap's forces. The Skrang was again outside government control. The first combined effort to 'civilise the savage' had ended in disaster, without a convert to show for it. It was, perhaps, not a fair test, for Chambers had been absent from Skrang more than he had been present, and the Government had not fully pacified the district. Even at the peace-making in April 1851, at which the Dayaks of the Skrang and Saribas had submitted to the Rajah, McDougall noted that they could not refrain from boasting of their piratical prowess.³⁶ The death of the pro-Brooke chief, Gassim, had removed a restraint just as the emergence of Rentap had provided a focus for discontent and resentment at the loss of their previous independence.

At Lingga and at Lundu, Chambers and Gomes each found a more friendly and amenable people. In both places the missionaries were on friendly terms with the government officers in charge and that close co-operation envisaged by the Rajah and McDougall was a reality. There was also continuity of effort and personnel, which had been lacking at Skrang, as Chambers at Lingga and Gomes at Lundu were to remain at their posts for

many years. Gomes began well at Lundu, proceeding there in January 1853 with the Rajah's nephew, Charles Johnson,* who was appointed the first government Resident. Charles Johnson was the younger brother of Captain John Brooke Johnson Brooke, who, as Tuan Besar, governed Sarawak in the Rajah's absence and had taken the surname 'Brooke' in expectation of being heir to the bachelor Rajah. After a brief career in the navy, Charles Johnson had joined the Rajah's service and had arrived in Sarawak on 21 July 1852.³⁷ He and Gomes got on well. However, he was called away by the events at Skrang. Eventually he became Resident at Lingga and a close friend of Chambers. Meanwhile, Charles Grant was posted to Lundu where he and Gomes began a long friendship.³⁸ Mrs McDougall said of them that 'missionary and ruler devoted themselves to the improvement of the people'.³⁹ When Grant went on leave in 1856, he was replaced by Charles Fox, who had left the Mission for government service in 1855 and who had developed a friendship with Gomes when the latter had been in Kuching.⁴⁰ Fox did not stay at Lundu for long, but Gomes retained a close connection with the Government, which McDougall came to resent.⁴¹

Gomes arrived at Lundu on 10 January 1853. On 17 January, he opened a school with eighteen pupils. Because of the number of different races at Lundu, he decided to use Malay in the school and the church. He produced a romanized script and by 1854 had printed a translation of the SPCK's *First Steps to the Catechism*. His work prospered and on 27 May 1855 he baptized his first converts, eight male Dayaks whom he took to Kuching for the ceremony. The first baptism at Lundu itself took place on 5 August 1855.⁴² Now that he had a congregation, Gomes erected a temporary church, which opened on 19 August, and began holding daily morning prayers and two services on Sundays. By October he had baptized fourteen converts. His school continued and had three boarders, released slaves, for whom rice was supplied by the Rajah. The Rajah also had given him \$30 which he used to print translations of extracts from the Gospels.⁴³ Gomes also gave weekly lectures in the Dayak village: 'The leading incidents of our LORD's Life, His miracles, teaching, and sufferings, are thus being brought before the minds of the adult Dyaks.' Slowly a small Christian community was being established.

*Charles Johnson was to take the surname 'Brooke' in 1863 and succeeded Sir James Brooke as Rajah in 1868.

In October 1856, McDougall confirmed twelve Dayaks at Lundu.⁴⁴ However, because of the demands of his school, Gomes did not visit other Dayak communities in the vicinity.⁴⁵

Chambers, meanwhile, was having similar success. He had used Alan Lee's house at Lingga at first, but when Charles Johnson was appointed to Lingga, he moved a few miles upstream to Banting. One of Johnson's first acts was to order the Malays who lived at Banting to settle downriver below the fort at Lingga. This removed the Dayaks from their influence, for the Brookes believed that effective political opposition to their rule could come only from the Malays employing Dayak levies.⁴⁶ Chambers, therefore, ministered to a settled Dayak community at Banting and in February 1854 began the construction of a permanent house and church on Banting Hill. On Christmas Day 1854 his first four converts, all men, were baptized in Kuching. He began regular services with his little congregation on 14 January 1855. The first baptism in Banting itself took place on 30 January.⁴⁷ Unlike Gomes, Chambers did not establish a regular school, which enabled him to travel along the rivers to visit longhouse communities.

These initiatives at Lingga and Lundu were very much those of Chambers and Gomes. McDougall had been on furlough when these beginnings were made. He had left in October 1852 and returned on 24 April 1855, as Bishop-elect. Difficulties associated with establishing the new diocese had been one reason for the delay in his return. During his absence, the Mission had been in the hands of the Revd Andrew Horsburgh, whom McDougall had recruited in Hong Kong in early 1852. Horsburgh's health had been undermined by the responsibility and overwork, and McDougall had not approved of all he had done.⁴⁸ He decided to send him to assist Chambers. He was more pleased with the progress made by Chambers and Gomes and when the latter brought his converts to Kuching for baptism in May 1855, took them and Gomes to Banting to meet their fellow Christians. While there he discussed with the missionaries the problems of their work, in particular the use of Dayak words and phrases to translate religious terms. Chambers opposed the use of the Arabic 'Isa' instead of 'Jesus', but eventually accepted it with bad grace.⁴⁹

With Horsburgh at Banting, it was possible for Chambers to visit longhouses further distant. These visits were followed up by Horsburgh and on 25 September, the headman at Sibumban, two days up the River Strap, and three other Dayaks at places along

the river were baptized. At the end of the year there were fifty Christians and hearers at Banting and there had been twenty-three communicants on Christmas Day.⁵⁰ The presence of Christian converts eased the task of the missionaries because they became companions on their travels and intermediaries and teachers to their own people:⁵¹ but the effects on missionaries' health of jungle travel, native food, the tropical climate, and long-house living testify to the hardships and discomfort involved. In December 1855 Horsburgh was in Kuching, laid up with elephantiasis and low fever, the result of 'going without shoes and socks and living on native diet',⁵² and Chambers was periodically having to be brought back to Kuching to be cleaned, fed, and restored to health.⁵³ The Rajah was sufficiently heartened by their success to forget briefly his customary caution and to believe that the Dayaks might be converted *en masse*.⁵⁴ However, Horsburgh left in June 1856 on hearing that his father was seriously ill and Chambers was alone once more. The Banting Mission thereafter lacked the personnel to follow up fully this promising beginning.

During these years, Chambers developed a friendship with Charles Johnson. The Ranee Margaret was to say many years later that Chambers was 'a good friend of the present Rajah, and for many years, these two men, in their different ways, worked unremittingly for the good of the natives'.⁵⁵ Both men were uncomfortable in society, somewhat prickly and reserved. Both could be obstinate and tenacious of opinions. Both became deeply attached to the Sea Dayaks among whom they worked. Chambers lived a disordered life, neglected his comfort and health, wore Malay dress,⁵⁶ and caused McDougall annoyance by his lack of system and order.⁵⁷ Charles Johnson, perhaps as a result of his naval training, lived a more disciplined if frugal life. He was stationed at Lingga until Brereton's death in October 1854, when he moved to Skrang fort. He then had responsibility for the entire Batang Lupar, which encompassed Lingga. In 1860 the fort was moved to Simanggang. It was natural that the two men should seek each other's company when possible. In his book *Ten Years in Sarawak*, Charles Brooke refers to a missionary, whom he does not name, as a friend.⁵⁸ It could only have been Chambers. McDougall mentions the two men having a hard and muddy walk after their boat was wrecked on the way to Kuching.⁵⁹ In December 1856 they arrived together in Kuching after hearing of a plot by the Chinese to seize the town in the absence of the Rajah.⁶⁰ Further evidence of a close relationship between the future

Rajah and the future Bishop of Sarawak may be found in comments made during the controversy in 1862 which was provoked by remarks critical of the Mission made by Spenser St John.⁶¹ By that date the friendship had come under strain, but until Chambers married in August 1858, he and Johnson shared similar aims and ideals as, remote from Kuching, they went 'a-Dayaking' together.⁶²

Apart from Banting and Lundu, little was being achieved outside Kuching. Among the Land Dayaks hardly anything had been done. The Rajah had taken McDougall to visit the Sentah Land Dayaks at Quop in November 1850,⁶³ and occasional visits were made later. For example, in May 1856 Chambers and a new arrival, C. A. Koch, visited Quop,⁶⁴ and Koch went there again for a few days in December.⁶⁵ The people exhibited interest, but no missionary was available for the Land Dayaks until the arrival of the Revd William Chalmers in 1858. Nor was there anyone to send to Sadong where the Borneo Company, formed in 1856 with the Rajah's blessing, was mining coal. Chambers visited the area in January 1857 after an arduous journey from Banting.⁶⁶ Although he reported favourably and the Company had offered to pay the stipend of a missionary clergyman, none was available.⁶⁷

McDougall found the situation galling and embarrassing, especially when the Orang Kaya Per Mancha of Merdang, near Quop, went to the Rajah to ask why McDougall had not sent a teacher. He and the 2,000 Sebuyau Sea Dayaks under him at Merdang wished to be Christians and 'would take the kingdom by force if they could', McDougall reported. In admitting to the SPG that progress had not been as rapid or extensive as had been hoped, McDougall, perhaps sensitive to criticism, overt or implied, from the Rajah, attempted to shift the responsibility, giving as the first reason for the disappointing results 'being obliged from political reasons to commence our Missions among the Dyaks in those tribes where the greatest difficulties were to be expected from their piratical and war-like habits'. In other words, the missionaries had been sent where the Rajah wanted them as instruments of a Brooke policy of pacification. There is no evidence that from 1850 to 1853 McDougall did not agree with the Rajah's priorities. Moreover, while the Mission had been withdrawn from Skrang because of the Dayak hostility to the Brooke regime there, there appears to have been no hostility to Chambers at Banting or to Gomes at Lundu. More valid are the other reasons given by McDougall: the delays caused by the need

to prepare men for the work, and the losses to the Mission of Nicholls, Fox, and Grayling, the last-named having come out from England with McDougall in 1855 and succumbed to the climate soon after.⁶⁸ To these was soon added the loss of Horsburgh.

McDougall was consecrated Bishop in Calcutta on 18 October 1855. On his return to Sarawak he found some difficulty in bringing his outstation missionaries under his newly acquired episcopal control. They had been operating, after all, for most of the time independent of any such control, or even of McDougall's presence for two and a half years. In April 1856, McDougall complained to Hawkins and Bullock that Dayak work made men 'unregular as to time and form of any kind'. He had difficulty getting them to send the regular reports required by the SPG. He lectured them on dress: they looked more like pirates than clergymen, and when they came to Kuching, did not like wearing shirts or the regular routine of services and school work.⁶⁹ 'I know from experience that the fascinations of a jungle life are considerable, but they indispose men to mental exertion and they lead to a looseness and irregularity of habits which are not desirable in clergymen.'⁷⁰

McDougall, in fact, had had little experience of jungle life, but seems to have readily adopted the lax ways he condemned, at least in dress. When he and Gomes visited Chambers and Horsburgh in June 1855, 'We made a group of four clergymen. Not one of us possessed a shirt, and I alone had shoes. Chambers and Horsburgh, with their beards and long staves, looked quite patriarchal.'⁷¹ Even in Kuching, McDougall hardly met the strictest sartorial standards of the Church. He wore his 'dreadful Bishop's gown' only on Sundays and great feast days and admitted that he was a 'bad dignitary as regards dress'. His daily attire, which he considered both ecclesiastical and comfortable, was a white muslin cassock with a black belt and silk trousers. Outdoors he wore a pith helmet. For weekday services he wore a cassock and his old Master's hood. He tried to persuade the other clergy to wear the same instead of shooting jackets and all manner of unclerical garments, 'but these Dyak missionaries do certainly get most irregular and slovenly in habits & attire & want drilling. The jungle seems most ruinous as regards little proprieties & "deportment".'⁷²

By the middle of 1856 McDougall sensed that the Rajah's enthusiasm and support for the Mission was waning, partly

because of its slow progress. Thus he welcomed the news that a Mr Bayne, whom McDougall had met at Oxford, was going to offer himself to the SPG for service in Sarawak. Bayne was engaged to Miss E. Johnson, the Rajah's niece, whom McDougall regarded as a good Churchwoman, given to good works, who would make an excellent missionary wife. Bayne's arrival would strengthen the connection between Church and State in Sarawak and stir up the Rajah to provide for the future endowment of the Church, which implies that McDougall felt the Rajah needed stirring. McDougall looked to a future in which Captain Brooke would be Rajah and his brother-in-law Bayne would be head of the Mission's college, which he was sure would 'much increase our influence and power of doing good'.⁷³ Bayne did not arrive, but McDougall's comments indicate that a coolness had developed between the Rajah and the Bishop.

One cause of this was the Rajah's disappointment at the inability of the Mission to do more in the Dayak areas.⁷⁴ James Brooke's government was a personal one and the young men in his service were friends for whom he felt an avuncular regard. Lee's death at the hands of Rentap's warriors in January 1853 and that of Brereton from dysentery in August 1854 were personal losses. They occurred at a time when the Rajah was facing criticism, leading to a Commission of Inquiry into his actions, which undermined his health and spirit: so much so that Mrs McDougall, also grieving for Brereton, feared for the future of Sarawak.⁷⁵ It must have appeared to the Rajah that the Mission was not shouldering its share of the burden. The prudent withdrawal of Chambers from Skrang on the eve of the attack in which Lee was killed emphasized the difference in roles.

McDougall was embarrassed by the failure to reinforce Gomes and Chambers, the only two missionaries in the Dayak areas. Clergymen like Grayling and Horsburgh had disappointed him. Bishop's College, Calcutta could not supply the kind of men he wanted. He resented the loss of Fox to the Government.⁷⁶ The answer, as he informed Hawkins in January 1857, was to 'train up our own natives & have a few good Englishmen to superintend them. Half-power, listless, timid kind of workers won't do for us, for at best they are expensive labourers, you want two for one.'⁷⁷ He hoped that the products of St Augustine's College, Canterbury, when they eventually arrived in Sarawak, would enable him to expand the Mission's work in the Dayak areas.⁷⁸

At the same time, there was much to do in Kuching, and

factors were at work there which affected the relationship between the Mission and the Government. In Kuching the head of the Government and the head of the Mission were in close contiguity: a situation which could produce co-operation, admiration, and respect (as occurred between government officers and missionaries in the outstations), but could also engender jealousy, intrigue, rivalry, and animosity. It is to events in the capital that we must now turn.

1. F. T. McDougall to E. Hawkins, May 1850, USPG Archives, OLR, D6b.
2. F. T. McDougall to C. D. Brereton, 31 July 1848, USPG Archives, Borneo Box 1.
3. F. T. McDougall to C. D. Brereton, 18 September 1848, *ibid.*
4. F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 24 September 1849, *ibid.*
5. F. T. McDougall to E. Hawkins, May 1850, USPG Archives, OLR, D6b.
6. F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 2 May 1849, USPG Archives, Borneo Box 1.
7. F. T. McDougall to E. Hawkins, May 1850, USPG Archives, OLR, D6b.
8. J. Brooke to F. T. McDougall, 27 April 1850, quoted in *Address of the Committee of the Borneo Church Mission Institution*, USPG Bound Pamphlets, 15008, Item 16, pp. 8-9. It also appears in C. J. Bunyon, *Memoirs of Francis Thomas McDougall*, pp. 60-2, with some slight differences in wording and paragraphing.
9. *Address of the Committee of the Borneo Church Mission Institution*, pp. 8-9; F. T. McDougall to E. Hawkins, May 1850, USPG Archives, OLR D6b; Bunyon, *Memoirs of Francis Thomas McDougall*, p. 65.
10. *Address of the Committee of the Borneo Church Mission Institution*, p. 11. The numbers are apparently those suggested by Sir James Brooke in other letters to which reference is made: *ibid.*, p. 7.
11. *Loc. cit.*
12. Bunyon, *Memoirs of Francis Thomas McDougall*, p. 62.
13. F. T. McDougall to E. Hawkins, May 1850, USPG Archives, OLR, D6b.
14. *Report of the Borneo Church Mission Institution, 1850*, USPG Bound Pamphlets, 15008, Item 17, pp. 13-14. Italics in original.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
16. J. Brooke to R. Mundy, 18 February 1850, in J. C. Templer, *The Private Letters of Sir James Brooke, K.C.B.*, Vol. II, pp. 269-71. The text is given in Brian Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, pp. 13-14.
17. J. Brooke to F. T. McDougall, 28 January 1851, from Singapore, in Templer, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 29-32. Printed in *Report of the Borneo Church Mission Institution, 1850*, pp. 7-8, with no paragraphing and some differences in punctuation and emphasis. See also Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, pp. 20-2.
18. W. Chambers to C. D. Brereton, 8 March 1851, from Singapore, *Report of the Borneo Church Mission Institution, 1850*, p. 17.
19. W. Chambers to C. D. Brereton, 28 March 1851, from Sarawak, *ibid.*, p. 18.

20. Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, p. Notes -5, note 20.
21. Chambers was born in 1824. He was ordained deacon in 1849 and priest in 1850 and was curate at Bentley, Derbyshire. He was licensed as a missionary at Sarawak by the Bishop of London, C. J. Blomfield, on 17 December 1850: *Mission Field*, 1 February 1894, p. 69 (Chambers's obituary).
22. F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 29 March, 10 June, and 15 August 1851, USPG Archives, Borneo Box 1.
23. F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 10 June and 13 September 1851, *ibid.*
24. F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 15 August 1851, *ibid.*
25. Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, p. 26.
26. F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 23 February 1852, USPG Archives, Borneo Box 1.
27. F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 13 May 1852, *ibid.*
28. F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 18 June 1852, *ibid.*
29. F. T. McDougall to E. Hawkins, 13 October 1851, USPG Archives, OLR, D6b.
30. F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 15 August 1851, USPG Archives, Borneo Box 1.
31. Nicholls said that this had been his plan from the start: F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 20 October 1851, *ibid.*
32. F. T. McDougall to E. Hawkins, 17 January 1852, USPG Archives, OLR, D6b.
33. Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, p. 31.
34. *Loc. cit.*
35. *Ibid.*, p. 32.
36. F. T. McDougall to Sir Francis Beaufort, 26 April 1851, Gun boat Jolly Bachelor, off Saribas, USPG Archives, Borneo Box 1.
37. Charles Brooke, *Ten Years in Sarawak*, p. 2.
38. They were still maintaining a correspondence in the 1870s. See MSS Pac. s. 90, Vol. 13.
39. Harnette McDougall, *Sketches of Our Life at Sarawak*, p. 73.
40. F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, June 1856, USPG Archives, OLR, D6b.
41. See pp. 119-21 below.
42. Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, pp. 33-4.
43. *Mission Field*, Vol. I, 1856, p. 29: Gomes's letter of 1 October 1855. See also Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, p. 43.
44. *Mission Field*, Vol. II, 1857, p. 68, quoting letter from Gomes, 1 October 1856. Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, p. 49, has ten confirmed.
45. Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, p. 43. *Mission Field*, Vol. I, 1856, p. 29, mentions that Grant gave \$20 towards the school.
46. Robert Pringle, *Rajahs and Rebels*, pp. 90-1.
47. Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, pp. 32-3.
48. See Chapter 4 below.
49. F. T. McDougall to E. Hawkins, 13 June 1855, USPG Archives, OLR, D6b.
50. Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, p. 41; *Mission Field*, Vol. I, 1856, p. 10. For dispute about 'Isa' or 'Jesus', see F. T. McDougall to E. Hawkins, 15 June 1855, and F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 16 July 1855, USPG Archives, OLR, D6b.

51. *Mission Field*, Vol. I, 1856, pp. 32–41, published accounts of the missionary travels of Chambers and Horsburgh. That by Horsburgh in particular, of a journey to Sibumban and beyond, accompanied by Christian Dayaks from Banting, illustrates this point well. Horsburgh concluded: '... and as the men of Sebumban formerly learnt from those of Banting, so I trust there are others who will learn from those of Sebumban.'

52. F. T. McDougall to E. Hawkins, 6 December 1855, USPG Archives, OLR, D6b.

53. F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 29 December 1855. For other references to Chambers's neglect of his health and overtaxing his strength, see F. T. McDougall to E. Hawkins, 24 September 1856, 5 January 1857, and McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 24 April 1857, *ibid.*

54. Gertrude L. Jacob, *The Raja of Sarawak*, Vol. II, p. 186.

55. Margaret Brooke, *My Life in Sarawak*, p. 36.

56. '... at Banting he wears Malay clothes of course': H. McDougall to Eliza Bunyon, September 1857, McDougall Papers.

57. F. T. McDougall to E. Hawkins, 7 April 1856, marked 'Private', USPG Archives, OLR, D6b.

58. Charles Brooke, *Ten Years in Sarawak*, Vol. I, p. 237. On p. 202 he mentions a missionary's wife, who could only have been Mrs Chambers. Developments by the time the book was published in 1863 would have justified this discretion.

59. F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 12 December 1856, USPG Archives, OLR, D6b.

60. F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 12 December 1856, *ibid.*

61. See p. 180 below.

62. A phrase the author owes to the Revd A. J. M. Saint in a letter dated 3 October 1984.

63. Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, p. 16.

64. F. T. McDougall to E. Hawkins, 19 May 1856, marked 'Private', USPG Archives, OLR, D6b.

65. F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 12 December 1856, *ibid.*

66. *Mission Field*, Vol. II, 1857, pp. 234–6.

67. The Borneo Company had granted £200 for three years to start a Sadong Mission: F. T. McDougall to C. J. Bunyon, 12 December 1856, McDougall Papers.

68. F. T. McDougall to E. Hawkins, 8 April 1856, USPG Archives, OLR, D6b.

69. F. T. McDougall to E. Hawkins, 8 April 1856, *ibid.*

70. F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 7 April 1856, marked 'Private', *ibid.*

71. Journal entry for 2 June, quoted in Bunyon, *Memoirs of Francis Thomas McDougall*, p. 110. The date is given by Bunyon as 2 May, but this is inconsistent with the dates preceding and following.

72. F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, June 1856, USPG Archives, OLR, D6b.

73. F. T. McDougall to E. Hawkins, 19 May 1856, marked 'Private', *ibid.*

74. This was to be a criticism made by St John in 1862 and he reflected the Rajah's views.

75. H. McDougall to C. J. Bunyon, 28 January 1855, written from Bishop's College, Calcutta, when returning to Sarawak from furlough in England and therefore based on what she had heard in letters: McDougall Papers.

76. See Chapter 7 below.

77. F. T. McDougall to E. Hawkins, 5 January 1857, USPG Archives, OLR, D6b.

78. F. T. McDougall to E. Hawkins, 12 December 1856, *ibid.*

The Mission at Kuching to February 1857

WHEN the Mission was established in June 1848, Kuching was predominantly a Malay town, though some Chinese had already settled there. James Brooke regarded the Chinese as industrious and welcomed new immigrants. Hokkiens dominated the commercial life of the town, Chao An immigrants became shopkeepers and wharf labourers, and Teochew farmers settled outside the town. The Government dealt with the leaders of the three communities. Upriver from Kuching, at the gold-mining centre of Bau, there were some 4,000 Hakkas, governed by their own *kongsi*. Brooke's government taxed them, but otherwise left them alone while keeping a wary eye on them. In 1850, for example, an agent of the Singapore Triad Society entered Sarawak to reorganize the Bau Chinese. He was arrested as a troublemaker and executed.¹ In 1852, the *kongsi* tried to protect one of its members charged with a criminal offence from arrest. They gave him up when Charles Johnson arrived with a large force of Dayaks and Malays. The *kongsi* was ordered, as a punishment, to build a fort at Belidah, which was to be manned by Malays, but the Rajah rescinded Johnson's fine of 100 muskets.² Apart from these interventions, the Bau Chinese were a law unto themselves, a self-governing state within the state.

The arrival of the 5,000 Dyako-Chinese refugees from Dutch Borneo in October 1850 created a problem for the Government and the Mission. In the Rajah's absence, Captain Brooke tried to persuade them to stay at the mouth of the river, but could not prevent them moving up to Kuching. McDougall found many of them camped in his almost completed church one night, and evicted them. There was no time for reflection or planning in dealing with the influx. McDougall treated the more seriously sick and wounded in a temporary hospital, and took thirteen children into his Home School, to be brought up as Christians. The Rajah, on his return from his diplomatic mission to Siam, fully approved.³ The Committee of the BCMI, uncharitably, did not. It believed that the hospital distracted McDougall from his spiritual duties. McDougall pointed out that the hospital, which by February

1851 had twenty-four beds, took up less of his time than had the dispensary,⁴ cost the Mission nothing because the Government fully supported it,⁵ and provided opportunities for missionary work. Two of the four Chinese he baptized in September 1851 were from the hospital.⁶

The Committee also objected to the increase in the Home School intake, arguing that its finances could not support it. McDougall defended his admission of the thirteen children passionately, for he regarded the Home School, in which the children were brought up in a Christian environment, as 'the nucleus of an Institution which will one day supply a Native Ministry for Borneo'.⁷ Institutions like Mr Keasbury's in Singapore, run by the London Missionary Society, of which his erstwhile 'Christian' Malay teacher had been a product, achieved nothing. They taught Christian doctrines 'just as we were taught the mythology of Greece & Rome', but did not produce Christians. Rejecting the Committee's suggestion that the Home School children be taught in the Day School, now run by Fox, he was adamant that the Christian children should be kept separate from others.⁸

The Committee favoured the day-schools advocated by the Government. McDougall agreed that these schools were necessary politically and that the Government would assist the Mission in establishing them, but it would be a long time before they produced results in a missionary sense. The Malays, for whom the schools were intended, would not send their children to schools opened 'with the *avowed* intention of teaching them Christianity', so that religious teaching could not go beyond the common ground of Islam and Christianity. From what he had observed in Singapore, Penang, and Malacca, no converts were made, the children following the religion of their fathers or learning enough to despise their own religion without accepting Christianity, becoming 'practical infidels'. He was, therefore, loth to give up his 'professedly Christian school of even twenty-five baptised children' for any schools, however numerous, which imparted Christianity 'as a *mere intellectuality*' to those who had no intention of embracing it and refused to believe its simplest postulates.⁹ It is difficult to fault McDougall from the missionary point of view and the Committee's criticisms of his Home School, as of his medical work, appear singularly ill-judged. McDougall, however, was overstating his position, and when there was pressure from the Chinese for a day-school similar to that for the Malays, he saw it as a way of reaching out to the Chinese community.¹⁰

The work among the Chinese prospered, although it was hampered by language difficulties. Horatio Moule, the Chaplain in Singapore, sent a Chinese Christian schoolmaster named Ayoon to teach the older boys in the Home School. Ayoon also acted as interpreter, though he could neither read nor write Chinese.¹¹ His arrival enabled McDougall to begin, by October 1851, short services in Chinese. By then, too, Fox had learnt almost enough Chinese to say prayers.¹² On 3 September, McDougall reported the baptism of four adult Chinese and the acceptance into the congregation of a Roman Catholic Chinese.¹³ At the service on 7 September 1851, prior to Chambers's departure for the Skrang, five Chinese converts were admitted to Holy Communion.¹⁴ When Archdeacon Pratt sent from Singapore a dozen copies each of the Chinese translations of the New Testament and of St Luke, all were soon given out.¹⁵ In January 1852, Foo Ngyen Khoon, McDougall's Chinese writer, accepted baptism.¹⁶ At Penangkat, in Dutch Borneo, he had been a schoolmaster and religious leader. He was to be equally prominent in the Sarawak Church.

In January 1852, McDougall went to Hong Kong for health reasons. While there he sought information on mission work among the Chinese, and recruited the Revd Andrew Horsburgh for Sarawak. Horsburgh had left Scotland, when in deacon's orders, to be a missionary. Instead he was made chaplain to the English population at Canton, his Bishop regarding him as being deficient in energy, perseverance, and the ability to learn a language. McDougall thought he had been underestimated by the Bishop, who was Irish. McDougall regarded him as 'a thoughtful, modest, earnest-minded young man, a firm Churchman of no extreme views'. More importantly, he knew some Chinese.¹⁷ After McDougall's return from Hong Kong in May, he opened a Chinese Day School in Ayoon's house in the town. Pupils paid 50 cents a month and six pupils attended on the first day. Ayoon taught English and Foo Ngyen Khoon taught Chinese in the morning before going to the Home School. There were also evening lectures two or three times a week in the same house, with an attendance of up to twenty-five. On Whit Sunday, May 1852, nine new converts took communion for the first time. Encouraged by this success, McDougall looked further afield, to the Chinese communities at Siniawan and Bau, and suggested that Nicholls be encouraged to return from Bishop's College, Calcutta.¹⁸

At this point McDougall went on furlough. His health had not greatly improved while he was in Hong Kong and deteriorated on his return to Sarawak. The McDougalls crossed to Singapore at the end of July, but there was no ship leaving for England. On 1 August, Mrs McDougall gave birth to yet another son who died. Horsburgh having arrived from Hong Kong, McDougall took the opportunity to settle him at Kuching, making a four-day pastoral visit to Labuan on the way. He then travelled with Captain Brooke to a peace-making of the Dayak chiefs on the Saribas and a visit to Chambers at Skrang.¹⁹ On his return to Singapore at the beginning of October, he found Mrs McDougall weak and ill after a carriage accident, and a letter from Stooks and Brereton of the BCMI criticizing his 'scandalous expenses' on building. In no good temper, McDougall decided that the affairs of the Committee were in such a state that his immediate return to England was necessary.²⁰

While McDougall was in England, Horsburgh was in charge at Kuching. On his return in May 1855, McDougall found everything 'in sad plight': Horsburgh, he said, had 'no order or power of ordering others in his constitution'. He considered dismissing him, but eventually sent him to Chambers at Lingga.²¹ When Horsburgh left Sarawak a year later, McDougall declared that he was unpopular with Europeans and had no influence with the Natives.²² This judgement was harsh and perhaps self-serving, for while Horsburgh had had difficulties, particularly with Ayoon, who had seduced one of the schoolgirls,²³ he had maintained the Mission and retained Chinese interest while McDougall was away, with very little preparation for the task. Since McDougall's return he had seemingly worked well with Chambers at Banting. Even McDougall admitted that his first impressions of apathy and neglect were belied when forty to fifty people attended the first public lecture in the bazaar after his return, and two expressed their intent to become Christians, while on Ascension Day there had been thirteen Chinese communicants and three catechumens almost ready for baptism.²⁴ Others were interested, but were frightened by opponents to Christianity in the Chinese community, those whom McDougall called *Orang Sheitan*, the Devil's people.²⁵ During 1856 there was a steady trickle of converts. On Palm Sunday, McDougall confirmed nine converts and baptized three at Easter.²⁶ In April he reported the beginning of work among the Chinese at Bau, where there was a convert who was a goldsmith.²⁷ On the Whit Sunday holiday, accompanied by Daniel Owen,

the new schoolmaster, who was learning Chinese,²⁸ and by the Chinese catechist and fifteen pupils from the Home School, McDougall held an evening service in the home of the goldsmith at Bau. The singing and chanting attracted a large crowd on to the verandah to peer into the brightly lit room, presenting to McDougall's mind 'a picture of the heathen struggling after light'. Afterwards, he arranged for the Chinese catechist to make monthly visits to Bau with the older boys from the school in order to hold a service and to instruct any who professed an interest in Christianity.²⁹

McDougall's hopes of successful work among the Chinese were merging with his expectations for the Home School. Although disappointed by the slow progress of the Mission among the Dayaks, he saw in the Chinese a means of extending it, particularly to the Land Dayaks, into whose areas some Chinese were moving. Chinese Christians would be, he hoped, examples of Christian living and provide catechists. Characteristically, he dwelt on the recent difficulties—the bad example of Ayoon, his dissatisfaction with Horsburgh and the problems posed by the Chinese and Dayak Languages. Nevertheless, he believed that the time was approaching to plant a native ministry amongst the people, and he hoped that the SPG would send out a 'well approved & able man' to assist him in making the Home School into a College.³⁰ Already the older boys were entering the employ of the Mission and in October 1856 he sent one of the head boys of the Home School, a Chinese, to assist Chambers at Lingga.³¹

Work began also among the Chinese women, although McDougall had a low opinion of them as untrustworthy and mostly immoral. Mrs McDougall, Mrs Stahl, and Miss Coomes, a newly arrived missionary lady, held a gathering of about twelve Chinese women twice a week.³² In the long run, however, McDougall believed that the main hope of spreading Christianity lay in training catechists and teachers in the Home School.³³

While McDougall was on furlough, from October 1852 to May 1855, events undermined the health of Sir James Brooke and embittered him. The Commission of Inquiry into the action at Beting Maru in 1849, and into the position of Brooke as jointly Governor of Labuan and Rajah of Sarawak, was held in Singapore between 11 September and 21 November 1854. Its findings exonerated him, both Commissioners agreeing that the Skrang and Saribas Dayaks were piratical. Brooke had resigned as Governor of Labuan and Consul-General for Borneo by 1853, so

that the question regarding any clash of interest with his position in Sarawak had become academic. However, Brooke's status in Sarawak was not settled to his satisfaction. The Commissioners did not regard him as an independent ruler, but as a vassal of Brunei, with no authority to call on British protection and the assistance of the Royal Navy. The British Government, which had delayed formally accepting his resignations, now did so. At first elated by the conclusion of the Inquiry, which had hung over his head since March 1853, the Rajah soon realized that his position in Sarawak had been considerably weakened. His status was uncertain, he unwisely let it be known in Sarawak that he had lost the favour of the British Government, and the Inquiry had indicated to potential enemies and rivals that he was more vulnerable than earlier supposed.

The Rajah's health also suffered. He regarded opposition to his policies in personal terms and criticism of his conduct angered and hurt him. He could not ignore or dismiss it, but was impelled to reply and vindicate himself. He had fallen out with his agent, Henry Wise, over the latter's proposals for the Eastern Archipelago Company, which Brooke regarded as exploitative. Brooke won his case in court, but Wise was behind much of the agitation leading to the Commission of Inquiry. The prolonged controversy was emotionally wearing. The death of Lee in January 1853 was a further blow. Brooke was in Singapore when he received the news. When he returned to Sarawak in May, he looked ill, and immediately succumbed to an attack of smallpox so virulent that his life was despaired of. Horsburgh read McDougall's medical books and treated the Rajah as well as he could, although the Rajah, whom the disease had made morbidly suspicious, would have nothing to do with him, trusting only Arthur Crookshank and Captain Brooke, who served him Horsburgh's concoctions as their own. The Rajah recovered, but his convalescence took three months and he was disfigured and his appearance aged.³⁴ The experience tested his religious conviction. His first letter after his recovery was to John Templer. Too weak to write, he dictated it to Charles Grant. 'I woke', he said, 'sensible of the loathsome state to which I was reduced; literally from head to foot seamed with this frightful disorder; and, feeble as an infant, I strove to reconcile myself to the will of God, who had afflicted me.'³⁵

Brooke retained his intense interest in theological and philosophical questions. Between 1 November 1854 and 25 January 1856, the naturalist Alfred Russel Wallace was in Sarawak.³⁶ Wallace

was working towards the evolutionist theory that Darwin was to publicize in his *The Origin of Species* in 1859. Brooke welcomed controversy and relished argument, as his own account of an evening of fervid, and perhaps not quite sober, debate illustrates. The dispute was over the being and attributes of God, and present were St John, Charles Johnson, and Chambers:

Everybody was an atheist and pantheist by turns. Charlie and St John collared Chambers with hard names, and then everybody sat upon poor Charlie, who said that God was everywhere and nowhere at the same time, or words to that effect. Then the company roared at St John for his heterodoxy, fiercely contesting my definition; but at last it was discovered that everybody meant the same thing, that everybody said it in a different way, and half a dozen times over, and that we were proper and very orthodox at the same time.³⁷

Wallace spent a week with the Rajah and St John at the Rajah's retreat at Peninjaub in December 1855.³⁸ Discussion on a range of scientific, philosophical, and religious matters took place. Perhaps stimulated by such discussions, in 1856 the Rajah entered into a correspondence with Chambers on the question of reason and conscience. In it he revealed a high level of thought, a questioning mind not satisfied with dogmatic certainties, and a tolerance of the viewpoint of others.³⁹

It is significant that Brooke conducted this discussion with Chambers and not McDougall. Chambers entered into such debates, McDougall did not. St John attributed the latter's reluctance to ignorance, claiming that McDougall had little useful knowledge apart from medicine. If his authority on religious matters was questioned, he growled and became sulky. St John claimed that at Penang Hill in 1850, McDougall was so unpleasant that the others suspended their religious discussions when he was present.⁴⁰ As head of the Mission and later as Bishop, McDougall saw himself as guardian of the Church's doctrinal truth and was personally distressed when sceptical or controversial views were aired. Charles Bunyon described the awkward position in which McDougall found himself. One evening, soon after McDougall's first arrival in Sarawak,

... after dinner at Government House words were spoken which it was impossible that a clergyman who was loyal to his faith could tolerate. McDougall did not hesitate for an instant, but rose from his chair and left the room, to be followed by the Rajah, who lamented what had

passed, and promised on his honour that it should not happen again. Nor did it in that offensive form, but the feelings which prompted it bore bitter fruit afterwards, and there was an undercurrent of opposition which may be traced in the events which followed.⁴¹

The English community was too small for McDougall to refuse to associate with any of its members, 'and the alternative that he adopted was, by steady kindness and constant exercise of influence for good, holding his own and preaching the truth, and in his medical capacity ministering to all in sickness, to seek to win rather than repel those who differed from him'.⁴² St John and the Rajah would have preferred argument and encouragement of their 'free enquiries', but Bunyon argued that 'it could scarcely be expected that with his reverent mind he should be prepared to treat as open questions the doctrines that he had been commissioned to teach'.⁴³ It might have served McDougall and the Mission better if he had had the confidence and ability to meet the sceptics in open argument. As it was, they tended to regard him with little respect. It was, after all, a time of controversy within the Church.

The situation is well described in an account of a dinner party at the Rajah's residence in 1855, after McDougall's consecration. It was a lively and mirthful evening. The Rajah had tricked his guests into eating a pleasantly disguised durian sauce,* Captain Brooke's insect collection was examined, the Imam paid a call, as did a Dayak chief who asked McDougall to send a missionary to his people. The Rajah now turned the conversation to the theories of David Hume, the philosopher and sceptic. While not concurring in Hume's views, the Rajah argued that 'a man calmly contemplating a green old age must have some virtue in him', read a passage to prove his words, and added 'that it was the quiet close of a life so described that he was looking forward to for himself'.

The Bishop, having arranged that the chief should visit him at his house next morning, here joined us and gave a good-natured but firm denial to the idea that happiness was attainable by the historian's theory; while Mrs McDougall, visibly grieved, exclaimed, "Such an old age, like that of the sceptic's, would be dried and withered". Sir James laughed gaily at their warmth, and his young staff smiled. Presently the ladies declared that it was getting late, the company rose, the evening was over.⁴⁴

*The durian is a fruit with a strong smell which many Europeans find offensive.

'Sir James laughed gaily at their warmth, and his young staff smiled.' There were doubtless similar occasions when the Rajah and the supercilious young men about him smiled upon the earnest Bishop and his lady. Such things rankle, and help account for the vehemence of McDougall's response to criticism of him by Spenser St John in 1862.

Another factor in the subtly changing relationship between the Mission and the Government and between McDougall and the Rajah was McDougall's elevation to Bishop. The creation of a bishopric had been in mind from the founding of the Mission. In 1847, when James Brooke received an honorary degree of Doctor of Civil Laws at Oxford, some senior members of the University had favoured establishing the Mission under the authority of a bishop and a committee had raised £500 towards that end.⁴⁵ In discussing with McDougall the possibility of extending the Mission into the Dayak areas, the Rajah had raised anew the question of ecclesiastical authority: and on his arrival in England in 1851 he put forward to a meeting of the Committee of the BCMI his proposal for a bishopric. The Committee contacted the Oxford committee and sought the support of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London. At the end of June 1851, the Archbishop replied that he had discussed the matter with the British Government and that an endowment of £10,000 would be required to establish the bishopric and provide an annual salary of £500.⁴⁶ On 29 January 1852, the Rajah addressed a crowded meeting at Exeter College Hall, Oxford, and attended another meeting the following day, when a committee was formed to acquire a sufficient endowment. Brooke agreed that the Bishop's salary should be around £500 a year.⁴⁷ The main point, wrote Ernest Hawkins, Secretary of the SPG, 'was to add to the existing missionary the spiritual powers belonging to a bishop, and not to make him less of a missionary than before, or much to add to the state or expense of his living'.⁴⁸ By 28 April a sum of £8,853 4s. 2d. had been raised, the SPG contributing £5,000 and the SPCK £2,000. Donations in Oxford totalled £1,080 and the rest came from various donations made through the SPG and BCMI.⁴⁹ McDougall as bishop found himself financially straitened, but the Church authorities and the Rajah both agreed that the Bishop should not hold too great a state.

The McDougalls arrived in England in November 1852 and remained for eighteen months. McDougall wrote a lengthy report to the SPG in January 1853 outlining his plans for the Mission, in

particular the prospective work among the Dayaks and the introduction of industrial and agricultural teaching, as well as the extension of the Mission's medical work—ideas in line with the Rajah's thinking. He also stressed the need for a mission ship to enable him to visit the Dayak rivers in safety.⁵⁰ While the scheme for the bishopric was being pushed through, he sought support for the Mission and recruited missionaries. At a personal level, the McDougalls suffered further grief when their eldest child, Charley, died in June 1854. The birth of a daughter, Mary (Mab), the previous year had been some consolation for past bereavements. Faced with this new loss, they turned to Sarawak for comfort. As Mrs McDougall wrote, 'in this world action is the best balm for a wounded spirit'.⁵¹

There was no doubt that McDougall would be named as Bishop,⁵² but delay was caused by the uncertain status of Sarawak. The problem was solved by making Labuan, which was a British colony, the nominal seat of the Diocese.⁵³ McDougall heard of the decision at Calcutta *en route* to Sarawak.⁵⁴ He had hoped to be consecrated at Calcutta, but the Rajah, in a letter to Mrs McDougall, advised that he should not wait for the necessary three bishops to be gathered together but avoid the cholera season and continue his journey. 'Come back first, and then McDougall can go and be made bishop in due season, and directly that he is made bishop we will begin about getting him made Archbishop of Borneo.'⁵⁵

The Rajah's solicitude and humour indicate the affection he felt. The McDougalls continued their journey, arriving in Sarawak on 24 April 1855. The Letters Patent making the 'island of Labuan and its dependencies' a diocese were issued on 6 August 1855.⁵⁶ On 20 August, the Rajah informed Templer, 'Our excellent Bishop Elect leaves us on Saturday for Calcutta.'⁵⁷ The consecration took place at Calcutta on St Luke's Day, 18 October 1855.⁵⁸

Despite his approval of McDougall as bishop, the Rajah was, in Mrs McDougall's words, 'disgusted with the *Labuan* Bishopric'.⁵⁹ He had no objection to McDougall being Bishop of Labuan and Sarawak, but would not tolerate him being Bishop of Labuan *in* Sarawak. Determined to assert Sarawak's independence, he had refused to allow Spenser St John, recently appointed British Consul-General to Brunei, to act in Sarawak unless he asked for an *exequatur* from the Sarawak Government. St John had not done so and unless he obtained a separate appointment from the British Government as its Consul-General in Sarawak (which

would imply recognition by Britain that Sarawak was an independent state), he would have to reside in Brunei. In the circumstances, McDougall saw no objection to accepting separate Letters Patent from the Rajah appointing him Bishop of Sarawak with the right to exercise all episcopal functions in the territories of the Sarawak Government, 'seeing there is nothing in the wording prejudicial to my allegiance etc. as a Col. Bishop'. Moreover, the Rajah promised to endow the Sarawak Bishopruc.⁶⁰

By issuing his own Letters Patent, the Rajah had asserted his authority over the Church and the Bishop within Sarawak. Nevertheless, the situation was not as clear-cut as the Rajah might have wished. McDougall was first and foremost Bishop of Labuan and had responsibilities for his flock there. He was supported from external sources and drew his spiritual authority from the Church Apostolic represented by the Anglican Church. In practical terms, he reported to the SPG in as much as he was a missionary, and was responsible to the Archbishop of Canterbury in as much as he was an Anglican bishop. In that his nomination as Bishop had derived from the monarch herself and his appointment had been announced by Letters Patent of the Crown, his primary allegiance lay outside Sarawak. As Bishop of Labuan, McDougall represented an authority outside Sarawak and could well find himself in conflict with the authorities inside Sarawak.

McDougall's elevation subtly altered his relations with the Rajah. To be bishop carried a cachet that 'head of the Mission' did not. Moreover, the consecration of a bishop with the full panoply of the Church was for the recipient an emotional and spiritual experience not to be forgotten. McDougall was not given to prolonged spiritual devotions or to theological speculation. He was a robust, practical Christian who in establishing the Mission acted with energy and zeal. As the younger man, he sought the approbation of the Rajah, who shared McDougall's pride in his material achievements. Nevertheless, his consecration had marked McDougall. He bore a new authority and was, therefore, a new power in the land. The events of 1857 and the consequences following from them cannot be understood unless McDougall's new status is appreciated. The dichotomy which could be seen emerging as the Church and Mission House rose on their respective hills across the river from the Rajah's bungalow found new expression now that the Rajah looked across to the Bishop.

This new relationship began to take shape at the time when the Rajah suffered the set-backs associated with the Commission of

Inquiry and the decline in his health. In January 1855, Mrs McDougall noted the wear and tear of his spirit already weakened by bodily illness,⁶¹ while some eighteen months later McDougall reported that the Rajah was worn and debilitated again, 'getting out of health, weak, anaemious, dyspeptic'.⁶² McDougall was already wondering whether the Rajah was 'cranky rather in mind perhaps in body', citing Brooke's 'morbid views of things, especially about the conduct of the English Government towards Sarawak'. The Rajah wanted recognition and protection and in his railings against the British Government's refusal to grant them, threatened to turn elsewhere, to McDougall's distress. 'Dear old England', the latter wrote in April 1856, 'I can't bear to hear the old country bullied and get riled sometimes about it. I won't be Dutchman, or Yankee, or Frenchman, for anybody—no, not I.'⁶³ In that last sentiment lay the seed of future disagreement, for to one as patriotic as McDougall, the idea itself was enough to make him doubt the Rajah's sanity.

Also in 1856, a new institution had appeared on the Sarawak scene. John Templer had persuaded the Rajah that a public company was needed to develop Sarawak's resources. In May 1856, the Borneo Company Limited was registered. Templer was a member of the Board; Mr Robert Henderson of Messrs R. and J. Henderson, which had raised the capital, was Chairman. As its manager in Sarawak, the Board appointed Ludvig Verner Helms, a Dane who had been in charge of the antimony mines in Sarawak since 1851. The Rajah had wanted Spenser St John, but the latter was appointed British Consul-General to Brunei, a position he preferred. The Rajah was mollified when the Company bought a steamer, named it the *Sir James Brooke*, and began a regular service between Sarawak and Singapore. The Borneo Company was to have its difficulties with the Rajah and its experience throws some light on the relationship between the Mission and the Government.

On the Mission side there had been disappointments, with a number of missionaries departing. McDougall had recruited for the Mission while he was on furlough, but of those who left England with him on his return to Sarawak in 1855 only one, the schoolteacher Daniel Owen, remained. Of the two ladies recruited by the Borneo Female Mission Fund, one, Miss Browne, had proved too frivolous for McDougall's liking and had left the group at Calcutta.⁶⁴ The other, Miss Williams, recovering from an unhappy love affair, had survived an overdose of opium while McDougall

was in Calcutta for his consecration, and had gone to work in Singapore.⁶⁵ The Revd James Grayling, a relative of McDougall, had suffered a nervous breakdown, also while McDougall was in Calcutta.⁶⁶ Martin Allen, a young man who had been Wallace's assistant and who had stayed in Sarawak to work for the Mission, joined the Borneo Company.⁶⁷ Finally, Horsburgh left in July 1856.⁶⁸ On the positive side, Charles Alexander Koch arrived from Bishop's College, Calcutta, early in 1856, to replace Grayling. McDougall was disappointed by his training, but ordained him deacon in September.⁶⁹ In August 1856, Miss Sarah Coomes arrived, apparently the first woman missionary to be accepted by the SPG. A middle-aged schoolteacher who had been teaching in Birmingham, she replaced Miss Williams, teaching the girls and small children.⁷⁰ On 27 December 1856, the last of the three missionaries sent out by the Borneo Female Mission Fund arrived. She was Miss Elizabeth Wooley, a cousin of Mrs McDougall.⁷¹ In the same month, McDougall employed Rejab, a Malay Christian from Singapore, as a translator.⁷² McDougall was also awaiting the arrival of trained missionaries from St Augustine's College, Canterbury, upon whom he placed his hopes for an expansion of the Mission's work among the Dayaks.⁷³ Despite disappointments and his own chronic ill health—he remarked in May 1856 that for the previous five months he had suffered from 'liver, rheumatism and haemorrhoids'⁷⁴—McDougall could look to the future with some optimism.

So, too, could the Rajah. The Government Service was expanding, and wives were beginning to arrive from England. In October 1856, Arthur Crookshank, the Rajah's Chief Secretary, returned from leave with his 17-year-old wife, Bertha. Captain John Brooke Johnson Brooke, the Rajah's nephew, and Charles Grant, then on leave, had also married, Captain Brooke's wife being Annie Grant, Charles's sister.⁷⁵ They were due to return early in 1857. The Rajah anticipated their arrival with pleasure.⁷⁶

Up to this point, relations between the Mission and the Government, despite some signs of dissatisfaction and strain, remained good. The tensions that existed were under the surface and the Rajah and the McDougalls were on friendly and affectionate terms personally. However, the events which occurred in February 1857 produced misunderstanding, distrust, and a loss of mutual respect which adversely affected the relationship thereafter.

On the night of 18 February 1857, the Chinese gold-miners from

Bau, under the leadership of Liew Shan Pang, attacked and burnt the houses of the Rajah and other Europeans on the left bank of the river at Kuching. The Rajah and his valet, Charles Penty, escaped, the latter into the jungle where he met some friendly Malays, the former by swimming under the Chinese boats moored in the creek near his house and finding refuge in the house of a Malay official. In the bungalow adjoining the Rajah's were Henry Steele, on leave from Kanowit, and Harry Nicholetts, on leave from Lundu. Steele escaped, but Nicholetts was killed. At the same time, the Chinese attacked the houses of the Crookshanks and the Middletons. Mr Crookshank escaped, badly wounded; his young wife was struck down and left for dead. At the Middletons', Mr Middleton escaped and his wife, trapped in the bathroom, hid in a water jar and also survived. Lodging with them was a newly arrived young clerk of the Borneo Company named Wellington. On the first alarm, he gathered up the two little Middleton boys. As he fled with them, he was struck down and killed. One boy was decapitated and the other was thrown screaming into the flames of the burning house. The Chinese also captured the two forts, seizing arms and ammunition and plundering the Treasury. Mr Crymble, the Treasurer, escaped after a hopeless defence of the main fort.

The Europeans on the right bank were awakened by the firing and shouts and yells of the attackers. They and the Christian Chinese fled to the Mission, where McDougall had assembled his people. After prayer, he prepared them for flight, arming himself and the other men to cover their retreat. However, the Chinese leaders sent word that the 'teachers' would not be harmed. Their quarrel was with the Rajah and his Government, and they warned McDougall not to assist or harbour the Rajah or his people. McDougall disarmed his men and hid the weapons and those Europeans in Government employ who had sought refuge.

Later in the morning, McDougall was summoned to tend to the attackers who had been wounded. Then he, Helms of the Borneo Company, the merchant Ruppell, and the Datu Bandar were brought before the leaders of the *kongsi* in the Court House, where Liew Shan Pang sat in the Rajah's chair.⁷⁷ The Chinese leader said that the *kongsi* now controlled the country, but did not wish to undertake the government of the town. He proposed that the Datu Bandar, Helms, Ruppell, and McDougall do so, after swearing allegiance to the *kongsi* and promising not to pursue the Chinese when they returned to Bau. The Bishop

reminded Liew that Charles Johnson would doubtless seek revenge. The Chinese replied that they would allow him to continue to govern his Dayaks, but the mention of his name caused consternation among them. McDougall had heard that Mrs Crookshank was still alive and persuaded the Chinese to allow him to take her to his house for attention.

Early that same morning, the Rajah, with Crookshank, Middleton, and Penty, had crossed the river to the Datu Bandar's house, where they were joined by Steele and Crymble. Their attempts to organize a force to attack the Chinese failed because the Malay women refused to let their menfolk go. In the end, the Rajah ordered the women to be sent to the left bank, which now appeared the safer, and with his officers and some armed Malays went on foot to Sabang on the Santubong branch of the river. This had all occurred before the Chinese summoned the Datu Bandar and the three non-Government Europeans to the Court House. McDougall had heard quite early in the morning that the Rajah was alive, although the Chinese believed him to be dead and had paraded Nicholetts's head as evidence.

After plundering the town, the Chinese departed at noon on Friday, 21 February. They had sought to take the Bishop as a hostage, but he had got off as a 'Queen's man', that is, a subject of Queen Victoria: the *kongsi* leaders had some respect for British power. They also sought for Helms, who hid in the jungle. When the Chinese had left, McDougall hustled his family and Miss Wooley on to Ruppell's schooner in order to get them to Singapore. However, the schooner was so crammed with refugees that the Mission party landed at Jernang, near the mouth of the river, where they spent an uncomfortable night. McDougall remained at Kuching, with Mrs Stahl and Miss Coomes, to care for Mrs Crookshank. He sent a message to the Rajah, urging him to return, and that night patrolled the town with his Mission people to safeguard lives and property. He felt that Ruppell and Helms had deserted him, while the Malays were panic-stricken. However, some of the younger Malays, led by Abang Patch, the son of the Pengiran Temenggong, attacked the retreating Chinese and captured a boat. The Chinese sent to Bau for reinforcements and returned to sack the town. Meanwhile, on the Saturday morning, McDougall had gone to the Rajah at the mouth of the Quop River and had persuaded him to return to Kuching the following morning, Sunday. Returning from Quop, McDougall met people fleeing from the town in expectation of the new

Chinese attack. He pressed on, suggested manning the lower fort and, with some difficulty, found three boats in which to send off Mrs Crookshank, Mrs Stahl, Miss Coomes, and others of his and the Rajah's people. As they departed on the Sunday morning, the Chinese attack commenced. The Rajah's boat came up from Quop at the same time, but as he had few men with him, resistance was impossible. The schoolmaster, Owen, and the other Englishmen with McDougall rushed to the upper fort, for which the Rajah's boat was making. McDougall returned hurriedly to his house for his knapsack in which there were medicines and a change of clothes. The rebels were already at the church. He ran to the lower fort and, at the last moment and under fire, swam to a passing Malay sampan which transferred him to the Rajah's boat which was retiring downriver with the rest of the Europeans. Helms, who had prudently remained on his own boat in the river, although some of his staff had joined the Bishop, heard the Rajah call out as his boat passed by, 'Offer the country on any terms to the Dutch.' He assumed that the Rajah was passing authority to him and that he was, in a sense, Acting Rajah. There was clearly confusion and panic among the Europeans, although Malays under the Datu Bandar were resisting the Chinese from boats anchored in the middle of the river.

At Jernang, McDougall was reunited with his family. The Rajah decided that the refugees should rendezvous at Lingga. McDougall took charge of those going in Mr Steele's small schooner—eight of his and seven of the Rajah's Europeans, fifteen Mission scholars, and several servants. In the Mission lifeboat he placed three Chinese Christian families and, with the lifeboat in tow, the schooner sailed for Lingga. Miss Coomes and Miss Wooley were placed on another vessel hired by Helms to go to Sambas and Singapore. The Rajah and his party also set forth for Lingga, but had not gone far when they met the Borneo Company steamer, the *Sir James Brooke*, on its regular run from Singapore. The Rajah boarded her and at about the same time the first Dayak prahus sent by Charles Johnson arrived from Skrang. The Rajah's augmented force ascended the river, collecting Helms and his Borneo Company officials on the way. The guns of the steamer made short work of any Chinese resistance. The Chinese made a fighting retreat to Bau and then to Dutch Borneo, suffering terrible losses from the Malays and Dayaks on the way.⁷⁸ The Bishop and his party remained at Lingga, uncomfortable but safe, waiting for the Rajah to send a boat to take them back to

Kuching. To McDougall's annoyance, he did not do so and the Mission party eventually made an anxious passage in a small boat, enduring three days and nights of overcrowding and sickness.

The Chinese attack was a traumatic experience for those who endured it. Inevitably there was confusion and misunderstanding and room enough for men who had been put in fear of their lives to find fault with others. There is no doubt that it was a severe blow to the Rajah and left him defensive about his role in the affair. Equally, there is no doubt that the Bishop felt that the Rajah had lacked foresight before the attack, had been an ineffectual leader during it, and had been inconsiderate in his treatment of the Bishop and his companions at Lingga afterwards.⁷⁹ When relations between McDougall and the Rajah reached their nadir in 1862, the events of 1857 were to provide fuel for recriminations from both sides, the Rajah accusing McDougall of cowardice with a vehemence which suggests his own sensitivity on this point.⁸⁰ His indecisiveness, ineffectiveness, and lack of leadership demonstrated a loss of nerve and courage which was personally humiliating. Fortunately for his reputation, he had been able to recapture Kuching in some style. However, the memory of his lapse soured relations between him and McDougall thereafter, for neither could forget it, and the Rajah was aware that McDougall would have given his version of events to the SPG and Bunyon at least. That the events of 1857 should have become an issue in 1862 is evidence of the deep and bitter feelings generated.

While the Bau Chinese were hunted down, it suited the Rajah's purpose to keep the Bishop and his party at Lingga, and no doubt he persuaded himself that they were safer there. More importantly, however, he could establish himself again as ruler before the Bishop returned, and also get his own version of events to the British public. In this he succeeded, his own letter describing the attack and one by Miss Wooley and sympathetic to the Rajah both appearing in *The Times*.⁸¹ The Rajah, indeed, appeared as the hero of the hour, his ruthless destruction of the Bau *kongsi* being applauded by an English press lamenting the lack of severity shown to the Chinese at Canton by Sir John Bowring, the Governor of Hong Kong, at the end of 1856.⁸²

On their part, the McDougalls were disappointed at the lack of sympathy they and the Mission received from home and indignant at the idea that was generally prevalent that the Rajah had suffered the greatest loss.⁸³ They recuperated from their ordeal in Singapore from where, in August, Mrs McDougall

informed her brother that they had forgiven the Rajah his selfishness in not sending for them from Lingga. She hoped Bunyon would harbour no ill feelings against him,⁸⁴ a point reiterated by McDougall himself in a letter to Bunyon a few weeks later: '... pray remember that he & I are *good friends* and that it is best for us both always to be so & do not breathe a word of my notions to him. But be kind and hospitable to him as ever—he is sure to come and see you all.' All is not well between friends when such warnings are necessary. Moreover, the Rajah had told McDougall that the Colonial Office was thinking of giving up Labuan, which was not paying its way. McDougall was beginning to hope he might be transferred to Singapore, which would give him increased pay and influence. He asked Bunyon to keep him informed and to give him a 'lift' when the time came. Something else to be kept secret from the Rajah!⁸⁵

The differences between the Rajah and the Bishop were rapidly to increase and widen. The events of the Chinese rising had left both men resentful and dissatisfied with each other; and the Rajah, one may deduce from his sensitivity thereafter on the subject of courage, dissatisfied with himself and his own behaviour during the crisis. It was a dissatisfaction which no excuses or explanations could erase. His knowledge that McDougall believed that he had acted badly could only worsen their relationship and, given the authority each wielded, affected the relationship between the Government and the Mission. For a while there was reconciliation and apparent harmony, but it was short-lived. The Chinese attack on Kuching was a watershed in the relations between Church and State in Sarawak.

1. S. Baring-Gould and C. A. Bampfyld, *a History of Sarawak under Its Two White Rajahs*, pp. 187–8; Steven Runciman, *The White Rajahs*, pp. 125–6.
2. Runciman, *op. cit.*, p. 126; Charles Brooke, *Ten Years in Sarawak*, Vol. I, pp. 27–30.
3. Harriette McDougall, *Letters from Sarawak*, p. 78; F. T. McDougall to C. D. Brereton, 23 October 1850, USPG Archives, Borneo Box 1.
4. F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 24 February 1851, *ibid.*
5. F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 29 March 1851, *ibid.*
6. F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 3 September 1851, *ibid.*
7. F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 29 March 1851, *ibid.*
8. *Loc. cit.*
9. F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 15 April 1851, *ibid.*
10. F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 13 September 1851, *ibid.*

11. F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 15 August 1851, *ibid.*; Brian Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, p. 17.

12. F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 11 October 1851, USPG Archives, Borneo Box 1.

13. F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 3 September 1851, *ibid.*

14. F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 13 September 1851, *ibid.*

15. F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 11 October 1851, *ibid.*

16. Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, notes -6, note 26.

17. F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 29 January, 7 August, and 2 October 1852, USPG Archives, Borneo Box 1.

18. F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 31 May 1852, *ibid.*

19. F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 7 August (with postscript dated 9 August) and 2 October 1852, *ibid.*

20. F. T. McDougall to T. F. Stooks, 2 October 1852, *ibid.*

21. F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 15 May 1855, USPG Archives, OLR, D6b.

22. F. T. McDougall to E. Hawkins, 2 July 1856, *ibid.*

23. F. T. McDougall to A. Horsburgh, 3 October [1853], Bishop McDougall's Letter-Book, Turner Papers.

24. F. T. McDougall to E. Hawkins, 13 June 1855, USPG Archives, OLR, D6b.

25. F. T. McDougall to E. Hawkins, 16 July 1855, marked 'Private', *ibid.*

26. F. T. McDougall to E. Hawkins, 31 March 1856, *ibid.*

27. F. T. McDougall to E. Hawkins, 8 April 1856, *ibid.*

28. F. T. McDougall to E. Hawkins, 8 April 1856, *ibid.* Koch had taken over some of Owen's duties at the school so that the latter might have time to learn Chinese. Owen had shown the greatest aptitude for Chinese among the missionaries and was being prepared as a catechist.

29. F. T. McDougall to E. Hawkins, 19 May 1856, marked 'Private', *ibid.*

30. F. T. McDougall to E. Hawkins, 8 April 1856, *ibid.*

31. F. T. McDougall to E. Hawkins, 9 October 1856, *ibid.*

32. F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 12 December 1856, *ibid.*

33. F. T. McDougall to E. Hawkins, 5 January 1857, *ibid.*

34. Runciman, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-17, *passim*. See also Gertrude L. Jacob, *The Raja of Sarawak*, pp. 76-83 and 122-5, for comment on this period drawn from the Rajah's letters; while pp. 78-80 describes the Rajah's illness and Horsburgh's treatment of it. Writing to Jacob when she was preparing her biography of the Rajah, Horsburgh, then Chaplain at Delhi, told of the joy felt in Sarawak when the Rajah recovered, a joy Horsburgh had clearly shared:

'But the danger was past; it seemed as if a new accession of good was to flow in upon the province, and this wonderful land was to become more wonderful now that its creating and directing spirit was restored to it. Indeed, Sarawak to me never lost its romance. During my four years' residence there, though engaged in a daily round of prosaic duties, it even seemed to me a fairy land, presided over by a good genius, and guarded by him from all calamities that afflicted the surrounding tribes. It was an ideal land, blessed with most of the benefits, and shielded from most of the evils of civilization. But it was even more. It was as the torch of civilization and religion, shining in and illuminating a barbarous and a heathen country; and this torch I could never cease to remember was both kindled and upheld by Sir James Brooke.' (Quoted in Jacob, *op. cit.*, p. 78.)

McDougall regarded Horsburgh as detached from reality and subject to brainstorm, at least at the time of his departure from Sarawak: F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 19 June 1856, and to E. Hawkins, 2 July 1856, USPG Archives, OLR, D6b. Horsburgh's panegyric indicates, however, that he at least did not doubt the Rajah's sincerity, although it must be remembered he was writing to Brooke's biographer.

35. Jacob, op. cit., p. 81.
36. Alfred Russel Wallace, *The Malay Archipelago* (1983 reprint), p. 26.
37. Quoted in Spenser St John, *The Life of Sir James Brooke*, pp. 275-6.
38. Wallace, op. cit., pp. 63-4. See also St John, *The Life of Sir James Brooke*, pp. 274-5.
39. Jacob, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 225-9.
40. MSS Pac. s 90, Box 4, File 6, f. 47. These comments were edited out of the text of St John's *The Life of Sir James Brooke* by Charles Grant.
41. C. J. Bunyon, *Memoirs of Francis Thomas McDougall*, pp. 123-4.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 124.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 125.
44. *Ibid.*, pp. 130-4. The quotation is from p. 134.
45. Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, p. 37.
46. Peter D. Varney, 'The Anglican Church in Sarawak', p. 400.
47. Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, p. 38.
48. Bunyon, *Memoirs of Francis Thomas McDougall*, p. 97.
49. Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, p. 38; Varney, 'The Anglican Church in Sarawak', p. 401.
50. Bunyon, *Memoirs of Francis Thomas McDougall*, p. 94.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 96.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 97.
53. The Straits Settlements at that time were still under the Government of India, and Labuan was the only nearby territory for which a royal licence for the consecration of a bishop could be issued.
54. F. T. McDougall to E. Hawkins, 8 February 1855, USPG Archives, OLR, D6b. See also Bunyon, *Memoirs of Francis Thomas McDougall*, p. 101.
55. Bunyon, *Memoirs of Francis Thomas McDougall*, p. 103.
56. Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, p. 44; Varney, 'The Anglican Church in Sarawak', p. 401.
57. J. Brooke to J. Templer, 20 August 1855, in Jacob, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 203.
58. F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 22 October 1855, USPG Archives, OLR, D6b. See also Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, pp. 44-5.
59. H. McDougall to C. J. Bunyon, 28 January 1855, McDougall Papers.
60. The Rajah's Letters Patent read:

'Whereas for the maintenance of religion and for the promotion of Piety within the State of Sarawak, it is desired by the native and foreign inhabitants professing the doctrines of the Church of England in the said State, that there be a Bishop, and that the Right Reverend Francis Thomas McDougall, Bishop of Labuan, should be received and acknowledged as the Bishop of Sarawak.

'It is ordained that the Right Reverend Francis Thomas McDougall be appointed Bishop of Sarawak with powers to exercise all the ecclesiastical functions pertaining to the episcopal office, as recognised by the Order of the Church of England.

'And the Right Reverend Francis Thomas McDougall is accordingly Bishop of Sarawak.'

The document was dated 1 January 1856 and a copy certified as true by Walter Chambers as Presbyter was sent by McDougall to Hawkins: F. T. McDougall to E. Hawkins, 4 February 1856, USPG Archives, OLR, D6b. See also Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, p. 46. Whatever his intentions in 1856, the Rajah did not endow the Bishopric.

61. H. McDougall to C. J. Bunyon, 28 January 1855, from Calcutta, McDougall Papers. Mrs McDougall had obtained her information from letters received from Sarawak.

62. F. T. McDougall to C. J. Bunyon, July 1856, McDougall Papers.

63. Bunyon, *Memoirs of Francis Thomas McDougall*, p. 117.

64. F. T. McDougall to E. Hawkins, 14 November 1854 and 8 February 1855, USPG Archives, OLR, D6b, and to Miss Browne, 16 December 1854, Bishop McDougall's Letter-Book, Turner Papers.

65. McDougall had hoped that Miss Williams would marry one of the missionaries, but she refused all offers, and swallowed half an ounce of opium because Fox 'reminded her of her ex-lover who had died'. McDougall thought her useless: F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 29 December 1855, USPG Archives, OLR, D6b. In defence of Miss Williams it may be said that there were few missionaries to choose from. One wonders who offered.

66. F. T. McDougall to E. Hawkins, 6 September 1855, USPG Archives, OLR, D6b.

67. F. T. McDougall to E. Hawkins, 5 January 1857, *ibid.*

68. F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 19 June 1856, to E. Hawkins as Secretary of the SPG, 2 July 1856, and to E. Hawkins privately, 2 July 1856, *ibid.*

69. F. T. McDougall to E. Hawkins, 2 February 1856, *ibid.* Koch had offered himself when McDougall was in Calcutta. When Grayling left, McDougall asked him to come immediately as a catechist: F. T. McDougall to E. Hawkins, 6 December 1855, *ibid.*

70. F. T. McDougall to E. Hawkins, 24 September 1856, and to W. T. Bullock, 25 September 1856, marked 'Private', *ibid.* In the latter he elaborated on the deficiencies of Koch's training at Bishop's College. McDougall was disappointed by the non-arrival of another Bishop's College man he had recruited at the same time as Koch. See also Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, pp. 45-6.

71. F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 31 December 1856, USPG Archives, OLR, D6b; H. McDougall to Eliza Bunyon, 5 January 1857, McDougall Papers.

72. F. T. McDougall to E. Hawkins, 12 December 1856, USPG Archives, OLR, D6b.

73. *Loc. cit.*

74. F. T. McDougall to E. Hawkins, 19 May 1856, marked 'Private', *ibid.*

75. Runciman, *op. cit.*, pp. 123-4.

76. *Ibid.*, p. 124; Jacob, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 236-7.

77. Liew's name has been rescued from the obscurity to which it was consigned by Brooke historians by Craig A. Lockard, 'The 1857 Chinese Rebellion in Sarawak: A Reappraisal', pp. 85-98. See also Chang Pat Foh, 'Bau Chinese Rebellion 1857', pp. 34-44.

78. The above account is largely from F. T. McDougall to E. Hawkins,

March 1857, from Lingga, marked 'Private', USPG Archives, OLR, D6b. McDougall sent a copy to Charles Bunyon, who published it in Bunyon, *Memoirs of Francis Thomas McDougall*, pp. 139-44. Also from L. V. Helms, *Pioneering in the Far East*, pp. 164-92. Helms's account is based upon the journal of his secretary, Paul Tidman, who greatly admired the Bishop, and it is summarized by Bunyon, *Memoirs of Francis Thomas McDougall*, pp. 149-52. Other sources are Jacob, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 237-44; Harriette McDougall, *Sketches of Our Life at Sarawak*, pp. 120-56; St John, *The Life of Sir James Brooke*, pp. 294-315, and *Life in the Forests of the Far East*, Vol. II, pp. 336-64; Charles Brooke, *Ten Years in Sarawak*, Vol. I, pp. 214-25. James Brooke wrote an account dated 15 March 1857 and Elizabeth Wooley one dated 17 March 1857, both appearing in *The Times*; cuttings are in MSS Pac. s 90, Box 3, File 9, ff. 4 and 6. Subsequent biographers of James Brooke have based their accounts on the above in varying combinations. For a more recent appraisal of the events, see Lockard, 'The 1857 Chinese Rebellion in Sarawak: A Reappraisal'.

Chang Pat Foh, op. cit., gives details of the sufferings of the Chinese. See also Alice Kok, 'Bloody Battle of Bau Lama', p. 13.

79. F. T. McDougall to C. J. Bunyon, 17 April [1857], marked 'Private', McDougall Papers: also quoted and paraphrased in Bunyon, *Memoirs of Francis Thomas McDougall*, pp. 146-7. See also H. McDougall to C. J. Bunyon, 23 March [1857], McDougall Papers.

80. [James Brooke], *The Bishop of Labuan. A Vindication of the Statements respecting the Borneo Mission, Contained in the Last Chapter of 'Life in the Forests of the Far East', by Spenser St. John, late H.M.'s Consul-General in Borneo.* By the Author, William Ridgway, London, 1862, p. 10. SPG Bound Pamphlets, No. 15011, Item 18, USPG Archives.

81. Press cuttings of these letters are in MSS Pac. s 90, Box 3, File 9, ff. 4 and 6.

82. Press cuttings from the *Sun*, *Times*, *Daily News*, *Illustrated London News*, and the *Examiner* in MSS Pac. s 90, Box 3, File 9, ff. 11-18. The events at Canton were the culmination of a long period of strain between the British trading at Canton and the Chinese authorities there over the Chinese refusal to grant what the British regarded as a right guaranteed by the Treaty of Nanking (1842) of entry into the walled city of Canton. In October 1856 a ship, the *Arrow*, flying the British flag, was boarded by Chinese officers looking for an alleged pirate. Twelve crewmen were seized. They were later returned, but the Chinese refused to apologize for the incident and the British bombarded Canton. On 28 October, the Manchu Governor of Canton ordered an attack upon the British, who responded by marching through the city. The people of Canton burned the foreign factories (warehouses) on 14 and 15 December.

Governor Bowring of Hong Kong had over the previous months advocated a policy of caution and appeasement, but his patience had given out and he had now involved Britain in action which could develop into a general war. In England he was criticized by Gladstone on 3 March 1857 and the Opposition unseated the government by a vote of 263 to 247. Palmerston called an election and stressed the importance of upholding British honour and overseas interests, and was returned with a majority of 85. His policy vindicated, he took measures to send an expedition to China to teach the Chinese a lesson. It was while the controversy over China was at its height that Brooke's action against the Chinese in Sarawak became known. Those who praised Brooke believed that Bowring should have

acted with similar ruthlessness against Canton and that he had applied half-measures, particularly as British forces were withdrawn from Canton after their demonstration.

83. H. McDougall to Eliza Bunyon, 21 May 1857, McDougall Papers. Miss Wooley was largely responsible for this. Her letter of 17 March, which had appeared in *The Times*, mentioned Mission losses, but added, 'we are well off compared to others', and then said the Rajah had lost everything: MSS Pac. s 90, Box 3, File 9, f. 6. Miss Wooley's letter had been written to Mrs Bunyon, who mentions it in a fragment of a letter (*ibid.*, Vol. 14, ff. 30-1), which, from internal evidence (its mention of Alan Grant, for instance) was written to John and Lady Lucy Grant. Charles Bunyon was no doubt responsible for getting Miss Wooley's letter published as the first intimation of what had happened in Sarawak.

84. H. McDougall to C. J. Bunyon, 15 or 16 August 1857, McDougall Papers.

85. F. T. McDougall to C. J. Bunyon, 29 September 1857, *ibid.* In the same letter, McDougall mentioned also the possibility that the Straits Settlements would be turned over to the Crown, in which case he believed that Singapore should become the centre for the Church's activities in the region and his station should be Singapore. See also Bunyon, *Memoirs of Francis Thomas McDougall*, p. 167. The Colonial Office decided to retain Labuan, mainly for strategic reasons. See Nicholas Tarling, *Britain, the Brookes and Brunei*, pp. 134-6.

The Widening Rift, 1857-1862

ON 21 October 1857, Francis Basil Brooke, the son of John Brooke Brooke and Annie Brooke, was baptized in the church at Kuching. Baptized with him was his cousin, Lucy Blanche Cornelia Grant, daughter of Charles and Matilda Grant. It was a religious and a State occasion. The Rajah and all the English residents attended, as did numerous Malays and Chinese; and the Rajah, Charles Johnson, the Crookshanks and others representing the Government, and the Helmses, representing the Borneo Company, dined afterwards at the Bishop's house. It was also a farewell for the Rajah, who was leaving for England a few days later. To mark the occasion, the Mission children put up an illumination in the fort opposite Captain Brooke's house: '... a shield with the Sarawak cross in coloured lamps, and a rising star in the quartering: you will recognise the Bishop's seal, but it does nicely as an allegory on the birth and christening of our little heir apparent.'¹ It was reminiscent of the design of the East window of the church at Kuching, which had symbolized the close accord of Church and State in those years when all was new and hopeful. Now, for Mrs McDougall, there was new cause for hope, for the succession to the Raj was secured in that Francis Basil Brooke would eventually inherit through his father, John Brooke Brooke, the Tuan Besar.

The harmony symbolized by the illumination was more apparent than real. Annie Brooke was soon aware of the underlying tensions and differences between the Government and the Mission. Annie came from a pious background. Her father, John Grant, Laird of Kilgraston, was an earnest Christian who exhorted his son-in-law to govern by Christian principles and to convert the people of Sarawak.² Annie's mother, Lady Lucy Grant, was also deeply religious. Annie had wanted to be a missionary and believed on her engagement to Brooke that her hopes were to be fulfilled.³ However, Brooke's Unitarian tendencies were a source of concern to both parents.⁴ During their voyage to Sarawak,

Annie and Brooke studied the Scriptures together, so that by February 1857 he was in 'a more comfortable state of mind about the Trinity in Unity'.⁵

Annie's hopes of playing a missionary role were dashed by her husband's refusal to allow her to associate with the Mission or to visit the Malay ladies. By the end of 1857 she had accepted the opinion prevailing amongst most of the Europeans, including Brooke, that the Mission did not 'seem to have the slightest influence for good'. There seemed to be no visible work among the natives except for the school, towards which the Government contributed the 'largeish sum' of \$24 a week for food. The Europeans she had met appeared to have no religion and respected the Bishop only as a doctor; but 'he talks of one's ailments to every one—wh. is not pleasant to say the least'. Mrs McDougall, however, was loved and respected by all, although Annie was angry to learn that she had written to Lady Lucy about Annie's feelings on religion. Annie disapproved of the amount of gossip repeated on the 'other side of the river' and declared herself content not to go over that side again except for riding and to see Mrs McDougall. This reluctance stemmed partly from her awareness of her position as Brooke's wife, partly from class feelings. She objected, for example, to the wife and daughters of Mr Channon, the captain of the Rajah's gunboat, the *Jolly Bachelor*, styling themselves 'ladies', telling her sister, 'I don't choose to make formal visits to them—& I don't wish them to come over to our side of the river, excepting on Occasions.'⁶

Matilda Grant, stationed with her husband at Belidah Fort, upriver from Kuching, found Mrs McDougall 'so unselfish & thoughtful for others', but the Bishop was a daunting figure; 'kind, quick tempered and certainly not over refined! I stand greatly in awe of him as I believe everybody does.'⁷ A regular church-goer, she was impressed by the standard of the services and the responses of the Chinese children from the school.⁸ Both young women pursued their own religious enquiries, including, to the Bishop's distress, a study of works on Unitarianism. When he sent to Annie a copy of Robinson's *Sermons* to read instead, she spiritedly replied that she would continue to read what she wished but that she would perhaps refer to him if she had any difficulties; 'Poor Dear', she wrote to her sister, 'He has a straying flock.'⁹ Charles Grant was so critical of McDougall that his father, John Grant, felt obliged to comment: 'I am sorry that you do not think

your Bishop wise. I fear he does want dignity, but I had reason to believe in his sincere piety & zeal when he was here.¹⁰

Annie's death shortly after the birth of her second son, Hope, in November 1858 stilled these criticisms and bickerings. In his medical capacity, McDougall tended her unavailingly, and the little community was united in its grief.¹¹ As Charles Grant wrote to his parents: 'I must not forget to mention the Bishop—he has been so tender, so attentive indeed the stay of the house—& we all felt that our lost one could not have been in more skilfull [*sic*] hands. Poor Bishop—he and also Mrs McDougall have felt this bitterly.'¹²

If the younger Brookes and Grants were critical of the Bishop and found even Mrs McDougall interfering at times, they discovered in the missionary Walter Chambers and Mrs McDougall's cousin, Miss Elizabeth Wooley, a source of amusement. Miss Wooley had arrived in Sarawak on 27 December 1856. She was a formidable and eccentric spinster of 40 and impressed Mrs McDougall by her self-sufficiency—she required no maid, ironed her own dresses, kept her room tidy, made cakes, and mended clothes¹³—and by her lack of complaints.¹⁴ Privately, however, Miss Wooley advised Eliza Bunyon that her yearly stipend was inadequate for a 'lady' missionary and that she often endured mortifications because she could not afford a servant.¹⁵ She behaved admirably during the Chinese attack and its aftermath, nursing Bertha Crookshank 'like her own child day and night'.¹⁶ Although she was 'rather inclined to be a fussy person',¹⁷ she attracted the notice of Chambers, who had accompanied the McDougalls when they returned to Kuching from Banting and who remained in charge at Kuching while they recuperated in Singapore. McDougall thoroughly approved of the match when it was announced, believing it would add to Chambers's 'usefulness and comfort in every way'.¹⁸ More irreverent spectators, like Charles Grant, were 'all very much amused with a Farce now being acted entitled "Love in the Middle Ages" or "How an elderly female can drop her starchy propriety, & half her years, and a staid mild Churchman can become frivolous"'.¹⁹ Their love was genuine, but with Chambers aged 30, they appeared a mismatched pair. Miss Wooley was past the first bloom of youth. Spenser St John, by this time British Consul to Brunei, had heard that she was 'old and swarthy',²⁰ and Mrs McDougall said in September 1857 of a photograph of the recently wed couple that it was 'a pleasing

picture of a devoted son and his admiring mother'.²¹ One senses that she shared to some extent the amusement of others, as when she described 'Lizzy's kind of bloomer costume for boat wear and jungle walking . . . a red cotton short petticoat, blue cotton short jacket and trousers fastened by a band around the ankle [*sic*]'. It did not become her, as she was too thin,²² but it was doubtless practical as well as picturesque.

Clearly, there was a sense of separateness between the younger officers of Government and their wives on the one hand and the Mission people on the other. Partly it was a difference in ages, partly the difference in roles which encouraged aloofness on both sides. The Rajah was a closer companion to the young people than the McDougalls, despite his age. He was 54 in 1857, but he impressed Annie Brooke by his informality—he 'helps himself to my perfume bottles not to say others also'—by his conversation, and by his consideration when discussing religion with her: 'he never wd hurt another's sense of right or feelings on sacred subjects'. She felt it a privilege to see so much of so great a man,²³ who was 'governing his country by Xian Laws and Xian Principles, introducing Xianity—by means of a Mission', a country, moreover, that her husband and her son would inherit.²⁴ She was young, naïve, and flattered by his attentions; but the Rajah at this time was in buoyant mood. Charles Grant had not seen him in better spirits or health for several years, although he noted, as did the Bishop, that he wanted easing up a little sometimes and he thought the British Government much worse than it really was.²⁵

All this was to change. The Rajah left Sarawak in October 1857, arrived in England at the end of December, renewed what was to become a very important acquaintance with Miss Angela Burdett Coutts in January 1858,²⁶ and began negotiations with the British Government concerning the future of Sarawak. Here he blundered in not accepting a Protectorate when it was offered, adding to his original proposals the stipulation that he should be recompensed for the expenditure he had incurred in developing Sarawak.²⁷ Lord Palmerston's ministry was defeated and resigned; Lord Derby's government did not prove as amenable to the Rajah's proposals and the problem of Sarawak's status and its protection dragged on. The Rajah's new conditions, which were to ensure his personal financial security, were prompted partially at least by his acknowledgement of a certain Reuben Walker as his son. In an autocracy, the personal can deeply affect the political. The appearance of Reuben Walker, shortly to be acknowledged as

George Brooke, caused consternation in the European community in Sarawak, threatened the succession and hence the long-term stability of the Government, and further complicated the relationship between the Mission and the Government.

Whether or not Reuben Walker was the illegitimate son of Rajah James is of less importance than the Rajah's belief that he was.²⁸ The Rajah's acceptance of him as his son profoundly shocked the moral and class susceptibilities of the McDougalls and widened the breach which the Chinese rebellion had opened between them and the Rajah. The importance of class distinction in the small European community in Sarawak can easily be forgotten. One has the impression that this community was much smaller than in fact it was, because writers at the time overlooked the existence of servants and others who were not regarded as gentlemen or respectable ladies. Mrs McDougall was equally as class conscious as Annie Brooke, saying of the Treasurer, Crymble, in September 1857 that he proposed marrying Annie Brooke's lady's maid, Addison, and 'so shuts himself out for the future from our dinner tables'. As Addison was very respectable, well educated and from Crymble's own rank in life, Mrs McDougall did not think it would be any 'great loss to him to take his proper place in Sarawak society in future'.²⁹ One can understand, therefore, the indignation felt by Mrs McDougall when word reached Sarawak in March 1858 that the Rajah had acknowledged Reuben Walker as his son and proposed sending him out to Sarawak: for Walker had been a groom, and the prospect of him entering Sarawak society and being set over the heads of the Rajah's nephews and Charles Grant was obnoxious on that ground as much as on any other.³⁰

In her first letter to Charles Bunyon after hearing the news, Mrs McDougall was too grieved at its effect on Brooke and Annie Brooke to write more than a few disjointed sentences.³¹ Some weeks later she was still 'in a state of fierce indignation', and shocked at learning that the Rajah's friends and relations had received Walker into their houses and that Mrs Johnson, the Rajah's sister, had kissed him. She could not write to the Rajah while she felt 'so wrathful at his unrighteous proceedings'.³²

McDougall saw in the Rajah's acknowledgement of Reuben Walker confirmation of his view that the Rajah was mentally unstable, 'as cracked as I have long feared', as he told Charles Bunyon. Moreover, the security and stability of Sarawak was threatened by the prospect of Reuben Walker being sent out, for

then Brooke, Johnson, and Grant would leave, at a time when the Saribas Dayaks were rising, the Illanun pirates were back on the coast, there were rumours of a Malay-inspired intrigue, and 'the idea of *killing the Orang Putih* [White Man] seems to be getting broached here & there'. McDougall feared for his own safety, being in a more ticklish position, as he put it, than others who lived in forts. He had faith in Brooke and believed there was strength enough in Sarawak to 'put all straight', but he considered that the outside world had no idea of the weakness of the Rajah and of Sarawak since the Chinese attack. He also believed that the Rajah was now an enemy of the Mission, telling Bunyon, 'he cares nothing about Xtianity & wd only use us politically & would kick us overboard if we did not suit his views. . . . I want to be quite independent of him & under the *protection* of the *British flag*'.³³ Perhaps he had learned of the Rajah's response to a Roman Catholic request that their Vicar Apostolic be permitted to visit Sarawak. The Rajah had no objection, telling Brooke that his policy was one of 'religious toleration in its broadest sense. . . . The Government is of no religion & has nothing to do with it beyond preserving the peace.'³⁴ The visit was not made, but, given his tendency to overstate a case, it is possible that McDougall interpreted toleration of other religions as tantamount to opposition to the Anglican Mission.

Meanwhile, in England, the Rajah was continuing his public campaign to obtain support for Sarawak on his terms. On 21 October he suffered a stroke after making a speech at Manchester. On hearing the news, Brooke, grieving over Annie's death, insulted and bewildered by the Rajah's attachment to Reuben Walker (now known as Reuben George Brooke), and anxious about the succession and the Rajah's proposals for the country's future, returned to England. Writing to Bunyon, McDougall ventured a long-distance diagnosis which may have contained some wishful thinking: 'I doubt much if poor dear Rajah will be alive when [Brooke] reaches home—his brain has broken down I guess, he showed ugly symptoms of it before the Chinese row—at any rate a partial recovery is all that can be hoped for.'³⁵ The Rajah recovered more rapidly and more completely than the Bishop expected and was soon engaged in his public campaign again.³⁶ Moreover, McDougall had been less than just to the Rajah in portraying him as an enemy of the Mission, for amongst the public engagements which had occupied him before his stroke were appearances on

behalf of the Mission in Sarawak.³⁷ No doubt there were political gains to be made by supporting the Mission, but the Bishop's views were exaggerated by his own disillusionment with the Rajah, particularly over Reuben Walker, and by his own sense of insecurity and personal danger.

The Mission itself was more firmly established than ever before. Three new missionaries had arrived, namely William Chalmers, James Glover, and William Hackett, all of them products of St Augustine's College, Canterbury. They were ordained deacons on 4 April 1858, and priests on 20 March 1859.³⁸ This additional strength should have increased the Bishop's confidence and faith in the future, but he remained on edge. Because of the Chinese attack and the alarms since, he slept with a revolver and a sword by his pillow and an array of loaded guns nearby. His house was protected by dogs. He had been aroused one night by an intruder to whom he had given 'a bear hug and a good licking'.³⁹ The Hacketts were quartered downstairs in the Bishop's house and were of nervous disposition. They had much to be nervous about. An 'amok' in the bazaar left Mrs Hackett 'all hysterical'. A row among the Chinese employed at the sago factory caused further alarm. McDougall had to shout to the carpenters and Stahl to go back to work instead of running to the village with loaded guns, and to drive Owen back into the school.⁴⁰ One can imagine the confusion, excitement, and near-panic and the large, bearded, fiercely gesticulating and shouting Bishop attempting to calm his excited flock.⁴¹

By October 1858 he felt the threat came specifically from the Malays. He believed that Brooke was less in control of the situation than the Rajah would have been and that the Government could not provide the long-term security required for commercial or Mission work. The few Europeans were surrounded by 16,000 to 20,000 Malays, who were personally attached to the Rajah but less so to Brooke. He feared that they might be roused by some 'stupid frenzied Hadjie' and that as 'religious head of the *Kaffirs*' he was himself a 'marked man'. He confessed that his 'nervous uncomfortable state' was making 'an old man' of him. Anxious for the safety of his family, distressed by the lack of sympathy from home and wishing to transfer the headquarters of the Mission to a safer place, he now agreed with the Rajah that Sarawak must seek protection from some European power and could not, as Brooke thought, manage alone.⁴²

McDougall attributed the Malays' lack of attachment to Brooke to his 'stinginess', which contrasted with the Rajah's generosity. He blamed the influence of Annie Brooke,⁴³ and no doubt, burdened with family responsibilities unknown to the Rajah, Brooke was less open-handed than his uncle. Also, his was a less expansive and sociable personality. Mrs McDougall remarked on how long it had taken to know Brooke well; 'he is so fond of wrapping himself in a mist'.⁴⁴ Moreover, the arrival of European ladies changed the pattern of social behaviour, especially after the Rajah's departure. The long informal evenings during which the Rajah held open house and any of his subjects might wander in gradually ceased. After dinner the ladies would retire to the drawing-room and most of the men, who could hear their music and singing, were eager to join them. The native chiefs and others who visited became aware of this and attended less frequently, and only when business called them there. Under these conditions, wrote St John, the intimate friendship between ruler and ruled could not continue.⁴⁵

McDougall's correspondence during 1859 is dominated by his anxiety about the safety of the Mission in Sarawak. As the Rajah later charged him with cowardice, it is necessary to look at this correspondence in some detail. He expressed his fears candidly, but it is also clear that he and Mrs McDougall were worn down physically, 'a cranky and overworked pair'.⁴⁶ This partly explains his pessimism and anxiety, but he had another reason for presenting a gloomy view of Sarawak. There was talk that the Straits Settlements might be separated from the Government of India and that the Diocese of Calcutta might be divided. As early as January 1859 McDougall had hopes that he might obtain the Straits Bishopric, which would embrace Labuan and Sarawak, and that he could move his headquarters to Singapore or Penang, securely under British protection. Perhaps his admission that if this were done, the missionaries in Sarawak would cost the same and he would be paid more suggests a material motive.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, his fears and his ambition both urged him to present Sarawak as an unsuitable site for the headquarters of the Mission. The events of 1859 were to show that his fears had some grounding in reality; although as it turned out, the reality was not as terrible as the Bishop had feared or the situation as free from menace as the Rajah was inclined to believe.

McDougall wrote to the Secretary of the SPG in January 1859,

drawing his attention to the insecurity and inconvenience of Sarawak as the centre of missionary work.

The Rajah's illness, the deficiency of Revenue, the withdrawal of all British protection for English subjects has rendered our position more unsafe than ever . . . unless things better here . . . I shall I fear be obliged to state that this is no longer the place where an establishment like ours with women and children etc. can be safely or permanently kept up.⁴⁸

As he told Charles Bunyon,

There is no strength in the Govt, no money, no means of meeting any emergency that may arise from the intrigues, foreign or domestic to which all Malay countries are subject, or of putting down any row that Mahomedan bigotry or Chinese discontent or obstinacy or Dutch policy may cause. . . . If England takes us over & backs us with her power all will be right, but as it is one can never answer for the morrow.⁴⁹

In general, there was nothing here to which the Rajah and Brooke could object. They were themselves pursuing British protection and recognition of Sarawak, and the Rajah in his search was to proceed down some strange byways. The McDougalls were in sympathy with the Rajah and annoyed with the British Government's rejection of his pleas for recognition, especially as it affected their personal safety. As Mrs McDougall remarked to her brother, 'That [the Rajah] should be so lightly regarded & any body who likes have leave to cut our throats is very aggravating':⁵⁰ a point the Bishop reiterated.⁵¹ In April 1859 he was reassured by a report that a British gunboat was to be stationed on the coast,⁵² but at the end of June, alarmed anew by reports of risings against the Dutch and of the murder of four German missionaries and their families in Dutch territory, he deplored the delay in sending it to create 'a wholesome impression of fear' upon the population.⁵³

Almost immediately his own fears were realized when news arrived of the murder of Charles Fox and Henry Steele by Dayaks at Kanowit. Fox was then Resident of the Rejang and Steele Commandant of the Kanowit Fort. Charles Johnson borrowed the Mission cutter, the *Sarawak Cross*, and with a force of Dayaks attacked the Kanowits, burning their houses. The actual murderers escaped, but Johnson executed the Malay fort-men at Kanowit whom he argued had been implicated by their failure to protect Fox and Steele. McDougall approved of Johnson's ruthless

severity, regretting only that such expeditions undermined the work of the Mission and led to a recrudescence of head-hunting.⁵⁴ Suspicion for the murders had fallen on Sharif Musahor, whose authority in the Rejang had been great before its cession to Sarawak in 1853 and who had only been allowed to return to his headquarters at Sarikei in an amnesty granted by the Rajah after the Chinese attack had been defeated in 1857. However, Musahor had hastily executed some Malays implicated in the conspiracy at Kanowit and had assisted the Sarawak forces, so that the Bishop reported on Johnson's return to Kuching in the *Sarawak Cross* that Musahor, and the Datu Haji Gapor, another suspect, had 'behaved admirably and were quite to be trusted'.⁵⁵

While the expedition had been away, there had been 'a regular panic at Sarawak among the wives of the second-class Europeans, who all packed and wanted to start for Singapore'. In the end, all except Mrs Middleton, who had suffered in the Chinese attack of 1857, were persuaded to stay. McDougall reported that Chinese were also leaving. He himself had been contemplating a trip to Singapore to have the baby, Mab, vaccinated before their return to England. Johnson's use of the *Sarawak Cross* had prevented that, but McDougall now considered hastening their departure for England once the situation in Sarawak had settled down. He told Bunyon in July that he could do more good in England than in Sarawak. He needed the change for reasons of health, while the excitement roused by war and bloodshed hindered Mission activity. If Brooke wished to hold the country, he added, he should obtain a steamer and Englishmen or Germans to man the forts.⁵⁶

In response to a letter from McDougall to the Governor of the Straits Settlements, the Straits Government steamer *Hoogley* visited Sarawak, producing a calming effect. McDougall also reported to Bunyon the return of Johnson's successful expedition and news that the Dutch had avenged the 60 Europeans said to have been massacred at Banjermasin. However, there were reports of a rising against Europeans at Kutei. 'Oh, that *poor Rajah* were well and back with us!' he exclaimed. His nephew, Brooke, should hasten out with a small steamer and 'a sufficient force of organised soldiers, not Malays or natives of the place'.⁵⁷

There was further alarm in October, when the missionaries at Lundu and Lingga reported that their converts were being threatened with the fate that was shortly to befall the Europeans. Warned also by loyal Malays, Charles Johnson reinforced the fort at Kuching and took other precautions. McDougall armed his

own people and hired 'ten stout Chinese' to guard his house. Chalmers, who had visited Kuching, was prevented by McDougall from returning to his Dayaks so that he might assist in any defence. Hackett, thoroughly alarmed, booked passages to Singapore on the *Planet*, then at Kuching. McDougall held a boat ready to send the women and children to the ship and sent some on board on the night of 14 October, although Mrs McDougall stayed at the Mission House nursing Mab, who was delirious with fever. The following day the Datu Haji Gapor agreed to go into exile and the danger passed, but McDougall in writing to Bunyon again stressed the need for a steamer and for better men in the forts, concluding his letter: 'Communicate what you think fit to the S.P.G., to whom I do not write officially for prudent reasons. When I go home I can speak my mind and arrange about the future.'⁵⁸

Bunyon forwarded these letters to the SPG.⁵⁹ Moreover, McDougall also wrote to Hawkins, in August telling of the Kanowit affair and in October of the scare involving Datu Haji Gapor. His pessimism and warnings had been disregarded before the murder of Fox and Steele as they had been before the Chinese rising, he told Hawkins.

It is natural that those connected with the government of the place should take the bright side of things and represent them somewhat *colour de rose* to their friends in England. My standpoint is different, and my view, as one uncoloured by personal interests, is more likely to be the true one.⁶⁰

Given his interest in the proposed Bishopric of the Straits, the last statement may be questioned. In October, unwilling to make any public statement that might embarrass the Sarawak Government, he referred Hawkins to the letter he had written to Bunyon. He also enclosed the reports of Chalmers and Hackett. Although he believed that the immediate danger was past, he did not think either missionary would stay. Their reports, he said, though true were coloured by fear,⁶¹ a statement that reveals his own ambivalence. Was the situation as dangerous as he sometimes pictured it, or was his judgement coloured also by fear? He was at this time spending most of his time at Santubong, well removed from the Malay-populated town of Kuching.⁶²

Chalmers's report supported McDougall's views and correctly saw the situation in Sarawak as a political conflict between the Brooke Raj and at least an important segment of the Malay elite.

'Are we as missionaries', asked Chalmers, 'called up to risk our lives, not in a matter of religion, but in a matter of European & Malay supremacy?' He had decided not and announced that he would resign when his three years were up. In the last crisis, the Government had ordered all Europeans to carry arms and had taken precautions to safeguard the women and children, evidence that it had taken the threat seriously. The insecurity of the country made it impossible to do his duty satisfactorily, he disliked the inactivity occasioned by the habits of the Dayaks and the state of the country, the climate disinclined him to study, his surviving parent urged his return, and there were many promising fields for a missionary elsewhere.⁶³ It is clear that Chalmers would have most likely left anyway, but the insecurity of Sarawak was a deciding factor, even though McDougall believed that the missionaries in the Dayak areas were safe enough because they could always retire into the forts, and the Christian Dayaks could be relied upon. Kuching he did not consider safe, and made arrangements, not in fact carried out, to send the Hacketts, Mrs Channon and the children, the remaining girls at the school, and the younger boys to Singapore. Koch would stay with the older boys and maintain the school and the usual services of the church.⁶⁴

After the expulsion of Datu Haji Gapor, McDougall brought his plans for departure forward. He also wrote to the Resident of Singapore requesting the despatch of a steamer or warship to again restore confidence and the *Hoogley* was again sent. Still, as he told Hawkins, a permanent force was needed. The 'good party' among the Malays had welcomed the expulsion of Datu Haji Gapor, but he believed there was still a party which would prefer Brunei rule to the Rajah's. The Muslim Malay element had to be eliminated gradually from influence and the Dayak element fostered; but if no adequate force could be gathered by either Britain or the Brookes to protect Sarawak, then it would be better to hand the country to the Dutch, who would protect the Mission and develop the Dayaks. Coming from McDougall, this was a counsel of despair.⁶⁵

Despite the alarms, the Mission was well established. Chalmers was with the Land Dayaks at Quop, Glover had been posted to Banting to assist Chambers and, when the latter went on leave at the beginning of 1859, had been joined by Koch, who had been ordained a priest in November 1858. Hackett remained in Kuching. Gomes continued his work in Lundu. McDougall thought that Gomes, Glover, and Koch could be relied on while he was away.⁶⁶

Koch had recently become engaged to Rosina McKee, who had arrived in Sarawak as servant to the newly appointed Government Surgeon and his wife. The Surgeon and his lady had taken one look at Kuching and had returned on the ship they had arrived in.⁶⁷ Miss McKee stayed. For a while she was courted by Chalmers and her rejection of him may have contributed to his discontent with Sarawak.⁶⁸ Koch's engagement bolstered Hackett's courage so that McDougall believed he would now stay. Owen, the schoolmaster, was also engaged, to Mary Douglas, one of the girls first taken into the Home School when it was established. Owen continued his studies of Chinese and acted as Chinese catechist. The mission at Bau had reopened with a Chinese convert as catechist. McDougall felt he could safely leave, particularly as he and his wife were not well. They intended to stay for a while in Singapore to meet the Rajah or Brooke whom McDougall assumed would be coming out and to whom his views, he believed, would be useful.⁶⁹

The McDougalls left Sarawak as the *Hoogley* was entering the river. Hackett, not surprisingly, had relapsed into a nervous state.⁷⁰ In Singapore, McDougall obtained a medical certificate from a Dr Cowper, who ordered him to Europe in case he lapsed into fever: though McDougall admitted he was not in fact very ill and should be better by the time he reached home.⁷¹ Mrs McDougall, however, felt old. During the year she had feared for Mab, who was subject to fever, and nursing and childbearing had taken away all her remaining freshness,⁷² despite three months' recuperation at the seaside at Santubong from June to August.⁷³ The McDougalls left for England at the end of December 1859 without waiting for Brooke, whose date of arrival was uncertain.

Meanwhile, the Rajah's negotiations with the British Government had failed, and Brooke blamed the Rajah. As he told Charles Bunyon in February 1860:

I was not allowed to have my way, or I believe that I might have gained all that is absolutely necessary, that is, the substantial support of English men-of-war. I was forced into demanding the formal recognition of our Government or nothing at all; this, I am convinced, the Government will never give.

He hoped to meet McDougall in Egypt and discuss with him the affairs of Sarawak: 'The Bishop, as an independent man, with his energy and high position, may do a deal of good by working on public opinion.'⁷⁴ Brooke knew Bunyon would pass on his

expressions of respect to McDougall. Public statements by the Bishop would undoubtedly have an effect in England but Brooke did not meet McDougall in Egypt or elsewhere and so had no opportunity to attempt to persuade him to support any particular line other than his own.

In January 1860 there was fresh alarm in Sarawak when a Malay called Tunjang impersonated the Pengiran Temenggong of Brunei and gathered a force at Sadong with the assistance of Bandar Kassim, a relative of Datu Haji Gapor. The plan was to raise rebellion in Dutch Borneo and to return with augmented forces to overthrow the Brooke regime in Kuching. The plot was betrayed to Charles Johnson. The Dutch were warned and captured Tunjang and Haji Gapor, who had landed at Pontianak from Singapore. Their confessions implicated Sharif Musahor, who had arrived in Sarawak with two boats of armed men and accompanied Johnson on his expedition against Bandar Kassim. Convinced of Musahor's complicity, Johnson attacked his boats. Musahor escaped. He reappeared in March at Sarikei. A Sarawak force sent against him got out of hand and burned the town, the government fort, and the houses of the Igan people to whom Musahor had fled. Musahor escaped to Mukah, in Brunei territory, at which point Brooke returned to Sarawak.

During this new scare, Hackett's courage failed him and he fled with his family to Malacca. Others fled too, as St John, visiting Kuching in March, uncharitably informed Charles Johnson. However, he reserved his most severe comments for the Bishop and Hackett: 'What a fine fellow the Bishop is—telling Mr Crymble not to run away, and bolting himself—that wretched Hackett never landed in Singapore but bolted straight to Malacca . . . the abject flight of the Bishop and Hackett and families has been much talked of.'⁷⁵

That the Bishop had fled from danger was a charge that stuck.⁷⁶ It had credibility because of his harping on the insecurity of Sarawak for the previous year. Brooke was more inclined than the Rajah to believe there might be substance in McDougall's fears. In forwarding to the Rajah in September 1859 a note from Bunyon telling him of McDougall's fears of a Malay uprising headed by the Datu Imam, Brooke admitted that 'The Bishop was full of alarm before when the Indian Mutineers broke out & is a little inclined to cry wolf.' However, he agreed with McDougall that the presence of a British man-of-war would be a preventive measure. The dilemma was, as Brooke pointed out, that neither

he nor the Rajah wished to give the impression that 'we misdoubt the loyalty of our own people'.⁷⁷ The Rajah agreed. He attached no importance to the Bishop's alarm—it had often occurred before. If there were the slightest grounds for apprehension, they would have heard from Charles Johnson or Grant. He placed no value on the appearance of a British warship and dismissed any idea of a religious insurrection headed by the Datu Imam. The Rajah's main contention was that to seek any aid without recognition being conferred would be contrary to the policy he and Brooke had agreed upon, and to seek it 'on *this ground* [i.e. fear of a rising] would inflict an intolerable disgrace upon you. In that case your people would be false to you, & you would be false to your people; & either way the tie that binds you would be broken.' In other words, the regime had to demonstrate its trust in the people it governed in order to retain *their* loyalty and trust. It could not publish doubts of its stability, because of the effect this might have in Sarawak and upon the intentions of the British Government. Brooke was told to treat 'this vague rumour with the contempt it merits'.⁷⁸

By the end of October, Brooke himself was expressing disgust at the Bishop spreading alarming reports about Sarawak while 'leaving his Mission in the hands of inexperienced boys', presumably Hackett and Koch.⁷⁹ From mid-May until mid-August, Mrs McDougall was at Santubong and McDougall spent very little time at Kuching. For the first month he was visiting Labuan and the mission stations,⁸⁰ but on his return he had not gone up to Kuching and had talked of going to Singapore to consecrate the church there and taking his family with him.⁸¹ Charles Johnson regarded their absence as no loss, as the Bishop's 'grumpy disposition [was] not over agreeable'.⁸² It was easy for Brooke to attribute McDougall's neglect of his duties in Kuching to fear, for at Santubong he was removed from those 16,000 to 20,000 Malays whose loyalty to the regime he mistrusted. Thus Brooke, as well as the Rajah, was prepared to accept the view that the Bishop had taken flight in November 1859.

Brooke returned to Sarawak in April 1860 and was soon exasperated by the reports he received from England of the opinions the Bishop was expressing there. He warned his parents not to listen to a word McDougall said 'about Sarawak insecurity, it is just that he is . . . tired of the place and wants to persuade people at home that it is necessary to move the Bishopric to Singapore'.⁸³ To his sister, Emma, Brooke was more outspoken.

The *real true* secret of the Bishop's proceedings is that he finds Sarawak *dull & thirsts* after the Flesh Pots of Singapore and his object is to get that busy place made the seat of the Bishopric instead of poor Sarawak. The Missionaries I say it openly have covered themselves with ignominy—at the first sign of danger they fled like frightened sheep, leaving flocks, deserting their posts really at a time when a little more pressure would have affected the conversion of whole tribes.* Now for all this I blame the Bishop who is unpopular among those under him, on acct of his constantly snubbing & discouraging them, that they took the first opportunity of bolting. The best thing that can happen is the Bishopric being moved to Singapore & a good trusty Sarawak man such as Chambers (but with more worldly knowledge) put in charge of this Mission. We don't want Bishops & mitres & fine vestments in Sarawak but a little more missionary spirit and Earnestness in the work. . . .

The Bishop is my private friend and I am under obligation to him, so that it is with pain that I have to pronounce him the worst Missionary I ever conceived but a capital good fellow & jolly companion.⁸⁴

This was a view he shared with Spenser St John, who could write of the Bishop to Charles Johnson in March 1859: 'I don't say that the Bishop is a gross slanderer, I mean that he has so little control over his tongue that he must out with every mean thought and dirty imaginings.'⁸⁵ Nor did he think, he told Brooke in November, that the Bishop would do Sarawak good in England: '... he always is too sanguine or too mournful, and now Sarawak he will say is not a safe place for anybody.' Yet he hoped to meet the McDougalls as fellow passengers when he himself travelled home on leave: 'I always liked Mrs McD and the Bishop is not a bad fellow when away from home',⁸⁶ 'a capital fellow for a month', as he wrote later.⁸⁷ St John's judgement was not a little affected by the Bishop's opinions on his private life,⁸⁸ but he shared Brooke's disappointment with the Mission and had suggested to Brooke, in February 1859, that Roman Catholic missionaries be invited in, arguing that they

... would always support the Govt and would convert the Chinese in large numbers. Protestants do nothing, they like wives, children, good houses, good pay, and care not for privations, and as men they are abject but the Catholics on ten or fifteen dollars a month are of the people and soon acquire an influence.⁸⁹

He repeated the idea to Charles Johnson a year later,⁹⁰ but nothing came of it. The Brookes were not so disillusioned with

*This is overstating the case.

the Anglican Mission as to invite in the Roman Catholics. Moreover, they did not entirely trust St John, who had suggested to Brooke that he would not mind being appointed Governor of Sarawak, if neither Brooke nor the Rajah wanted the appointment in the event of Britain taking the country over.⁹¹ Nor was the gratuitous advice he offered Brooke welcome.⁹² St John was a man on the make. He had hoped to establish himself in Sarawak. He had obtained the Consulship in Brunei, but the Rajah had not granted him the right of residence in Sarawak and it still riled him when he remembered how the Rajah had forced him out.⁹³ St John was an insidious man, but perceptive. He was also self-opinionated and vindictive, socially insecure and thus sensitive to slights real or imagined. Charles Grant regarded him as 'a clever fellow, with a good heart', a 'true friend' but with a 'very bad manner' and a 'meagre knowledge of what is what in good society—i.e. he expects to be run after when he has taken the trouble to pay his respects'.⁹⁴ His views on the Bishop and the Mission cannot be dismissed as pure vindictiveness, as they were shared in varying degrees by others: but St John was preternaturally inclined to stir troubled waters and to seize whatever rose to the surface.

In June 1860, Brooke concluded a letter from Sarawak to the Rajah: 'I am annoyed to hear that the Bishop is still harping on the same old string. Sarawak insecure and talks of raising subscription for a Govt steamer. I only wish he would mind his own business.'⁹⁵ By the time he wrote, the steamer problem had already been settled. Miss Angela Burdett Coutts, well known as a philanthropist, had become a firm supporter of the Rajah. In April 1859 she had loaned the Rajah £5,000 to repay that sum lent him by the Borneo Company after the Chinese attack. This financial interest gave Miss Coutts a voice in matters affecting Sarawak. She indicated her disapproval of the Rajah's overtures to France for protection and intervened to seek Lord Elgin's good offices on Sarawak's behalf.⁹⁶ The offer of a steamer, which would protect the coast and enable regular communication with Singapore, gave Miss Coutts a considerable stake in the country and considerable influence over the Rajah. McDougall expressed his disapproval to Brooke: 'I suppose Miss Burdett Coutts will stand the shot of it. I suppose you will call it Angelina.' One might think McDougall would have been delighted, but he had wanted British protection. In the same letter, on 25 May 1860, he also remarked that the Rajah wished to consult him about the future of Sarawak '& to settle the principles of action' in giving

the place up to Brooke.⁹⁷ This must have been heartening news to Brooke, who knew that friends and supporters of the Rajah were raising a Testimonial on his behalf so that the Rajah could retire and be independent of the Sarawak revenue. As it happened, only £8,800 was raised, less than had been hoped for.⁹⁸ Moreover, the Rajah objected to conditions suggested for the management of the fund. These had appeared necessary to those, like John Templer, who knew the Rajah's lack of business acumen, but to the Rajah they appeared insulting and they were withdrawn.⁹⁹

The Bishop soon had more to discuss with the Rajah than any principles of action concerning the succession. On 25 July 1860, the Rajah informed Brooke of 'as dirty an intrigue as ever was stupidly concocted—Mr Templer aided by the Bishop of Labuan decided that I was *mad* & so whispered & hinted & declared. I taxed the Bishop & he retracted—Templer refused to meet me.'¹⁰⁰ It is amazing that McDougall's views took so long to reach the Rajah's ears. He had been expressing doubts about the Rajah's mental stability to Bunyon for some time before March 1858.¹⁰¹ John Grant had had it from him by March 1859.¹⁰² St John mentioned the Bishop's comments to Charles Johnson in the same month.¹⁰³ Discretion was never the Bishop's strong point. He had an unfortunate talent for speaking with a hearty disregard for the sensitivities of others and in all probability used words like 'mad' and 'insane' loosely. Nevertheless, he was critical of the Rajah's policies for the security and protection of Sarawak, shocked and bewildered by his acknowledgement of Reuben Walker, troubled by his vacillations and changes of mind, and aware that the Rajah's personality and behaviour had been affected by his illnesses and tribulations. As a medical man he may have been too easily inclined to expect mental deterioration to follow on a severe attack of smallpox. Certainly, since the Rajah's illness, McDougall had been ready to see signs of insanity in any behaviour that did not accord with his own view of the rational. There is no doubt that the Rajah had changed. Charles Johnson remarked in May 1860 that he who had shown kindness and consideration to all parties was now so altered.¹⁰⁴ St John, on his return to England, also remarked on the Rajah's excitability, but added that the 'unjust accusation that his mind is unstable has rendered him very calm'.¹⁰⁵

The accusation caused the Rajah to break with Templer.¹⁰⁶ He also chastised the Bishop to some effect, telling Brooke, 'since I have talked to him his tone has changed'.¹⁰⁷ A more cautious

Bishop wrote to Brooke soon after. He did not wish the notions he had expressed in the letter to get back to the Rajah 'for he is justly very sensitive about what is said of him'. 'We are just now the best of friends I hope, but he has been riled by opinions that have been expressed of him or rather said to have been so, by Grant, Templer, myself & others & there has been some difficulty with him about it.'¹⁰⁸ McDougall was not admitting to having expressed opinions, but Brooke was no doubt undeceived. He heard more of the Bishop from St John.

The Bishop, after having joined Templer in representing that the Rajah was mad, has now taken a different tack and is praising him warmly—he [had] actually affirmed that his mission did not succeed because the Rajah and the other Europeans were so irreligious; referring of course to that brand for the fire Charley and that infidel St John [.]¹⁰⁹

The reconciliation of the Rajah and McDougall was made easier by the departure of Reuben George Brooke to Canada. All connected with the Rajah were relieved to see him go.¹¹⁰ Also, news of events at Mukah had reached England. After Sharif Musahor had been expelled from Sarikei and Igan, he had arrived at Mukah, a port which had an important trade in sago with Sarawak. There he was welcomed by the Pengiran Dipa, the trade with Sarawak was stopped and the place was fortified. On his return to Sarawak in April 1860, Brooke sought to reopen the sago trade. Despite an assurance from the Pengiran Temenggong of Brunei that the port was open, Brooke met resistance. He summoned forces from Sarawak, but, just as the final assault upon Mukah was about to commence, the Hon. G. W. Edwardes, Governor of Labuan, arrived in HMS *Victoria* and ordered the Sarawak forces to withdraw. Edwardes was Acting Consul-General to Brunei in St John's absence and was convinced of Musahor's innocence. St John had been as equally convinced of Musahor's guilt and after his visit to Sarawak on his way home in March had asked the Sultan of Brunei to surrender him to Sarawak, in a letter which Edwardes had suppressed. Faced by Edwardes and the authority of the British Government, the Sarawak forces withdrew from Mukah and the sago trade remained suspended.¹¹¹

On hearing the news, those connected with Sarawak buried their differences and condemned Edwardes's action, the Bishop not least amongst them, asserting to Brooke in unepiscopal outrage, 'I wish heartily that Charlie had shot that rascal Musahoor who is a clever villain.'¹¹² On 17 October, McDougall wrote

to Sir Frederick Rogers, Permanent Under-Secretary of the Colonial Office, whom he had known at Oxford, enclosing a letter from the missionary Chalmers giving details of Governor Edwardes's proceedings and the consequences likely to ensue. Chalmers did not mince words:

Governor Edwardes is in the distinguished position of a Protector, Privy Councillor and Abettor to the ruthless slaughter of Englishmen. Nay, yet further stigmatized himself as *de facto* accessory to the murder of Missionaries, traders and other British subjects. . . .

If the Home Government support the Governor of Labuan they had better at the same time send a steamer to bring off their British subjects in Sarawak.¹¹³

McDougall had already seen Rogers.¹¹⁴ He also wrote to Bullock, Assistant Secretary of the SPG, informing him that he had forwarded Chalmers's letter and suggesting that he get Hawkins, the SPG Secretary, to stir up Rogers 'to move on this Sarawak business'.¹¹⁵ Chalmers's letter, the Bishop's representations and those of the SPG no doubt contributed to the Government's decision to disavow Edwardes's action. On this issue the Sarawak Government and the Mission were of one mind.

The Rajah and St John departed for Sarawak towards the end of November 1860. The Bishop remained in England to learn what arrangements would be made regarding his jurisdiction when the Straits Settlements and Labuan were incorporated under the Colonial Office.¹¹⁶ He had been gratified to receive earlier in the year a gift of plate as a testimonial from the European inhabitants of Sarawak, 'in particular for his kindness in sickness'.¹¹⁷ The Colonial, Foreign, and India Offices haggled over the terms under which the Straits Settlements would be divorced from Indian control and McDougall occupied himself with seeking recruits and support for the Mission. With the Rajah in Sarawak and the Bishop in England, a calm descended on Mission-Government relations.

The Rajah and St John reached Sarawak in February 1861, having waited in Singapore for the new Sarawak steamer, the *Rainbow*, to arrive. St John explained to the Council Negri of Sarawak that Edwardes's action had been repudiated by the British Government and then conveyed the same message, less welcome there, to Brunei. The Rajah followed him in the *Rainbow* and re-established friendly relations with the ageing Sultan Mumim. St John obtained the aid of HMS *Charybdis* and in June, joined

by the Rajah in the *Rainbow* and accompanied by three Sarawak sailing gunboats and 300 prahus of Malays and Dayaks, obtained the submission of Mukah without a fight. Sharif Musahor was exiled to Singapore and the Pengiran Dipa and his supporters were sent to Brunei. The Rajah spent a month reorganizing the town and the sago trade and building a fort there and at Bintulu, further along the coast. In August he returned to Brunei for the final negotiations and the signing of a treaty ceding the sago districts and some 120 miles of coast to Sarawak rule.

The trouble associated with the Malay plot and Sharif Musahor had been settled to the Rajah's advantage. Meanwhile, Charles Johnson led a well-planned expedition against the Sea Dayak leader, Rentap, who had continued to defy the Brooke regime since his attack on Skrang in 1853. Rentap was defeated, his fort on Mount Sadok razed, and his followers dispersed. The Rajah had left Sarawak before the outcome of Johnson's expedition was known, but he had restored confidence within the country and his success convinced him that in a crisis his presence might yet be needed. Nevertheless, he had given in to Brooke's repeated requests that he be publicly acknowledged as the Rajah's heir by bestowing upon him the title of 'Rajah Muda'. This was done in a ceremony at Kuching on 19 September 1861.¹¹⁸ The Rajah departed a few days later.

The Rajah left Singapore on 8 October and arrived in England on 20 November, an indication of how communications had improved since his first settlement in Sarawak.¹¹⁹ The McDougalls met him in December and thought him 'thin & transparent' but 'much better & firmer' than when he had left for Sarawak. They were dismayed and disgusted to find George Brooke, returned from America, with him. It was the first time they had met him. McDougall thought him 'not an atom like the Rajah, nothing but a low-born cad I am sure—but a clever chap'. He did not believe in him at all.¹²⁰ However, George was not a threat to the succession and fades from this time into the background.¹²¹ The McDougalls left England at the end of January 1862, arriving in Sarawak on 29 March.¹²² Five new missionaries had preceded them to replace Hackett, Glover, and Chalmers. With peace restored to Sarawak, Brooke acknowledged publicly as the Rajah's heir and governing the country, and the *Rainbow* as a means of communication and protection, there was reason for confidence and hope after the tribulations of the past few years.

1. C. J. Bunyon, *Memoirs of Francis Thomas McDougall*, p. 168.
2. 'I trust you my dear Brooke feel that you will never civilize the people committed to your charge by Him in whose name you were baptized unless you succeed in making them believe in Xtianity. The Scripture says "blessed only is that people whom GOD is the Lord".' John Grant to C. B. Brooke, 7 February 1858, MSS Pac. s 90, Vol. 12, ff. 239-44.
3. Lady Matilda Maxwell (Lady Lucy Grant's sister) to John Grant, 13 July [1856], *ibid.*, Vol. 12, ff. 402-7.
4. Lady Lucy Grant to J. B. Brooke, n.d. [1857], *ibid.*, Box 3, File 12, ff. 7-12.
5. J. B. Brooke to John Grant, 25 February [1857], *ibid.*, Box 3, File 12, ff. 3-6.
6. Annie Brooke to Lucy Grant (her sister), 20 November-7 December 1857, *ibid.*, Vol. 9, ff. 67-84. John Channon was originally a merchant seaman. See S. Baring-Gould and C. A. Bampfylde, *A History of Sarawak under Its Two White Rajahs*, p. 178, note 1.
7. Matilda Grant to Lucy Grant, 25 February 1858, MSS Pac. s 90, Vol. 11, ff. 198-205 ('My dearest cousin Lucy'—therefore not to Lady Lucy Grant as catalogued).
8. Matilda Grant to Lucy Grant, 9 April 1858 and 7 November [1858], *ibid.*, Vol. 11, ff. 215-16 and 223-6.
9. The Bishop had discovered during a visit to Belidah, where Annie was staying for a time with Matilda, Channing's works upon their tables. This was presumably William Ellery Channing (1780-1842), the American Unitarian whose works were widely read (see Alec R. Vidler, *The Church in an Age of Revolution*, p. 239): Annie Grant to Lucy Grant, 11-29 May 1858, MSS Pac. s 90, Vol. 9, ff. 104-13.
10. John Grant to C. Grant, 14 December 1858, *ibid.*, Vol. 12, ff. 136-7. Grant is referring to a visit by McDougall to Kilgraston in May 1854 when the Grants had just received news of the death of their son Ludovic, Charles's brother. Grant was greatly impressed by the religious consolation and medical help extended by McDougall. 'I have seldom seen a man I have liked so much & thought so highly of. His abilities & his social sense are of the highest order, his wit and humour charming, & his universal knowledge of men & things most instructive.' (John Grant to C. Grant, 26 May 1854, *ibid.*, Vol. 12, ff. 62-3.) On their return to Sarawak, the McDougalls took with them Charles's younger brother, Alan, after a 'long, kind and most pleasant visit' by both to Kilgraston: John Grant to C. Grant, 14 July 1854, *ibid.*, Vol. 12, ff. 66-7.
11. *Ibid.*, Box 2, Item 3 is a Letter Book into which Annie's sister, Lucy (Mrs C. W. A. Fielding), copied the letters to her parents and to other members of the family from Sarawak at the time of Annie's death. *Ibid.*, Box 3, File 12, f. 28 contains the letter from McDougall to Lady Lucy Grant, 27 November [1858].
12. C. Grant to John Grant and Lady Lucy Grant, 27-29 November 1858, *ibid.*, Vol. 10, ff. 161-4.
13. H. McDougall to Eliza Bunyon, 5 January 1857, McDougall Papers.
14. H. McDougall to Ellen [Bunyon], [?] 5 January 1857, *ibid.*
15. E. Wooley to Eliza Bunyon, 5 July [1857], Turner Papers.
16. H. McDougall to Ellen Robson, 19 April 1857, McDougall Papers.
17. H. McDougall to Eliza Bunyon, April 1857, postscript dated 21 April, *ibid.*

18. F. T. McDougall to E. Hawkins, 4 June 1857, from Penang Hill, USPG Archives, OLR, D6b.

19. C. Grant to Lady Lucy Grant, 4 June 1857, MSS Pac. s 90, Vol. 10, ff. 112-16. Charles Grant also called it a 'laughable extravaganza entitled "What Next" or "... Sentiment in bathing cold though the water be"', when Chambers and Miss Woolley went bathing at Santubong: '... the said lovers [sic] last movements were to bathe in the sea together there they marched arrayed in native apparel side by side—into the great sea—and—washed themselves. Wasn't this the very Meridian, no—the very North Pole of sentimentalism?' Nevertheless, he thought them 'very good fellows both of them'.

20. Spenser St John to J. B. Brooke, 17 March 1857, *ibid.*, Vol. 15, ff. 189-94.

21. H. McDougall to Eliza Bunyon, [? September] 1857, McDougall Papers.

22. *Loc. cit.*

23. Annie Brooke to Lucy Grant, 29 August 1857, MSS Pac. s 90, Vol. 9, ff. 45-53.

24. Annie Brooke to Lucy Grant, January 1858, from Govt. House, Sarawak, *ibid.*, Vol. 9, ff. 85-8. Annie and Brooke had moved into Government House on the Rajah's departure and Annie was feeling very strongly not only the 'charm' of her position but also the 'anxiety' and the 'responsibility'.

25. C. Grant to Matilda Grant, 6 May 1857, *ibid.*, Vol. 10, ff. 266-71.

26. J. Brooke to A. B. Coutts, 14 January 1858, in Owen Rutter, *Rajah Brooke and Baroness Burdett Coutts*, p. 43.

27. Rutter, *Rajah Brooke and Baroness Burdett Coutts*, p. 44. The Rajah's memorandum to Lord Clarendon, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, is quoted in full in Gertrude L. Jacob, *The Raja of Sarawak*, Vol. II, pp. 264 ff. Spenser St John, *The Life of Sir James Brooke*, p. 322, observes that the Rajah would have saved himself much disappointment and anxiety if he had accepted the offer.

28. The fullest reference to Reuben Walker in any biography of the Rajah to date is in Nicholas Turling, *The Burthen, the Risk, and the Glory*.

29. H. McDougall to [?], 9 September 1857, McDougall Papers.

30. 'I boil all over about that business, it is abominable and it will go very hard with me if Mr Reuben Walker, alias George Brooke, comes out here. I am sure it will drive the Brookes and Charley Johnson and Grant away. How are they to put up with a man who was Mr Alser's groom being set over their heads?' H. McDougall to Eliza Bunyon, [April or May] 1858, *ibid.*

31. H. McDougall to Charles Bunyon, 19 March 1858, *ibid.* 'If such men are to be in the Rajah's confidence the country is gone to the dogs ... how easily the Rajah is gulled—I don't believe he is his son a bit.'

32. H. McDougall to Eliza Bunyon, [April or May] 1858, *ibid.*

33. F. T. McDougall to C. J. Bunyon, 20 March 1858, marked 'Private', *ibid.*

34. J. Brooke to J. B. Brooke, 30 October [1857], 'Memo for Captain Brooke Brooke', MSS Pac. s 90, Vol. 2A, ff. 136 P&Q.

35. F. T. McDougall to C. J. Bunyon, 14 December 1858, McDougall Papers.

36. See, for instance, Jacob, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 288-93, for letters written by the Rajah in November 1858.

37. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 285.

38. Brian Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, p. 361.

39. F. T. McDougall to C. J. Bunyon, 20 May 1858, McDougall Papers.
40. H. McDougall to Eliza Bunyon, [April or May] 1858, *ibid.*
41. McDougall had grown a luxuriant beard while at Lingga after the Chinese revolt. It made him even more formidable in appearance.
42. H. and F. T. McDougall to C. J. Bunyon, 11 October 1858, McDougall Papers. The Bishop's comments conclude the letter.
43. *Loc. cit.* McDougall's views are supported to some extent by Annie's own admission that she did not associate much with the other Europeans, except for Matilda Grant and Mrs McDougall. See p. 74 above.
44. Bunyon, *Memoirs of Francis Thomas McDougall*, p. 99.
45. Spenser St John, *Rajah Brooke: The Englishman as Ruler of an Eastern State*, pp. 178-9.
46. F. T. McDougall to C. J. Bunyon, 14 December 1858, McDougall Papers.
47. F. T. McDougall to C. J. Bunyon, 14 January 1859, *ibid.*
48. F. T. McDougall to E. Hawkins, January 1859, USPG Archives, OLR, D6b. That this letter was published by the SPG did not endear its author to the Rajah.
49. F. T. McDougall to C. J. Bunyon, 14 January 1859, McDougall Papers.
50. H. McDougall to C. J. Bunyon, 2 February 1859, *ibid.*
51. F. T. McDougall to C. J. Bunyon, 5 February 1859, quoted in Bunyon, *Memoirs of Francis Thomas McDougall*, pp. 190-1.
52. F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 27 April 1859, USPG Archives, OLR, D6b.
53. F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 29 June 1859, *ibid.*
54. F. T. McDougall to C. J. Bunyon, 16 August 1859, McDougall Papers. Also in Bunyon, *Memoirs of Francis Thomas McDougall*, p. 196.
55. F. T. McDougall to C. J. Bunyon, 17 October 1859, in Bunyon, *Memoirs of Francis Thomas McDougall*, pp. 197-8. Also, written on a pamphlet of the Sarawak Mission Press giving news of the punishment of the murderers of Fox and Steele and of the action at Kanowit and dated 22 August 1859: 'The Sarawak & Sarikei Malays behaved well, the latter with Serif Musahoor have it is believed cleared themselves of all suspicions of conspiracy.' Signed F. T. I. Lundu. USPG Archives, OLR, D6b.
56. F. T. McDougall to C. J. Bunyon, 21 July 1859, from Santubong, USPG Archives, OLR, D6b; also in Bunyon, *Memoirs of Francis Thomas McDougall*, pp. 193-5.
57. F. T. McDougall to Charles Bunyon, 16 August 1859, USPG Archives, OLR, D6b; also in Bunyon, *Memoirs of Francis Thomas McDougall*, pp. 193-5. Also in McDougall Papers.
58. F. T. McDougall to C. J. Bunyon, 17 October 1859, USPG Archives, OLR, D6b; also in Bunyon, *Memoirs of Francis Thomas McDougall*, pp. 197-200.
59. This is how copies have ended up in the USPG Archives, OLR, D6b.
60. F. T. McDougall to E. Hawkins, August 1859, USPG Archives, OLR, D6b; also extracts in Bunyon, *Memoirs of Francis Thomas McDougall*, p. 201, with some slight editing, careless or deliberate: or perhaps McDougall's copy to Bunyon differed slightly from the original.
61. F. T. McDougall to E. Hawkins, 18 October 1859, USPG Archives, OLR, D6b; extracts in Bunyon, *Memoirs of Francis Thomas McDougall*, p. 201, with some slight differences.

62. See p. 87 below.
63. W. Chalmers to Secretary of SPG, 10 October 1859, USPG Archives, Borneo Box 2. It is ironic that Chalmers was one of the missionaries of whom the Rajah and St John wrote with approval.
64. F. T. McDougall to E. Hawkins, 18 October 1859, USPG Archives, OLR, D6b.
65. F. T. McDougall to E. Hawkins, 1 November 1859, *ibid.*
66. *Loc. cit.*
67. The surgeon, named Correy, had been appointed by Brooke and the Rajah saw it as evidence of his nephew's lack of judgement.
68. H. McDougall to Eliza Bunyon, 17 August 1859, McDougall Papers.
69. F. T. McDougall to E. Hawkins, 1 November 1859, USPG Archives, OLR, D6b.
70. F. T. McDougall to E. Hawkins, 5 December 1859, USPG Archives, OLR, D23b.
71. F. T. McDougall to C. J. Bunyon, 6 December 1859, McDougall Papers.
72. H. McDougall to Eliza Bunyon, 6 December 1859, *ibid.*, and H. McDougall to her mother, Mrs Bunyon, 16 July 1859, *ibid.*
73. H. McDougall to her mother, Mrs Bunyon, 16 July 1859, *ibid.*
73. H. McDougall to Eliza Bunyon, 17 August 1859, from Santubong, *ibid.*
74. J. B. Brooke to C. J. Bunyon, 25 February 1860, in Bunyon, *Memoirs of Francis Thomas McDougall*, pp. 203-4.
75. Spenser St John to C. Johnson, 10 March 1860, MSS Pac. s 90, Vol. 5, ff. 177-8.
76. For example, see Steven Runciman, *The White Rajahs*, p. 141.
77. J. B. Brooke to J. Brooke, 8 September 1859, MSS Pac. s 90, Vol. 5, ff. 177-8.
78. J. Brooke to J. B. Brooke, 10 September 1859, *ibid.*, Vol. 2B, ff. 490-1.
79. J. B. Brooke to J. Brooke, 31 October 1859, *ibid.*, Vol. 5, ff. 212-19. McDougall had said of Koch in April 1857 that he was 'very young & wants the firmness of an Englishman': F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 24 April 1857, USPG Archives, OLR, D6b.
80. F. T. McDougall to C. J. Bunyon, June 1859, McDougall Papers: also in Bunyon, *Memoirs of Francis Thomas McDougall*, p. 186.
81. C. Johnson to R. Hay, 22 June 1859, MSS Pac. s 90, Vol. 8, ff. 84-6.
82. C. Johnson to J. B. Brooke, 1 July 1859, *ibid.*, Vol. 8, ff. 144-7.
83. J. B. Brooke to Revd and Mrs F. C. Johnson, 28 May 1860, *ibid.*, Vol. 6, ff. 98-9.
84. J. B. Brooke to Emma Johnson, 28 May 1860, *ibid.*, Vol. 6, ff. 100-3.
85. Spenser St John to C. Johnson, 21 March 1859, *ibid.*, Vol. 15, ff. 296-301.
86. Spenser St John to J. B. Brooke, 5 November 1859, *ibid.*, Vol. 15, ff. 232-5.
87. Spenser St John to J. B. Brooke, 24 September 1860, *ibid.*, Vol. 15, ff. 246-9.
88. The McDougalls were shocked by his concubinage with a native woman and even more horrified when he acknowledged the relationship and presented her to Mrs McDougall.
89. Spenser St John to J. B. Brooke, 13 February 1859, *ibid.*, Vol. 15, ff. 224-7.
90. Spenser St John to C. Johnson, 10 March 1860, *ibid.*, Vol. 15, ff. 312-17.

91. Spenser St John to J. B. Brooke, 13 February 1859, *ibid.*, Vol. 15, ff. 224-7.
92. Spenser St John to J. B. Brooke, 22 April 1859, *ibid.*, Vol. 15, ff. 228-31.
93. '... no one but myself knows how he forced me to go': Spenser St John to C. Johnson, 10 March 1860, *ibid.*, Vol. 15, ff. 312-17. The Rajah would have let him stay if he had been appointed Consul to Sarawak—implying British recognition of Sarawak as an independent state.
94. C. Grant to Lucy Grant, 7 December 1860, *ibid.*, Vol. 10, ff. 184-7.
95. J. B. Brooke to J. Brooke, 1 June 1860, *ibid.*, Vol. 5, ff. 234-7.
96. A. B. Coutts to Lord Elgin, 5 April 1860; Rutter, *Rajah Brooke and Baroness Burdett Coutts*, pp. 71-2. Lord Elgin was related to the Grants, being Lady Lucy Grant's brother.
97. F. T. McDougall to J. B. Brooke, 25 May [1860], MSS Pac. s 90, Vol. 14, ff. 74-5.
98. It had been hoped to raise between £10,000 and £12,000.
99. Rutter, *Rajah Brooke and Baroness Burdett Coutts*, p. 76.
100. J. Brooke to J. B. Brooke, 25 July 1860, MSS Pac. s 90, Vol. 3, ff. 163-4.
101. See p. 77 above.
102. John Grant wrote to his daughter-in-law in March 1859, 'Why did the Bishop and Mrs MacDill urge [the Rajah's] return to Sarawak, saying that he was much wanted? It was he who first told us the Rajah's mind was failing.' (John Grant to Matilda Grant, 16 March 1859, MSS Pac. s 90, Vol. 12, ff. 202-5.)
103. '... it was he who set about the rumour that the Rajah was insane', Spenser St John to C. Johnson, 21 March 1859, *ibid.*, Vol. 15, ff. 296-9.
104. C. Johnson to Revd and Mrs F. C. Johnson, 25 May 1860, MSS Pac. s 90, Vol. 8, ff. 200-1.
105. Spenser St John to J. B. Brooke, 25 July 1860, *ibid.*, Vol. 15, ff. 238-9. It is likely that St John was the Rajah's informant.
106. Templer was a Director of the Borneo Company and the Rajah suspected the Company of intriguing against him with the British Government.
107. J. Brooke to J. B. Brooke, 8 August 1860, MSS Pac. s 90, Vol. 3, ff. 165-8.
108. F. T. McDougall to J. B. Brooke, 20 August [1860], *ibid.*, Vol. 14, ff. 76-9.
109. Spenser St John to J. B. Brooke, 24 September 1860, *ibid.*, Vol. 15, ff. 246-9. St John's conceit shines through in the line 'The Rajah is thinking correctly on most subjects'.
110. For example, St John remarked of him that he was not a fit companion 'for so superior a mind' as the Rajah's.
111. Rutter, *Rajah Brooke and Baroness Burdett Coutts*, pp. 90-5, gives an account of these events drawn from a document, corrected in the Rajah's hand and probably, in Rutter's view, drawn up by Brooke, found in Baroness Burdett Coutts's papers. See also Runciman, *op. cit.*, pp. 141-5.
112. F. T. McDougall to J. B. Brooke, 20 August [1860], from Dublin, MSS Pac. s 90, Vol. 14, ff. 76-9.
113. Quoted in Rutter, *Rajah Brooke and Baroness Burdett Coutts*, pp. 94-5.
114. F. T. McDougall to Sir Frederick Rogers, 17 October 1860, from Dublin, USPG Archives, OLR, D23b. On the back of the letter is written: 'Mr Fortescue: This is an F.O. business, but it is worth yr while reading enclosed letter to learn one side of the affair. The Bp called on me the other day & has followed his call by sending this'. Rogers thought McDougall, 'though an odd rollicking mixture of Bishop, surgeon and sea-captain ... a man of a good deal of shrewdness and observation'. Quoted in Nicholas Tarling, *Britain, the Brookes and Brunei*, p. 212.

115. F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, n.d., Wednesday, from Dublin, USPG Archives, OLR, D23b.

116. See, for example, F. T. McDougall to J. B. Brooke, 20 August 1860, MSS Pac. s 90, Vol. 14, ff. 76-9. His interest in obtaining the new See is evident in his letters at this time.

117. This had been set in hand before the Bishop's departure from Sarawak, and in October 1859 Brooke was commissioned to purchase a suitable gift, towards which £110 had been donated in Sarawak and to which he proposed he and the Rajah should add a further £20 in order to buy 'something very appropriate and handsome'. He and Mrs Bunyon, that is Charles Bunyon's wife, settled on a salver with a pair of Church jugs and Poculi, the jugs being to a design of Benvenuto Cellini. Brooke pointed out to the Rajah it was a testimonial to the Bishop 'in particular for his kindness in sickness'. The Rajah replied: 'The Bishop deserves more than we can afford to give for his kindness accorded to each & all of us. Tell Bunyon so.' This approbation of the Bishop in his medical role in no way softened judgements on him as a missionary or as a man: J. B. Brooke to J. Brooke, 21 October 1859, *ibid.*, Vol. 5, ff. 197-201, and J. Brooke to J. B. Brooke, 25 October 1859, *ibid.*, Vol. 2B, f. 539.

Like so much else, this testimonial was to become a source of contention, for McDougall chose to see it as an appreciation of his work as missionary and bishop, but it is clear that was not the case. See, for example, C. Johnson to C. Grant, 30 January-3 February 1863, *ibid.*, Vol. 8, ff. 33-40.

118. After his return from Mukah the Rajah had been enraged when he learned that Brooke's parents had opened by mistake a letter to Brooke from Belgium regarding possible negotiations on the future of Sarawak. The Rajah feared this overture might be made public, and became very ill. He recovered to carry out the journey to Brunei. He was satisfied by Brooke's explanations and conciliatory demeanour and thus publicly recognized him as Rajah Muda, also settling in writing, however, terms of agreement on future negotiations. See Tarling, *The Burthen, the Risk, and the Glory*, pp. 325-8.

119. Rutter says that with the *Rainbow* in Sarawak, England was only 37 days away. Rutter, *Rajah Brooke and Baroness Burdett Coutts*, p. 126.

120. F. T. McDougall to J. B. Brooke, 26 December [1861], MSS Pac. s 90, Vol. 14, ff. 84-5.

121. Reuben Walker died in a shipwreck on his way to Australia in 1874, aged 40. Emily Hahn, *James Brooke of Sarawak*, p. 28.

122. H. McDougall to Mrs Bunyon, 1 April [1862], McDougall Papers.

Year of Crisis, 1862–1863

THE reconciliation between the Bishop and the Rajah was brief and, given the autocratic government of both the Mission and the State, personalities continued to dominate policies. In Sarawak itself, Brooke was Rajah Muda and conscious of his new authority. As much as the Rajah, he wished to maintain the Government's position *vis-à-vis* the Mission. He had suffered further personal loss in January 1861 when Basil, the son and heir so joyously welcomed in 1857, died. However, while in England he had met Julia Windstead and in July 1861 they married in Singapore. Secure politically and settled domestically, Brooke welcomed the return of the McDougalls, telling the Rajah at the beginning of April 1862, 'It is a pleasure to have him here again, so old & true a friend.'¹ The pleasure was short-lived. Two weeks later, Brooke was hoping that the Bishop would be 'promoted to a larger sphere'. His energies were too much for so small a place as Sarawak. He was proposing to enlarge the church, which Brooke considered already three times larger than the congregation required. Brooke concluded that the Mission would never do anything worth speaking of because there was no management.² By the end of the month, Brooke was reporting:

The Bishop having succeeded in his usual fashion in making all his fellow missionaries thoroughly uncomfortable and dissatisfied has relapsed into a state of sullen growl he is utterly miserable here and makes them uncomfortable. . . . His travels in Europe have not I am afraid increased the *Judge's* wisdom, temper or efficiency of his L'dship.³

McDougall had acquired a particular grievance in the Government's support of a school for Chinese girls run by Miss Marion Rocke.⁴ She was a distant cousin of the Johnsons and had arrived in Sarawak with the Chamberses when they returned from leave in April/May 1861. Matilda Grant referred to her as a 'young lady missionary',⁵ yet she does not appear to have come under the Bishop's jurisdiction. Money for the school was raised locally, much of it subscribed by Julia Brooke, and by October 1861 Brooke was erecting the building on part of his ground.⁶ In the meantime, school was conducted

in the Mission House. It had twelve little girls at the beginning of November.⁷ Brooke and the Rajah regarded it as an important government venture and were determined not to let it come under the Mission's jurisdiction. The Rajah had discussed it with McDougall in England and warned Brooke to expect the Bishop to attempt to bring the school under his management and locate it in his house. The Rajah suggested that a committee should be appointed by the Government which, by including the Bishop, would give McDougall a voice in the supervision of the school without the right to interfere in its management. He could inspect and examine, but not meddle. The Rajah stressed that it was a secular school 'where religion is to be taught according to the wishes of the parents. I foresee a battle about government establishing schools distinct from the mission but it must be so—& firmly maintained.'⁸

Brooke's efforts to maintain this distinction caused him to stop Miss Rocke accepting an invitation to take her girls to join the Mission boys at their Easter feast. His action 'produced a slight coolness' between himself and the Bishop.⁹ Mrs McDougall thought the whole thing absurd, especially as there were only eight children at Miss Rocke's school and four girls at the Mission school.¹⁰ Brooke had noted with some satisfaction in March that the Mission had 'not been very successful as yet in getting scholars'.¹¹ From England, the Rajah urged Brooke to be 'firm & quick' with the Bishop¹² and not to allow any interference with Miss Rocke or her school.¹³ However, the death of Julia Brooke in May removed an important source of support for the school and Miss Rocke, whose incompetence and 'fickle wavering character' tried Brooke's patience.¹⁴ She was in bad health, never knew her own mind, and was dominated by her servants. Mrs Chambers apparently put it about that she was out of her mind.¹⁵ She left in November 1862, grateful to be released from all obligations.¹⁶ Mrs McDougall could not quite conceal her satisfaction¹⁷ and the Rajah insisted that money he had put aside to fund the school should not go to the Mission.¹⁸

By the time Miss Rocke departed there was further contention between the Government and the Mission. Brooke continued to be dogged by personal tragedy. In May 1862, his second wife, Julia, died, like his first, in childbirth.¹⁹ Brooke was distraught and to distract him McDougall suggested a voyage along the coast in the *Rainbow*.²⁰ They were accompanied by Robert Hay and Ludvig Helms of the Borneo Company.²¹ Helms was dropped at Mukah, where the Borneo Company had an establishment. Two

days later, six large Lanun prahus, accompanied by as many smaller vessels, blockaded the port and raided along the coast. Helms succeeded in getting a fast prahu away to inform the *Rainbow*, then off the mouth of the Bintulu River with the sailing gunboat, *Jolly Bachelor*. The steamer returned to Mukah with the *Jolly Bachelor* in tow and found there three of the Lanun prahus, sinking two of them and forcing the third to beach. It then went in pursuit of the rest of the Lanun fleet, which it met and destroyed at sea. There are four accounts of this action: that of Brooke to the Rajah, one by Hay in a letter to Charles Grant, a report by Helms to the Manager of the Borneo Company, and a long account by Bishop McDougall, dated 27 May, which appeared in *The Times* of 16 July 1862.²² This last sparked a controversy which again ranged the Rajah and others against the Bishop.

The Bishop no doubt wrote his account with every good intention of benefiting the Rajah's 'paltry kingdom and strengthening his Government', as Mrs McDougall claimed.²³ In concluding his letter to *The Times*, he provided evidence of Lanun depredations, called upon the British Government to take effective action against piracy, and eloquently praised the Brookes.²⁴ However, the account, particularly his own role in the action against the Lanuns, aroused a storm of criticism which overshadowed the role of the Sarawak Government. Before considering the effects of the controversy upon the relations between the Mission and the Government, one needs to look at what the Bishop actually said.

In his letter to *The Times*, there is no evidence of any doubt in McDougall's mind as to the propriety of what he did. He included himself in the fighting force as a matter of course. Indeed, he told Bunyon that he gave counsel as to the tactics to be pursued.²⁵ In *The Times* he described the *Rainbow* as 'a small, strong-built iron screw boat, of 80 tons register', with a 35-horse power engine. It carried two 9-pounders mounted on the poop and forecastle and had on board a 12-pounder and a 4-pounder which had been intended for the Bintulu fort. These latter were manned by ten fort-men kept on board. In the actual engagement the 12-pounder was disabled after only a few rounds. The *Jolly Bachelor* carried two brass 6-pounders and two small swivels mounted on her taffrail. The steamer's crew had only six muskets, so they were stationed at the two 9-pounder guns. The fort-men were armed with rifles, carbines, and swords.

There were eight Europeans in all, including Captain Hewatt; Mr Moore, engineer; Mr Jackson, mate; the Rajah Mudah, Mr Hay, Mr Stuart Johnson,²⁶ Mr Walters, a Borneo Company engineer, and myself and with us we had the Datu Bandar of Sarawak, Pengiran Matusin of Muka, and Hadjee Mataim, good and true men. We all had our own rifles and smooth-bores, and were to do our best to silence the enemy's guns and prevent them boarding. Mr Walters was to give his aid to the engineer's crew in handling the hot-water hose. As there was no bulwark, Brooke had some planks hung over the iron poop rail and lined them with cabin mattresses to save our legs from shot and shell. The same was done on the bridge for the captain's protection, and turned out to be a very wise precaution, which saved many of us on the poop from ugly hits.

It is clear that the collective 'we' and 'us' in this description of their preparations is inclusive of the Bishop.

When they met the first three Lanun prahu they pursued them towards the coast. 'Our plan of action was to silence the brass guns with our rifles, to shake them at the oars with grape and round shot, until we could run into them without them being strong enough to board us.' One prahu escaped into shallow water and her crew fled ashore. The second was less fortunate.

She was now fast nearing the shore, and the chase was most exciting. When the prahu was two hundred yards from us she fired her lclahs [small brass cannon, firing shot usually of one to two pounds], and then made a dash for the shore; we opened all the guns we got to bear, and kept on at full power until we ran into her, struck her midships, our stem running right over her, and then backed off again.

The third prahu was also rammed and disabled, but did not fight. McDougall, assisted by Mr Walters, tended the wounded of both sides. While McDougall does not say in so many words that he took an active part in this engagement, he gives no indication that he did not. His account certainly reflects his excitement and enjoyment of the chase.

The engagement with the remaining three prahus on the open sea was more fierce for, having no chance of escape, the Lanuns fought with desperate courage. As the *Rainbow* came up to them, the dead calm which had prevailed ended and a breeze sprang up. The Lanuns, who had brought their boats together, now hoisted sail and opened out into line, presenting their broadsides to the steamer to rake it as it came up.

They fired briskly, and did not attempt to get away, even when we got all our guns to bear upon them; but as we steamed round to get our stern fairly at the sternmost vessel they seemed to think we were retreating, and pelted us with their shots more sharply than ever, directing their chief attention to us on the poop, where we had one man killed and two severely wounded in no time, and we should have suffered more if the temporary bulwark of planks, &c., had not stopped their balls.

It is more likely that the Lanuns, having knowledge of how the Spanish were using steamers in the Sulu Sea, knew full well what was coming and that their only hope was to disable the steamer's crew. McDougall went below to tend to the steamer's wounded after the first prahu was run down and plainly felt the concussion as she went into the others. The fire from the steamer had been effective because captives from one boat reported that only two of the forty fighting men on board had not been killed or wounded before the steamer rammed them.

Up to this point the Bishop had been circumspect about his personal role in the engagement, but, after describing the dressing of the wounded and the cruelties practised upon their slaves by the Lanuns, he praised the manner in which those on the steamer had fought.

We could not have been more than thirty-five rifles and muskets and smooth-bore guns amongst us—less, perhaps than each of the pirate boats carried; notwithstanding which, our fire was so steady and galling that we very much kept down the fire of their lelahs, and so thinned their men as to put the idea of boarding out of their heads. In short, our weapons, though few, were good and well served, and, in justice to the maker, I must mention that my double-barrelled Terry's breech-loader, made by - - - , proved itself a most deadly weapon from its true shooting and certainty and rapidity of fire. It never missed fire once in eighty rounds, and was then so little fouled that I believe it would have fired eighty more rounds with like effect without wanting to be cleaned.

Noting that their ammunition for the guns and small arms was all but exhausted, McDougall regarded it as providential that they had caught the Lanun fleet divided and that they had by separating enabled the steamer to run them down one by one. 'We are, indeed, all most thankful to our Heavenly Father who thus ordered things for us, and made us His instruments to punish these bloodthirsty foes of the human race.'²⁷

It was the Bishop's testimony to the effectiveness of his own rifle which caught people's attention. Those present on the steamer

did not remark on the incongruity of the Bishop killing his fellow man, although he himself did, telling Bunyon he felt quite sick and guilty until he saw the ferocity of the Lanuns to the very last and felt that it was a matter of duty. 'Only I hope that I shall never have so unpleasant a duty again, for it is a strangely distracting thing to be fighting pirates one week, and confirming and ordaining the next.'²⁸ But this was written after he had time for reflection. When he wrote to *The Times*, the action itself was uppermost in his mind.

The Rajah, in England, was immediately aware of the implications for Sarawak of adverse reaction to the Bishop's role. He called the letter a 'detailed & silly account', the tone of which would be severely criticized, while the Bishop's 'warlike propensity' would create scandal.²⁹ He reported to Brooke comment that the letter was 'prosy—bragging—in bad taste—and exaggerating & distorting facts', and warned him to restrict such statements as far as he could because the Bishop, by identifying with Brooke as his dear friend, did him a mischief.³⁰ St John doubted that the letter would do any actual harm, but believed that the

... good he might have done has been marred by the expressed opinion of everyone we meet of how unworthy it is of a man in his position writing in so boastful a tone about himself, about his rifle, his eighty shots etc etc. We do not in any way blame him for taking part in the action, but he should have simply stated he rendered such assistance as he could, and then dwelt on the ravages of the pirates. ...³¹

Charles Bunyon also criticized the letter's 'martial tone' which had provoked criticism and did not help 'in the onward movement with the Singapore Bishopric'. The paragraph about the Terry breech-loader had almost taken his breath away when he read it: 'My dear fellow, you must consider people's prejudices and weaknesses here and the atmosphere of conventionalism which is supposed to surround a Bp—and of course prima facie the killing of 80 pirates with the Terry Breech loader is not an Episcopal operation.'³² Charles Grant, also in London, was more optimistic that the Bishop's account of the 'glorious affair' would do Sarawak good, but agreed that 'the Bishop was injudicious to himself when he talked about the achievements of his Terry'.³³

It was unfortunate for McDougall that five days before his letter appeared in *The Times*, the action of Bishop Charles Mackenzie at Magomero on the Zambezi had come to the attention of the British public. Mackenzie had used a gun in a tribal war against

the Ajawas, who were slavers. His had been a voluntary action and could not be seen as an act of self-defence.³⁴ The coincidence undoubtedly increased the outcry against McDougall for 'shooting the poor heathen instead of converting them'.³⁵ The Archbishop of Canterbury declined to condemn McDougall but regretted the tenor and tone of his narrative.³⁶ The Bishop of Durham, McDougall's most outspoken clerical critic, rejected the latter's contention that he had acted in self-defence. He could only conclude that 'the Bishop of Labuan forgot his high calling as a Christian Bishop, and joined in the conflict with all the zest of an amateur soldier'. If the matter only affected 'the Bishop's reputation for discretion and meekness', it might be forgotten, but unless it was disowned by the SPG, the Bishop's action received sanction and would become a precedent.³⁷ The Society complied in February 1863, with two resolutions, one leaving it to the Archbishop of Canterbury to write to McDougall what would clearly be a mild rebuke and the other deprecating 'in the strongest manner, its Missionaries ever willingly engaging in any of those conflicts which may, from time to time, surround them in their distant fields of labour'.³⁸

It was also unfortunate for McDougall that the Terry rifle was under consideration for use by the British Army and that a question as to when a report of its efficacy might appear had been asked in the House of Commons and published in the same *Times* in which the Bishop's letter appeared.³⁹ The coincidence was noted and the suggestion made by one correspondent that the Ordnance Department might recruit the Bishop of Labuan, and indeed other bishops, to test weapons it was considering.⁴⁰ Such comment did nothing for the Bishop's dignity and was the kind of response that the Rajah had dreaded. However, the Bishop's role did not detract from the overall effect of the *Rainbow's* action on British opinion, the Government spokesman in the Commons stating on 25 July 1862 that it 'constituted an additional service rendered by the Government of Sarawak to the cause of civilization, humanity, and commerce in the Eastern Archipelago'.⁴¹ As John Harvey told McDougall in September, the action had renewed public interest and sympathy in the fortunes of Sarawak, but he added: 'At the same time however that public opinion is all in favour of the Govt. it has to a certain extent, as you will by this time know, borne rather heavily on our warlike Bishop.'⁴²

McDougall would have done well to let the matter rest, but when the first news of criticism of his letter appeared, he set out to justify his role in the engagement against the pirates. In doing

so, he further antagonized the Rajah and embarrassed Brooke. His defence was published by Charles Bunyon in a pamphlet entitled *The Borneo Pirates* in November 1862. Bunyon pointed out that McDougall had fought only until the sinking of the first vessel had given a moral assurance of victory to his friends and that he had then cared for the wounded. He had been on a peaceful voyage, but, once on the *Rainbow*, he could not leave her; nor would he have been justified in leaving his friends to go into action without his surgical experience. Bunyon named the odds in the sea battle as 8 Europeans and 15 natives against three prahus each carrying three long brass swivel cannons, 40-50 fighting men well armed with rifles and muskets, and 60-70 captives. The rescue of these captives was a sacred duty incumbent upon the crew of the ship. The Bishop had no choice but either to go below, and so diminish the chance of overcoming the common enemy, or join his fellow voyagers against them. 'When he chose the latter alternative, it must be left to the impartial judgement of all men whether he was justified in shedding blood by the most cogent plea which can justify it, that of self-defence.'

McDougall had pleaded self-defence in letters to Bunyon and to the Bishop of London, both of which Bunyon published in his pamphlet. Concluding his letter to the Bishop of London, McDougall had added that he would not have been the chronicler of the affair 'but that my poor friend Brooke, who had lost his wife a few days before, was not in a state of body or mind to write it for himself, and I could hardly refuse to write it for him, which I did hastily to save the mail'.⁴³

These arguments had not decided the Bishop's actions when on the *Rainbow*, for his account indicates he went into battle with no soul-searching about his role and wrote with no appreciation of how his involvement would be regarded in England. His excuses after the event were not convincing. He argued that he was not present voluntarily, yet it is clear that he could have left the *Rainbow* and boarded the *Jolly Bachelor* after the destruction of the first three Lanun prahus. If he had remained on board so that he might aid the wounded, that in itself did not necessitate him playing an active part in the fighting. He defended his doing so by stressing the extreme danger to the *Rainbow*. The only support for this comes from Helms, who claimed the Lanun opened a heavy fire upon the ship and 'were quite sure they could take her',⁴⁴ but what the pirates might have thought and what they had the power to do were entirely different matters. Robert Hay wrote of the

second encounter that they met the Lanuns out at sea in a dead calm so that 'they had no chance of getting off'. There is no hint in his account that the Lanuns would get off, let alone endanger the *Rainbow*.⁴⁵ Brooke describes manning the poop gun himself but nowhere does he mention any danger to the *Rainbow*. In any armed encounter there is risk, and the Bishop exposed himself to it by taking part. Nobody involved criticized his participation, which was no doubt welcome,⁴⁶ but the grave danger he wrote of did not exist. The experience of the Spanish in the Sulu Sea indicates that native vessels, even in large numbers, were no match for an armed steamer.⁴⁷ The Lanuns resort to flight in the first encounter is evidence of their awareness that they, rather than the steamer, were in danger. The Lanuns caught at sea were becalmed and too far from shore to hope to escape. Brooke's laconic attitude is more in keeping with the reality of the situation than the Bishop's heightened prose. Finally, the Bishop angered the Brookes by stating that he had written his account because Brooke was not fit in mind or body to do so. Yet Brooke wrote two long accounts of the action, one to the Rajah dated 27 May and one to Lady Lucy Grant dated 28 May.

Had Brooke wished, he could have written to *The Times* or asked the Rajah to publish the letter sent to him. Instead, in a postscript dated 29 May, he merely remarked that 'The Bishop is writing a full acct of the affair to the Times'.⁴⁸ There is no indication that Brooke had asked him to do so, and, as the Bishop's letter is dated 27 May, it may be assumed that he began writing it before informing Brooke. Whatever the case, Brooke did not attach much importance to it, and was surprised at the furore in England. Writing of Mrs McDougall's distress at the criticism, he regretted 'very much on *her* account that all this has taken place. It has naturally destroyed the society & harmony of Sarawak, & really I don't find much to find fault with in the Times letter excepting the one paragraph about the Terry'.⁴⁹ That paragraph, however, revealed the Bishop's lack of discretion and lack of sensitivity. To the Rajah, still smarting from the memory of the Bishop's insinuations against his sanity, the letter was an affront.

There is no doubt the Bishop during his stay in England preached his self glorification in a high key—his letter is in the same strain and calculated to produce very wrong impressions of his character, his success, his influence & his connection with government. You know the man & will deal with him accordingly & bear in mind the deliberate & secret calumniator of your uncle should not appear as your friend before the world.⁵⁰

As Charles Johnson told Brooke, the Bishop's 'language was braggadocio & he brought you in as second to himself'.⁵¹ The Bishop's final paragraph in praise of the Brookes could not remedy that impression and his defence of his actions and of his letter only made that impression worse.⁵²

In any case the *Rainbow* incident was soon superseded by the greater controversy that erupted over criticisms of the Mission in St John's book, *Life in the Forests of the Far East*, which had been published in May 1862 but news of which did not reach Sarawak until August. In the last chapter of his book St John dealt briefly with the Roman Catholic Mission on Labuan, the failure of which he attributed to Signor Cuareton, its head. He then discussed at greater length the Anglican Mission in Sarawak and 'the causes of its comparative failure'. He described the situation in September 1861, when McDougall was still on leave. Koch and Owen then 'superintended the head mission at Kuching', Chambers was at Lingga, Gomes at Lundu, and Chalmers, at Quop, had given notice and had since left. He praised Chambers, Gomes, and Chalmers, but, on the whole, thought little had been done 'towards christianizing the Dayaks of the Sarawak districts'.

St John attributed this partly to the siting of the headquarters of the Mission at Kuching, where it took up a disproportionate amount of the funds and did not much influence the missionary work. The only effect of the Mission among the Malays was 'to have rendered them more zealous Mahomedans', while the Chinese were 'almost impassable to the missionaries' doctrines' and would remain so while their teaching was through interpreters or the medium of a foreign language. 'The pretty church, the expensive and uncomfortable mission-house, the schools, are all interesting objects at Kuching, but they do not further the work among the aborigines.' The schools were too close to the bazaar, thus exposing the children to 'every temptation'. The proper place for the headquarters, in his view, was further up the river among the Land Dayaks, at San Pro or Siniawan. All that was needed in Kuching was a chaplain, paid by the Government or the residents, to perform services for the Europeans.

He criticized the purchase of Mission boats—first a lifeboat, which was useless, and then the *Sarawak Cross* which was expensive at £1,200 and had been sold for a third of its cost.

St John argued that new missionaries should be concentrated among the Land Dayaks, not kept in Kuching or sent to distant outstations. One of the reasons for 'the deplorable secession of

men' was keeping them too much at Kuching. 'They wanted to have a home of their own among the Dayaks, where a personal interest could be created, where their work would be clear to them, and where their efforts would produce results.' The success achieved at Lingga and Lundu was because this method had been partially tried there. St John pointed out that ten out of fourteen missionaries had abandoned their duties, whereas he knew of only one government officer who had done so in the past fourteen years. The missionaries' work was not harder, was less dangerous and was as well paid as that of government officers, so the fault lay with the management of the Mission.

Then came the blow, for the comments in the succeeding paragraph, though expressed in general terms, could be applied only to McDougall as head of the Borneo Mission.

Perhaps no position is more difficult than that of the head of a mission; it requires the greatest tact, the calmest temper, the most complete government of tongue, a generous enthusiasm to warm the enthusiasm of others, a knowledge in the management of men and things, rarely found. . . . Too often men otherwise estimable, when they are placed in authority, become overbearing, coarse in their manner towards subordinates, hasty in temper, uncertain in arrangement, and ungenerous to the foibles of their associates; and, if to these unfortunate qualities be added a systematic disparagement of the work done by others, unwarranted expressions about their neighbours, and continued and unnecessary absence from their posts on trifling pretexts, much injury must be done to the mission placed under their care, and would account for the failure of many.

St John made five recommendations for improvement, which covered the criticisms he had made,⁵³ stressed the need for concentration of effort and the opportunities for missionary endeavour that the expansion of Sarawak had created, and noted that missionaries in Sarawak associated freely and on terms of equality with officers of the Government, which 'shows the Dayaks that all the English take a warm interest in their religious welfare; and the very fact that many of the missionaries have accompanied the government officers on their official tours has not been lost on these tribes'.⁵⁴

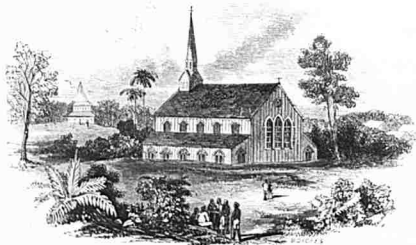
While he claimed to Brooke that his chapter might induce other Protestant missionaries to turn their attention to Borneo,⁵⁵ St John's main motive in writing it was to humble McDougall and bring him 'down from that lofty pedestal on which he had contrived to place himself by his own puffing and incorrect statements. He began to consider himself the true hero of Sarawak, and that without him nothing could be done, in fact people were talking of



Sir James Brooke in 1847. (Sarawak Museum)



- 2 The Mission House, Sarawak, c.1853, from Harriette McDougall, *Letters from Sarawak, Addressed to a Child*, Grant & Griffiths, London, 1854, facing p. 95. (The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, 916.12 r.8)



- 3 Church of St Thomas at Sarawak, c.1853, from Harriette McDougall, *Letters from Sarawak, Addressed to a Child*, Grant & Griffiths, London, 1854, facing p. 85. (The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, 916.12 r.8)



4 Bishop Francis Thomas
McDougall. (Sarawak
Museum)



5 Mrs Harriette McDougall,
from Eda Green, *Borneo:
The Land of River and
Palm*, Society for the
Propagation of the Gospel,
Westminster, 1912, p. 104.
(The Bodleian Library,
University of Oxford,
1339e.35)



6 John Brooke Brooke in 1860. (The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, MSS Pac. s 90 Box 5, Item 5, p. 49)



7 Rajah James Brooke c.1862. (The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, MSS Pac. s 90 Box 5, Item 5, p. 47)



8 Charles Anthoni Brooke in 1864 (The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, MSS Pac. s 90 Box 5, Item 5, p. 49 (right))

9 The Astana in 1864. (Sarawak Museum)

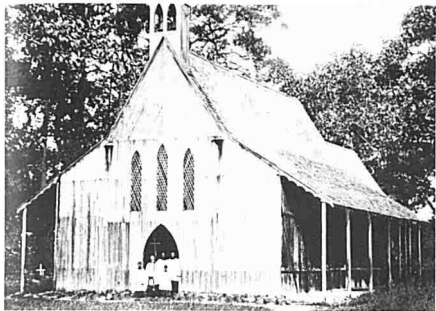




10 Bishop Walter Chambers, from Eda Green, *Borneo: The Land of River and Palm*, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Westminster, 1912, p. 118. (The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, 1339e.35)



11 Bishop George Frederick Hose, from Eda Green, *Borneo: The Land of River and Palm*, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Westminster, 1912, p. 118. (The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, 1339e.35)



12 St Paul's Church, Banting, c. 1910, from Eda Green, *Borneo: The Land of River and Palm*, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Westminster, 1912, facing p. 128. (The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, 1339e.35)



13 Christ Church, Landu, c. 1910, from Eda Green, *Borneo: The Land of River and Palm*, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Westminster, 1912, facing p. 132. (The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, 1339e.35)



14 Bishop William Robert Mounsey, from Eda Green, *Borneo: The Land of River and Palm*. Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Westminster, 1912, frontispiece. (The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, 1339e.35)



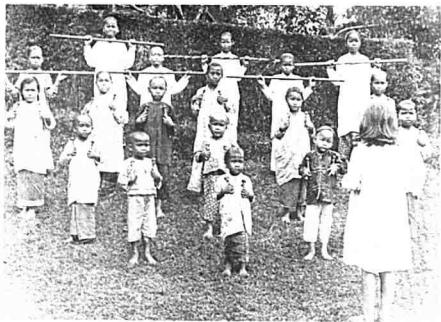
15 Rajah Charles Brooke
in later life. (Sarawak
Museum)



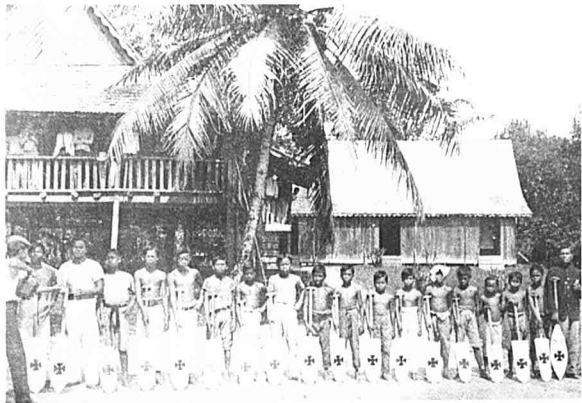
16 Ranee Margaret Brooke.
(Sarawak Museum)



17 St Thomas's School in 1908. (Sarawak Museum)



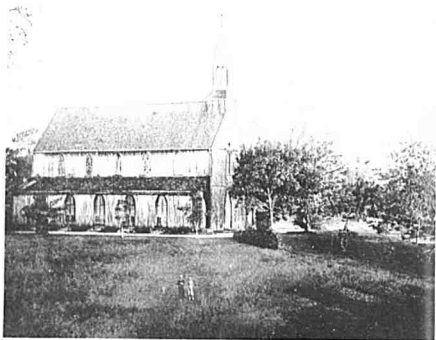
18 Practising exercises at SPG Girls' School, c.1907. The European child is probably a daughter of Archdeacon Sharp. From Edwin Gomes, *The Sea Dayaks of Borneo*, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Westminster, 1917.



19 The racing crew, St John's School, Merdang, c.1907. From Edwin Gomes, *The Sea Dayaks of Borneo*, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Westminster, 1917.



20 Archdeacon Arthur F. Sharp. (Sarawak Museum)



21 St Thomas's Pro-Cathedral, Kuching, c 1910, from Eda Green, *Borneo: The Land of River and Palm*, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Westminster, 1912, facing p. 110. (The Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, 339c.35)



22. Rajah Charles Vyner Brooke. (Sarawak Museum)



23 Dayak Conference, St Augustine's, Betong, October 1929. Centre front, left to right: Choo Seng (seated), Revd Matius Senang (standing), Revd Wilfred Lanton, Bishop Danson, Revd Arthur Stonton, Revd Thomas Buda, Lawrence Angking. (Sarawak Museum, with permission of Diocesan Archives, Kuching)



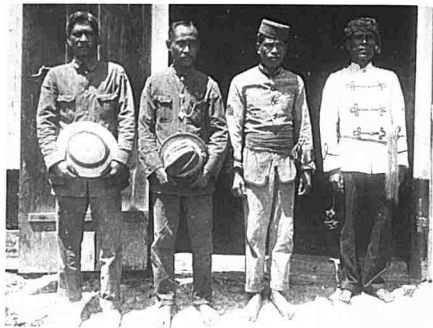
24 Revd Wilfred Lanton with schoolboys at Sabu, 1920s. Note the school is in the background. (Sarawak Museum, with permission of Diocesan Archives, Kuching)



25. The Mission House, Sabu. (Sarawak Museum, with permission of Diocesan Archives, Kuching)



26. Dayak boys outside St Luke's, Sabu. (Sarawak Museum, with permission of Diocesan Archives, Kuching)



27 Church and State at Betong. Left to right: Ladang (government clerk), Lawat (catechist, and two policemen. (Sarawak Museum, with permission of Diocesan Archives, Kuching)



28 Bell ringers at St Augustine's, Betong, 1920s. (Sarawak Museum, with permission of Diocesan Archives, Kuching)

his political influence being in no way inferior to the Rajah's. I was tired of hearing this.⁵⁶ St John repeated these sentiments to Brooke in July and October, pointing out also that the Bishop's 'constant repetition of the remark that the Malays were hostile to the Government and not to be trusted' might have had a very injurious effect. His personal hostility to the Rajah and his implied abuse of all the government officers were things 'not to be endured in silence.'⁵⁷ 'He has represented himself as the most influential man in Borneo not even excepting the Rajah, that the Mission was a great success to some, to others a failure on account of the infidel opinions of the Rajah and his officers.'⁵⁸ St John claimed that some friends to whom he had shown the chapter 'thought it not *strong enough*'. The Bishop, he said, 'made a great mistake when he brought our hostility down upon him'.⁵⁹

In this context, 'our hostility' embraced the Rajah. Although the latter told Brooke in May that he had not read a line of St John's work, he knew that the opinions expressed in it would not please the Bishop.⁶⁰ Charles Grant did not think that the Rajah had inspired St John's attack, but added that 'very probably St John had reason to think that his attack would not be displeasing to the Rajah'.⁶¹ Sir James had neither forgotten nor forgiven anything, telling Brooke in October 1862 that McDougall

... deliberately offends against me in a way no man forgives, & which destroyed my confidence in him. He has bolstered up the Mission by false statements of his own influence & importance, & then greets difficulties he has to contend against as consequence of the total want of support from the government, & my propagation of heterodox doctrines.⁶²

In November he reminded Brooke:

You know the Bishop's conduct towards me. He tried deliberately to black my reputation, & destroy my usefulness, but I forced him to retract his falsehoods, under the threat of legal proceedings. Impress this upon your mind and then judge my distrust & contempt for the Bishop of Labuan.⁶³

St John believed that he was expressing the views of Brooke as well as of the Rajah. Sending a copy of the book to Brooke, he was impatient to learn his opinion, obviously expecting it to be favourable.⁶⁴ He later claimed that Brooke had inspired the chapter, telling Charles Grant in March 1863, 'It was positively by Brooke's desire I wrote that Chapter on the Missions and I can prove it from his letters—He hated the Bishop.'⁶⁵ St John was to hold to this opinion,⁶⁶ but he and the Rajah were to be disappointed in

Brooke, who refused to repeat publicly what he was prepared to state privately.⁶⁷ A similar reluctance by Chambers to endorse opinions which St John claimed he had stated in the course of 'long conversations on the subject of the non-success of the mission', could be forgiven because of his connection by marriage with McDougall,⁶⁸ but Brooke's refusal to be drawn became a major reason for the Rajah's dissatisfaction with him.

Brooke was in an extremely uncomfortable position. He was under personal obligation to the McDougalls, who were caring for Julia's baby, and, with the Rajah, Johnson, and Grant in England, he was reliant on their friendship and companionship. It was a small claustrophobic community and emotions could run high, but from social necessity had to be held in check. Brooke found the Bishop at times a difficult companion. That he hated him, as St John alleged, is not apparent from any letters that are extant, but he disapproved of aspects of his character and behaviour. On the other hand, Brooke was on terms of surprising intimacy with Mrs McDougall. Her letters to him through 1862 sought his support for the Bishop, pleading, cajoling, explaining away and defending her husband's character and actions, expressing gratitude or disappointment, but all based on some deep affection and an appeal to emotional ties which Brooke found difficult to resist.⁶⁹ When knowledge of St John's chapter reached Sarawak in August 1862, Brooke was immediately drawn into the controversy. The McDougalls called upon him to express their indignation and urged him to deny St John's statements.

Brooke was a fair-minded man. He disagreed with St John on a number of points, but had to admit that his criticism of the Bishop was not unfounded. In writing to the Rajah on 21 August, he tried to be even-handed.

I was obliged to tell the Bishop plainly that his unpopularity with his clergy was at the bottom of it, that he called them Muffs & fools and donkeys to their faces, & that men would not stand such treatment without resent^t. I don't agree with St John's recommendations. Nor do I think it is fair to blame the Bishop for placing the Head Quarters where it is. It is probable you would not have allowed it to be placed among the Dyaks at first. Most certainly ought it not be moved for it is conveniently central to the outstation Missions at Lingga, Lundu and Quop. The Missionaries have not of late years been sent away to Outstations too soon. The Govt generally keeps men at HeadQ^ts for at least a year before they are trusted in contact with the natives. I don't call this Mission a failure, it has planted the seed & now only requires good earnest men to

cultivate the young plants. But what sort of men come to do the work? True we have lost about four, but how many of those that are gone were worthy of their hire. *One only* Chalmers.⁷⁰

On the same day he unwisely communicated these same thoughts, excluding reference to McDougall's treatment of his clergy, in writing to the Bishop,⁷¹ unaware that McDougall was preparing a long refutation of St John that he intended should be published,⁷² and that he would quote Brooke in his defence. Anxious to preserve harmony in Sarawak, Brooke would have preferred that St John's chapter had not been written.⁷³

McDougall's defence of his episcopate was lengthy and detailed. The headquarters of the Mission had been fixed upon by the Rajah, was central to the mission stations already established and the only place where an educational institution for the natives could be set up. The bazaar had intruded upon the school, but this was not so great an evil as St John maintained because the boys were under control and some scholars from the bazaar had become Christian. Money for the Church and Mission House had come not from the SPG but from friends, supporters, and himself. He had built the best possible and the Mission House was a necessary centre for meetings of the clergy and for the hospitality and care of missionaries from the outstations. He denied that the Chinese were 'impassable' to Christian teaching; there had been 97 Chinese baptisms, not counting those baptized elsewhere as Roman Catholics who had been accepted into communion in Sarawak. Moreover, nineteen Malays had been baptized or were being educated.

McDougall denied that men had been kept longer than necessary at headquarters. The Rajah had not permitted work among the Land Dayaks until the latter had been taken from under the control of the Malay chiefs. Thus Chalmers had been the first to work amongst them, and the only places really open to the Mission had been the Skrang, Lingga, and Lundu districts. McDougall argued that St John, who had been in Brunei since 1855, could know little of his treatment of his missionaries, and gave his own reasons for their departures. Although Wright and he had differed, the real reason for Wright's departure was his low pay and his wife's dislike of the country. Fox had been so shaken in faith and morals by St John that 'he could no longer believe in the Divinity of Our Lord & doubted the Scriptures'. Horsburgh had left for personal reasons, had wished to return, but did not because 'the

climate had shaken him much'. Nicholls had come for a limited time and had left accordingly. Grayling had left for health reasons and because of his differences with other residents of Sarawak while the Bishop was in Calcutta. Hackett, Glover, and Chalmers had departed because of the unsettled state of the country, deteriorating health, and loss of nerve and courage. Cameron had been unsuitable and had gone into mercantile life.⁷⁴

McDougall admitted that the plantations on Mission land had not been profitable, but as the town expanded he hoped it would become valuable building land. He defended the purchases of boats for the Mission, correcting St John's figures for distances between the mission stations. Nor had St John mentioned Labuan, which, as Bishop, McDougall was obliged to visit. The cutter had been purchased through the kindness of friends after the Chinese revolt and had offered protection and a means of escape when the Government could not. It had cost less than St John claimed, had been used by the Government in putting down the Malay conspiracy—and had received some damage—and had had to be sold at a low price when he returned to England. The lifeboat had been useful and Christian families had escaped in it during the Chinese revolt.⁷⁵

McDougall denied that his absences from Sarawak had been on 'trifling pretexts' as St John had charged. His visits to Labuan had been necessary, his other absences for health reasons. He denied any unjust interference with the work of his missionaries, never having overstepped the boundary of his 'strictly Episcopal duties'.

McDougall admitted that progress had been slow, but he blamed, in an unhappily worded sentence, the necessity of calling out the Dayaks 'to fight & take heads, which is the custom round which all their heathen ceremonies circle & depend upon; the Chinese Insurrection, which drove out my hopeful Chinese congregation & robbed me of many hopeful pupils who would have been Catechists; and the unsettled state of the country'.

Persons like Mr St John, who write about Missions in an offhand way, look for rapid results & find fault with things not to their mind, but never while they look on Xtianity merely as the civilising of the outward man take into account the difficulties & obstacles it encounters in the inner man, which prevent us easily leading people to the Saviour & convincing them of the necessity of the change of heart as well as customs.⁷⁶

Here, indeed, was the nub of the difference between McDougall's view and that of the Rajah, St John, and others connected with

the Government, as to the purpose of the Mission. Was it to lead to the acceptance in true sincerity by individuals of a new faith, the change of heart symbolized by baptism? Or was it to convert a people, a community, to 'Christianity' in a broader, cultural sense, without questioning too closely the motivation of each singular individual? McDougall did not pursue this argument, but it lay behind much of what people thought and said about the Mission and its 'success' or 'failure'.

The SPG published McDougall's letter as a pamphlet, inserting the appropriate paragraphs from St John's chapter to which the Bishop was making reply, and also quoting from Brooke's letter to McDougall, citing Brooke as 'the highest local authority on the question at issue'.⁷⁷ The pamphlet also quoted letters in support of McDougall from Gomes and Chambers, each of whom had been praised by St John.⁷⁸ The pamphlet provoked a savage and crushing rejoinder from St John and the Rajah. It also complicated matters considerably for Brooke, who had been brought forward as a defender of the Bishop and who could be regarded as refuting much of what St John had alleged.

McDougall, however, had gone beyond mere refutation. He had indiscreetly and unwisely launched a personal attack upon St John by name. There had been no bazaar near the school, he wrote, 'to which Mr St John objects as an evil—until he himself built houses for a bazaar and fish-market under our hill, for which he now receives a good rental'.⁷⁹ More importantly, he portrayed St John as an evil influence and a corrupter of youthful faith and morals, who had caused the young catechist, Charles Fox, to doubt the Scriptures and leave the Mission. McDougall alleged that before his death in 1859, Fox had confessed to him and to others 'the deepest sorrow for the step he had taken, and expressed his great dislike to Mr. St. John for having caused him to do so'.⁸⁰ St John could hardly let this go unchallenged.

In addition, the Bishop had antagonized the Rajah afresh; first by asserting that the site of the Mission was 'the position chosen and fixed upon by Sir J. Brooke himself';⁸¹ second, in justifying his purchase of the cutter, by citing the 'inability of the Sarawak Government to afford us either protection or means of escape in case of fresh troubles';⁸² third, by alleging that one of the chief causes of hindrance to the progress of the Mission had been 'the necessity of calling out the Dyaks, year by year, to fight and take heads'.⁸³ Already impatient with the Bishop, the Rajah was acutely sensitive on the question of Sarawak's security and to the suggestion

that the Government actually encouraged head-hunting, a practice he had vowed to put down. The Bishop's phrasing was unfortunate, and even the Rajah allowed that it was probably inadvertent, but it could not be left to stand uncorrected. Heads were taken when Dayaks fought for the Rajah, but they were not called out for the purpose of taking heads.⁸⁴ He called for a public retraction from the SPG.⁸⁵ Bullock attempted to dissociate the Society from the statement,⁸⁶ but the Rajah was not mollified, telling Bullock that the Society had made itself responsible for the contents of the Bishop's letter by publishing it, and that he had asked the Sarawak authorities, that is Brooke, to call upon the Bishop for a retraction, since 'no person can be permitted deliberately to use such language in reference to the Government under which he lives'.⁸⁷ The Rajah received his explanation from McDougall and this particular point did not appear in the *Vindication* of St John's original chapter, issued in reply to the Bishop's published letter.

Although written in the first person as if by St John, the *Vindication* was the work of the Rajah.⁸⁸ St John later claimed that he had some qualms about affixing his name to it,⁸⁹ perhaps because some of the more savage passages reflected the Rajah's preoccupations rather than his own.

The *Vindication* dealt first with what it termed 'matters of opinion', such as the siting of the Mission, the proximity of the bazaar to the school, the expense of the buildings, the use made of Mission land, and the delay in beginning work among the Land Dayaks.⁹⁰ Next followed a long section on the mission boats, 'next to useless, kept up at considerable expense for the purposes of communication and *flight*'.⁹¹ Much was made of the Bishop's 'alarm and despondency' at Lingga after the Chinese rising and of his 'timely precautions . . . to escape from the sphere of his duties on the approach of danger' in 1859. He was accused of exaggerating both the damage to the cutter when employed by the Sarawak Government in 1859 and the danger to himself and the *Rainbow* in his letter to *The Times*. In words indicative of the Rajah's authorship, the *Vindication* warned readers to 'take these descriptions *cum grano*, for the greater the peril the greater the Bishop's exploits'.⁹² Finally, the *Vindication* calculated that from the time of his arrival in Sarawak in June 1848 until March 1862, McDougall had spent seven years outside Sarawak, not including his episcopal visits to Labuan. No doubt McDougall was busy for much of this time with Mission and Church business, but the list of absences from 'his *post of duty*' made its polemical point.⁹³

Turning to St John's description of what made an unsuitable head of a Mission, the *Vindication* remarked, 'The Bishop recognised the likeness, and so placed its fidelity beyond dispute'; thus scoring another debating point.⁹⁴ It then made explicit what had earlier been implied: 'I charge the Bishop of Labuan with treatment of his Clergy, and others under his authority, detrimental to the interests of the Mission.'⁹⁵ This was the burden of the next several pages. A long footnote accused McDougall of transferring Chinese children from Gomes's school to Kuching in 1858 against the wishes of Gomes and of Chambers, who was with the Bishop. The testimony of Gomes and Chambers on behalf of the Bishop in the present dispute was dismissed as misplaced loyalty.⁹⁶ The *Vindication* argued that the real reasons for the departure of so many missionaries were personal to the Bishop, citing each case,⁹⁷ and concluding:

Let the questions be fairly asked. Is the Bishop of Labuan popular or unpopular with his Clergy and people? Is his treatment of them coarse, harsh, and overbearing, or otherwise? Has he, or has he not, habitually or frequently, used *unusual* epithets to their faces, and behind their backs? and has, or has not, his conduct in general been the real cause of the defection of the Clergy?⁹⁸

The *Vindication* then arrived at the point to which all else had been tending, the Bishop's accusation, which was reprinted in full, that St John had corrupted Fox. This it denied:

I conversed with Mr Fox frequently—as one man talks with another—upon a variety of subjects. I listened to his religious views, and I spoke of my own; but that I ever influenced him "for evil" I deny; and if I ever influenced him *at all* it was by the force of reason and truth. I recognize no warrant held by the Bishop of Labuan to stigmatize as "*evil*" the freedom of thought and the right of private judgement.

The *Vindication* strongly deprecated McDougall's allusions to Fox's moral character.

That I "shook" (which, I presume, means that I corrupted) Mr Fox, is not only unfounded, but absurd, for my friend was not *corrupted*; but, on the contrary, was an upright, true-hearted man, whom I will defend against the aspersions cast upon him in his grave by the Bishop of Labuan, who "LOVED HIM DEARLY" in life, and CONDEMNS HIM IN DEATH. Dead men tell no tales, and this murdered gentleman can no longer contradict what is said against his fair name.

As to Fox's alleged repentance, he had been spoken to by Chambers, whose 'well-meant advice' he had taken in kindness, but Chambers

had 'exerted *no influence, whether for evil or good, over his mind, and probably mistook refinement for repentance*'. A letter to St John from Fox one or two months before his death had been in 'his usual affectionate style'.⁹⁹ Charles Johnson testified that he had been with Fox within a month of his death and that the Bishop could not have seen him subsequently, that Fox always spoke of St John with affection and that he neither wished to return to the Mission nor repented leaving it.¹⁰⁰ The *Vindication* could thus use that most powerful and emotive of arguments to discredit McDougall, that he had unjustly spoken ill of the dead:

... no person who knew Mr Fox will believe for an instant that he said one thing to the Bishop and another thing to Mr Johnson in his last days, *i.e.* that he deliberately falsified his statements. Justice to the dead, and justice to the Bishop of Labuan, obliges me to observe this discrepancy; and I leave it for the Bishop to defame the dead, or to confess the error of his accusation.¹⁰¹

The Rajah testified that Fox had told him that 'he had felt doubts upon certain points of doctrine, when at the Bishop's College in Calcutta. Thence his repugnance to entering the Church.'¹⁰² Charles Grant recollected well 'the circumstances which led Fox ultimately to leave the Mission... whatever doubts he had on matters of religion were entirely his own'. St John had neither corrupted him nor been the cause of his leaving the Mission; nor had Fox ever regretted doing so.¹⁰³ Moreover, the Bishop had remained on intimate terms with St John after the latter had allegedly corrupted Fox, and with an air of triumph the *Vindication* concluded that he was now in a dilemma of his own making: '*If his charge be unfounded, he must confess his error—if he maintain it to be true, he must acknowledge to having associated, knowingly and intimately, with a man unfit for honest company.*'¹⁰⁴ A final footnote made reference to the *Rainbow* incident, contradicting the Bishop's recently published excuse that he had written his letter to *The Times* because Brooke was unable to do so himself. This linkage had its polemical point; that the Bishop's word could not be trusted.¹⁰⁵

The *Vindication* brought its own response. When it reached Singapore, the Stahls, in a letter to the *Singapore Free Press*, denied that the Bishop had been unpopular: '... he was to us a kind and faithful friend, and to all the Sarawak people an affectionate clergyman and counsellor.'¹⁰⁶ Paul Tidman also wrote to the *Singapore Free Press* a letter which he also issued as a pamphlet,

in which he supported the Bishop's views regarding the Chinese attack on Kuching in 1857¹⁰⁷ and the dangerous state of Sarawak in 1859.¹⁰⁸ Referring to a diary entry for 6 August 1857, he recalled a conversation in which Fox had assured him that 'it was in Sarawak that his doubts and difficulties were for the first time arranged for him in some definite shape' and that St John was one among others 'to whose conversations he was specially indebted for his growing distrust of the faith which he at one time professed'.¹⁰⁹ Tidman justly observed 'that it is no wonder if a Christian Bishop stigmatises as *evil*, influence which draws men away from the Christian faith'.¹¹⁰

Tidman's letter was more moderate than most of the comment provoked by St John's original chapter and the *Vindication*. When word of the former had reached Sarawak in August 1862, McDougall had asked his clergy for a public letter denying that he had treated them inconsiderately or had interfered in their missionary work. Chambers vehemently denounced St John: 'The Arab abstains from the salt of the man he would strike. He ate your salt that his stab might go deeper. He warmed himself with your confidence to betray it'.¹¹¹ He also wrote a letter to the *Guardian* in London in which he defended McDougall, castigated St John, and informed the world that the latter had kept a native mistress.¹¹² Hackett, now Resident Chaplain at Malacca, also defended the Bishop from 'a false & calumnious and I fear a malicious attack'.¹¹³ Glover and Chalmers, both in the Diocese of Melbourne, wrote a joint letter in February 1863 in which they agreed that Fox's defection was due to St John's infidel Unitarian opinions and his bad moral example, pointing out, however, that he had not been 'alone among the gentlemen in living in fornication with a native woman'.¹¹⁴ It was not a time to temper one's words, and Gomes earned the Bishop's wrath when he refused to sign the public letter of support signed by the other missionaries, saying that his private letter was sufficient indication of his views. McDougall believed that his refusal was because he was acting as the Government Resident at Lundu at this time, and expressed his feelings to Charles Bunyon in unrestrained terms:

... the fact is he knows how much hand the Rajah has had in the attack upon me & being now an employee of the Govmt he is afraid to offend him (and prejudice) any prospects that hypocritical lying old Rajah may have held out to him in the event of my being removed—perhaps he has promised to make him Bishop of Sarawak—a cringing fawning lying native, his abject slave wd just suit the Rajah's views.¹¹⁵

The Bishop's epithets indicate that there may have been reason for Gomes to have been lukewarm in his loyalty, although McDougall quoted Gomes's private letter in his published defence. It is clear that any rational discussion regarding the purpose and policies of the Mission, if that had ever been St John's intention, was impossible in the personal vendetta that was being waged. Moreover, the public standing of the Mission could only suffer as the controversy raged on.

Two issues dominated: St John's alleged corruption of Charles Fox, and the Bishop's treatment of his clergy. In fact they were interconnected because St John alleged that the real reason for Fox's leaving the Mission was McDougall's treatment of him. Fox left, St John reminded Brooke, 'because the Bishop called him a "fool and a presumptuous school boy etc"'.¹¹⁶ The controversy ranged the Bishop and his supporters against St John and the Rajah and personal invective supplanted logical argument from the beginning. Poor bewildered Brooke was caught in the middle, aware of faults on both sides, trying to be fair to both sides, but pleasing neither; appearing weak and vacillating to those who sought his wholehearted commitment to their cause. Partly because he was trying to mediate between the two parties, however, his statements may be regarded as more reliable than their polemical excesses.

Despite their public protestations to the contrary, it is clear that McDougall did abuse his clergy. There was no reason for St John to lie to Brooke on this score in November 1862 when he wrote of McDougall's abuse of Fox, and then continued: 'It is notorious he used to call Chambers a fool, milksop—muff and misery—Horsburgh—as mad as a hatter, guzzle & glutton—Gomez—"nothing but a nigger"—Koch "one of these useless halfcastes" & "the halfcastes are all born liars" etc etc.'¹¹⁷ McDougall's letters confirm St John's words. When Gomes returned from Singapore with a wife in 1856, McDougall, writing to Bullock of the SPG, called her a 'low born halfcaste'. He felt that Gomes had deceived him by not informing him of his intention to marry and was, therefore, sly. 'Pshaw; Nigger will out,' he wrote.¹¹⁸ Yet Mrs McDougall had told Brooke before Gomes left that they were expecting him to return with a wife.¹¹⁹ In 1857, McDougall complained to Bunyon that Gomes was 'a regular Nigger & wont hurt himself by work—Bengal fashion', with more to similar effect.¹²⁰ His remarks were not confined to private letters, and give credence

to Charles Johnson's opinion that McDougall could not have managed worse, and that good men would not serve under his orders after the manner he had treated them.¹²¹

McDougall continued to speak indiscreetly even when the controversy was at its height. Visiting Lundu with Chambers, he had found Gomes 'to be a regularly installed Resident of Lundu, keeping the Govmt office, collecting taxes, judging cases' and considering himself a cut above McDougall and Chambers. Much angered at what he considered to be Gomes's 'disrespectful and cavalier way' and believing that 'missionary work was postponed to the civil', McDougall was provoked, too, by his refusal to sign the public letter of support and by his threat to give up his missionary work if his pay was not made equal to that of European missionaries. McDougall believed that the Rajah and St John had spoken ill of him to Gomes and that Gomes would publicly enter the Rajah's service 'as poor Fox did'.¹²²

It was in this frame of mind that on the evening of 30 October 1862 McDougall spoke to Brooke of Gomes in terms which distressed the latter, for on the following day he wrote to the Bishop begging him to refrain from talking 'slighteningly & disdainfully of natives & Half Castes'.¹²³ McDougall had called Gomes untruthful and dishonest, accusing him of misappropriating funds subscribed towards the building of a new church at Lundu. Brooke expressed respect and regard for Gomes, denying that Gomes was his protégé or that he had ever made personal allusions to McDougall. His work at Lundu was the general subject of their conversations the few times they had met and Brooke believed that Gomes had succeeded 'in a remarkable manner'. He warned McDougall, 'Nothing in the world would give your enemies and detractors such a handle as your interfering with Gomes.' It would add weight to the saying 'often made in late years', that no sooner did a missionary begin to succeed than he was so abused or discouraged that he resigned. McDougall had also repeated slanderous gossip about Mrs Gomes, which Brooke warned could make him 'liable to an action of defamation & very heavy penalties' for there were 'those that would not hesitate to urge Gomes to take the law to you'. In a sad commentary upon social life in Sarawak at that time, he reminded the Bishop, 'Your stone walls have really ears and nothing to my mind can be called private that is probably the talk of the place within a few days.'¹²⁴

Brooke believed that McDougall had commenced persecuting

Gomes 'with a constant intention of getting rid of him' and that it was his own task, as he told Hay, to save the Lundu Mission if possible.¹²⁵ Gomes was not the only one to suffer from the Bishop's irascibility at this time. Brooke believed he found Sarawak too confining: 'he frets & fumes', Brooke told his parents in September, 'and makes the place too hot for his Missionaries who most of them have cut the Mission and are living on this side of the river'.¹²⁶ The ongoing controversy with St John only aggravated matters.

Brooke's even-handedness did not please the McDougalls. When Brooke expressed vexation at his letter to the Bishop appearing in the SPG's pamphlet in the Bishop's defence, Mrs McDougall taxed him with his failure to provide wholehearted support: What if he displeased St John, she wrote, 'is he not beneath contempt'?¹²⁷ Distressed, Brooke reminded the Bishop that St John was also an old friend.¹²⁸

The same letter which disappointed the McDougalls irritated and offended the Rajah and St John. As the Rajah told Brooke, he had not said enough to satisfy the Bishop and had said more than enough to offend St John.¹²⁹ St John also took Brooke to task, pointing out that he had a letter from him dated 26 April, two months after the Bishop's return to Sarawak, 'in *which you express your hopes that I will whip up the Missionary department*'. 'You don't know what mischief you may have done in taking part with the Bishop who is looked upon as the Rajah's worst enemy, because he betrayed him while licking his hand.' He warned Brooke that he was preparing a reply to the SPG pamphlet and would be calling on him to testify to the Bishop's treatment of his clergy.¹³⁰ St John had been particularly incensed by letters written by McDougall to the Borneo Company vilifying his private character, by Mrs McDougall to the Rajah calling St John 'an infidel and a bad man', and by Mrs Chambers to his best friends calling him 'a vile profligate and an Infidel'.¹³¹ And yet, he possessed letters from Mrs McDougall written in 1857, after his departure from Sarawak, begging him to visit 'and containing the most affectionate terms—If I were a profligate and an Infidel why did she write thus'.¹³² He warned Brooke, 'Don't you throw me overboard when I am in the right, and remember that people who will slander one, may some day turn on us all'.¹³³ At the end of the year, sending Brooke copies of the *Vindication*, he commented on one of the Bishop's letters to the *Guardian* which had implied that St John had not only corrupted Fox, but several other young men. 'As the only young men with whom I associated were yourself,

Charley & Grant, unless we include the Rajah, I must have corrupted you all. I hope you wont let the Bishop write that way about us with impunity.¹³⁴

As St John intended, Brooke was alarmed by the implications for the Bishop of what St John proposed to reply. He was also impatient with McDougall for ignoring his advice to avoid personalities and the newspapers. He warned McDougall on 20 January 1863 that St John had letters proving that he was 'on the most intimate and affectionate terms' with the McDougalls up to 1859 and that the Bishop had asked St John to accompany Mrs McDougall to England.

I don't see how you are to get out of the dilemma that the man you have accused of being a corruptor of youth, a profligate & an infidel was at the same time your and your wife's intimate friend & constant companion.

It will not hurt St John much except at Exeter Hall that the world knows he kept a woman and had opinions of his own about religious matters. I ask myself in vain what I can say to help you.¹³⁵

McDougall did not see this letter. By this time his wife was interposing herself between Brooke and McDougall, to smooth away misunderstandings and to prevent friction. Instead of showing the Bishop this 'very despairing note as to the St John controversy', she wished to show him a more favourable letter Brooke had since written to Grant. As to an accusation that McDougall had defamed Brooke while in England, she was sure he had not and was distressed that Brooke might believe he had: '... in fact I cannot bear that anything should part you and Frank and I am very unhappy when you are not friends and I hope in future you will be.'¹³⁶ She intervened again to soothe Brooke's ruffled feelings over a disrespectful remark made to him by the Bishop in the presence of Brooke's staff,¹³⁷ and also held back a note from Brooke to the Bishop regarding the latter's comments about head-hunting which had so excited the Rajah's wrath.¹³⁸ Her letters and notes to Brooke reveal her distress at any estrangement between Brooke and her husband, suggestive of the affection she felt for both.

Mrs McDougall had feared that the Bishop would not write the explanation of his comment on head-hunting asked for by Brooke at the Rajah's behest, but he did so, remarking to Brooke that the Rajah was 'foolish and vindictive in his old days'. 'I fear he is giving you trouble about me & I am very sorry to be a cause of additional care to you when you have so much upon you. I have

had to fight with him for you—& now you will have to stand by me.¹³⁹ Both sides urged Brooke to stand by them, and both used him for their own ends. Just as the Bishop used Brooke's name in his defence, so, too, did St John make use of Brooke's letter to the Rajah of 21 August 1862 in which he had criticized McDougall's treatment of his clergy.¹⁴⁰ Brooke had been 'vexed' when his letter to McDougall had been published in the latter's defence.¹⁴¹ He must have been equally vexed by St John's use of his name, especially when quoted back at him by the Bishop.

At the same time, Brooke was under pressure from the Rajah, who still had not forgiven the Bishop his insinuations against his sanity, which he regarded as part of a conspiracy with the Borneo Company to oust him.¹⁴² In September 1862 he had warned Brooke not to trust McDougall,¹⁴³ and elaborated on this theme in October and November, impressing upon Brooke his 'distrust & contempt' for the Bishop.¹⁴⁴ On 8 November he informed Brooke that Charles Bunyon and Archdeacon Sinclair, another supporter of McDougall, were preparing to publish a defence of the Bishop based on Brooke's letter to McDougall. The Rajah called on Brooke to end the delusion they were under that Brooke fully endorsed McDougall's management of the Mission and urged him to end his 'present connection with the Bishop . . . with the least possible delay' and to have the Rajah's old man-servant, Penty, and his wife sent out to care for Brooke's daughter, Agnes, still being looked after by the McDougalls. The Bishop, he concluded, was 'a treacherous & dangerous friend. No true friend of mine can live on terms of confidence with him.'¹⁴⁵

When the pamphlet in defence of the Bishop appeared, the Rajah was angered by the publication of Brooke's letter, but professed to understand that it had been written to spare pain to Mrs McDougall. He advised Brooke to 'break off the intimate intercourse with the Bishop's family. You cannot separate a woman from her husband & my enemy should not be your friend.'¹⁴⁶ The Rajah clearly recognized the attachment that existed between Brooke and Mrs McDougall, urging Brooke to act boldly '& not be influenced by a woman's entreaties, or a woman's tears'.¹⁴⁷ 'The present crisis is the result of misconduct, falsehood, backbiting slander. You may regret Mrs McDougall's position but should not be influenced by it & the sooner you are clear of both of them the better for you & Sarawak.'¹⁴⁸

The Rajah wrote repeatedly on an almost weekly basis, lamenting

that the use of Brooke's name by McDougall 'lowers it in public estimation', urging Brooke to contradict the 'false & mischievous trash' contained in the Bishop's letter to the Bishop of London about the *Rainbow* incident, and ordering Brooke to 'publicly & explicitly demand' that the Bishop retract his comment about the Dayaks being called out to take heads.¹⁴⁹ 'The statement is in the highest degree calculated to bring the government into hatred & contempt, & by the native law would be punishable as a crime of highest degree.'¹⁵⁰ With the Rajah thus accusing the Bishop of treason, the relations between Church and State in Sarawak had reached their nadir.

So had the relations between the Rajah and Brooke. As the Rajah penned his letters of exhortation to Brooke during November and early December, urging him to abandon the McDougalls and to stand by him, Brooke's fateful letter of defiance to the Rajah was already making its way to England. It was the culmination of a long period of uncertainty and frustration on Brooke's part, as he watched the Rajah attempt to settle the future of Sarawak knowing that it was his own inheritance and that of his children which was at stake. Brooke had no wish to see Sarawak go to a foreign power,¹⁵¹ but he knew that outright opposition to the Rajah's views would be regarded as insubordination and could lead to his disinheritance. Moreover, since the Rajah's stroke, he was loath to aggravate his illness.¹⁵² When the Rajah left Sarawak after settling the Mukah affair in 1861, he had told Brooke, 'Sarawak cannot stand without support, and this support I seek from any European nation which will give it upon fair terms.'¹⁵³ At the time, the Rajah had begun negotiations with the Belgians. Placated and reassured by his installation as Rajah Muda, Brooke gave qualified support to this scheme in January 1862.¹⁵⁴ The Rajah was pleased, telling Miss Coutts that 'this union of her rulers is very good fortune for Sarawak'.¹⁵⁵ The phrase used, however, indicated that he still regarded himself as ruling in conjunction with Brooke. Thus, during 1862, the Rajah bombarded Brooke with advice and criticism on matters such as Miss Locke's school, the *Rainbow* affair, and the Mission controversy, as well as on the progress of negotiations regarding Sarawak's future which Brooke in Sarawak was ill-placed to affect. Over the same year, Brooke was enjoying his new authority as Rajah Muda in actually governing Sarawak. In the absence of the Rajah, Charles Johnson, and Charles Grant, there was little restraint upon him, and his relative isolation blinded him to the reality of

his position. When under the umbrella of state, he was consciously the Rajah, as McDougall found.¹⁵⁶ Miss Rocke, in her last letter to him, addressed him as 'Rajah',¹⁵⁷ and Mrs Koch, wife of the missionary, addressed three letters to him using that title,¹⁵⁸ a practice he does not appear to have discouraged. The death of Julia removed one influence upon him¹⁵⁹ and threw him into the company of the McDougalls, who voiced their distrust of the influence of St John and Miss Coutts upon the Rajah and fuelled Brooke's suspicions. In particular, he was anxious about his own position if any of the Rajah's negotiations reached fruition. In October 1862 his doubts were confirmed and he resolved to break with the Rajah, and assert his own right to rule.

The occasion was the visit to Sarawak of Governor Cavenagh of the Straits Settlements to report to the British Government on the desirability of offering Sarawak protection. Brooke hoped that Cavenagh's views would not favour Sarawak's transfer to British rule. As he told his parents in September: I don't want it to pass away from the Brookes, but to hand it over to Hopie 20 years hence with a Revenue of £100,000 a year. I have nothing left me now but ambition. The love of woman and the joys of children are not for me. Sarawak is my Bairn and I will make it prosper or die.¹⁶⁰ In the course of his discussion with Brooke, Cavenagh showed him a memorandum from St John which suggested terms by which Sarawak might be transferred to the British Government. Suspicious of the Rajah and St John, Brooke immediately concluded that the terms involved the '*utter abandonment of my Rights and claims*'.¹⁶¹ On 26 October he wrote to the Rajah a letter expressive of all the frustration he had felt and of his resolve to assert his rights. 'You have strained the bow of my patience and it has broken at last,' he told the Rajah. 'We must try our relative strength now.'¹⁶² The Rajah had not received this letter when Brooke's second letter on the subject reached him, its message more telling because it was written after 'further and much more deliberate consideration'. Brooke expressed his determination to 'terminate for ever' the repeated negotiations with foreign powers and the British regarding Sarawak's future.

There is no denying that the terms you have allowed your friends to offer amt. to an absolute sale of Sarawak & its people. I blush now to think that in weak moments, fearing the effects of opposing you too far, I have seemed to listen to these terms, which thank God it is not I hope too late to save Sarawak from becoming a fifth rate British Settlement taken over

unwillingly with the vague purpose of keeping other nations out of it. . . . I trust you will not push matters to extremity with me, but I am prepared to go to all lengths to put an end to the present state of affairs which has kept me in anxiety for years & materially injures the prosperity of Sarawak by perpetual uncertainty. I will say no more except that it is very painful to me to write to you in this strain & to hazard an absolute breach with one whom I have so long loved and esteemed.¹⁶³

As he told his parents, while he waited for the Rajah's response, he was approaching forty, and it was 'time enough for a man to have his own way, and throw off his leading strings. I intend to do so.'¹⁶⁴ Having made the break, he felt exhilaration. 'I expect an absolute breach between the Rajah and myself', he told Hay towards the end of January 1863. 'These are stirring times.'¹⁶⁵

The Rajah received Brooke's second letter at the end of December 1862 and wrote at once to Miss Coutts informing her of its contents.¹⁶⁶ By the following day he had made arrangements to sail to Sarawak, accompanied by Charles Johnson,¹⁶⁷ who took the name 'Brooke' and pledged his loyalty to the Rajah.¹⁶⁸ The speed of the Rajah's reaction is evidence of his sense of betrayal, and also of his loss of patience with Brooke. Just as Brooke had endured years of uncertainty about his position until his patience had snapped, so the Rajah, long annoyed by Brooke's vacillations, uncertain of his abilities, and resentful of his eagerness to supplant him as Rajah, also seized on the opportunity offered by this act of open rebellion to end the matter. He told Miss Coutts that the crisis had been looming for some years and had caused him uneasiness. He accused Brooke of being 'culpably distrustful and inconsistent', concluding that a 'man who has no confidence in himself can never inspire confidence in others'.¹⁶⁹

Viewing the long relationship between the Rajah and Brooke, it is impossible not to feel sympathy for Brooke. The Rajah was a difficult man, particularly after 1857. Yet Brooke's concern for his and his son's inheritance was natural, and the Rajah's courting of so many suitors for Sarawak's hand was cause enough for anxiety and distrust. Unfortunately, Brooke felt it best to humour the Rajah when at times it might have been better to stand firm and be consistent. He did not win the Rajah's respect, his occasional shows of independence and firmness being discounted as petulance, especially when he soon gave way under the Rajah's persistence. On the other hand, the Rajah was too inclined to see opponents as enemies or knaves, and a stronger line by Brooke might have

been equally unsuccessful. The Rajah was overbearing and inconsiderate of Brooke's feelings, assuming in his self-righteousness that his nephew would accept that, as Rajah, he acted only for Sarawak's good and was conscious of Brooke's interests; but this was not always self-evident to Brooke. The root of the problem was their differing personalities. St John, an astute observer whatever his faults, believed that the Rajah had never really liked Brooke: he tried to, 'but there was no sympathy between them'.¹⁷⁰ Brooke's reserve and aloofness contrasted with the Rajah's exuberance, egalitarianism, and love of society. Also, Brooke tried to be fair and see both sides whereas the Rajah was blinded by his own self-certainty. More importantly, Brooke failed to maintain the ruler's accessibility to his people which characterized the Rajah's rule while in Sarawak. The Rajah, in short, did not really trust Brooke to rule as he himself would have done. He was reluctant to let go of the reins of power. Hence his stream of letters to Brooke throughout 1862. But the deciding factor, which drove him to write so many of those letters, was Brooke's failure to support publicly the Rajah in his vendetta with the Bishop: 'my enemy should not be your friend', he had written.¹⁷¹ It was that which finally destroyed his confidence in Brooke. Brooke's letter of defiance was an excuse he seized upon. As he told Miss Coutts, 'It is not what my nephew will do, but what he will not do. He will not support my views nor will he maintain my character.'¹⁷² Brooke was deficient in loyalty. The Rajah did not doubt that he would triumph as in the past: 'Now it is better that the crisis has come and Believe me I will trample it under foot in a week without resistance.'¹⁷³

Despite the differences that had arisen between them, the sympathies of the McDougalls were with Brooke. Hearing that the Rajah was coming out to Sarawak, Mrs McDougall hoped 'you will stay dear Brooke and be our Rajah and persuade Sir James Brooke to give you up the country unconditionally'.¹⁷⁴ They were greatly disillusioned in the Rajah. Mrs McDougall told Brooke of their 'great and bitter disappointment'.¹⁷⁵ 'Frank', she said later, 'has given up on him long ago.'¹⁷⁶ She traced her own disillusionment from its beginnings in 1857, telling her sister that the Rajah 'never would allow Frank's services at the Chinese insurrection or that he had suffered in any way'. She believed the Rajah had dictated St John's chapter on the Chinese rising in which the Mission's losses were described as 'pilferings', and recalled how the Rajah had provoked her and Bertha Crookshank 'about what we had lost & how much better we were without everything'.

He behaved very ill to Frank then & I fear, as a natural consequence, has disliked him ever since. I have given him up as an ungrateful, selfish, vindictive man, but it has cost me a great deal & I cannot speak of it except on paper without getting a disagreeable palpitation which gives me a headache.¹⁷⁷

It is doubtful if the Bishop felt disagreeable palpitations, but he viewed the imminent arrival of the Rajah with alarm. He told Bullock that the Rajah had ordered Brooke to try him in the Sarawak courts for treason because of his comment about head-taking. McDougall feared that if the Rajah reached Sarawak, he would make his position untenable: '... a hint to the Malay fanatics who *like not* the Head of the Xtians wd be sufficient to effect his purpose in some way or other.' In implying that the Rajah might connive at murder, McDougall was giving way to his usual taste for hyperbole, but he contemplated a prudent retreat to Singapore or Labuan nevertheless.¹⁷⁸

The McDougalls hoped that Brooke might turn the Rajah away at Singapore and persuade him to surrender the country unconditionally to Brooke. This revealed only the ignorance under which they laboured. Brooke had confided only so much to the McDougalls, natural enough given his differences with the Bishop. What he did confide did not impress Mrs McDougall as being 'rebellion' against the Rajah but as 'a simple honest action' with which they sympathized. They hoped that Brooke would triumph in the coming contest not only because they saw the Rajah as now an enemy to the Mission and themselves, but because they believed that Brooke favoured the Mission and would do all that he could to help it.¹⁷⁹ Yet, in fact, Brooke's views on religion and the role of the Mission differed little from those of the Rajah, and if Brooke had remained as ruler, there would have developed friction between himself and the Bishop. The McDougalls were remarkably ignorant of Brooke's true feelings, an indication of his reserve when in their company. Thus Mrs McDougall was shocked to learn in October 1862 that Brooke 'looked upon the mission in a practical point of view' and was 'so scornful of the idea of a national Church being any benefit to a country'. 'I should grieve to hear you propose yourself a unitarian,' she continued. 'I do not see *that* religion produces good points or rather it is the lack of genuine religion in it.'¹⁸⁰ Yet Brooke's views had been long held and he had long been critical of the Mission and of McDougall. Thus in 1858 he had written to John Grant that there would be 'enormous advantage in converting to Xtianity the population of

these countries which God in his wisdom had given us in wh to lay the foundation stone of civilization, & if it pleases him of Xtianity also'. Brooke clearly believed that civilization did not subsume Christianity, but he saw the practical advantages to the Government if the Dayaks were converted:

Our means are very small, the Church of England being lazy & indifferent, let us concentrate them on the Dyaks, who . . . wd if made Xtians very soon supplant the Malays and become the chief population of the country. They of course wd then look on the white men as brothers, the Malays wd be thrown into the shade and our rule founded on a rock wh nothing cd shake. . . . Let the Mission send men that the Rajah or whoever is running the Govt can place confidence in, then you may be sure there will be no lukewarmedness on my part.

Brooke believed it had been a mistake to make the 'real Bishop of Sarawak the nominal Bishop of Labuan with an injunction to visit that island twice a year'. Valuable time was wasted on voyages to Labuan; and this brought him to the nub of the problem.

Also we do not like at all that Sarawak, a free state, is incorporated in the Sec of Labuan. We want a Sarawak Missionary Bishop whose time & energies shall be given to Sarawak and its 200,000 people. Do what we may to suppress it, there is a constant irritation in the Rajah's mind & in mine too, at having a foreign Bishop Lord it in Sarawak & that touch of latent jealousy is, you may be sure, very prejudicial to the Mission.¹⁸¹

This jealousy lay behind the resentment the Rajah and others felt when the Bishop lorded it in England. It aggravated feelings that would still have been aroused by the Bishop's statements and expressions of opinion. McDougall was not the man to take such feelings into account when dealing with the Rajah and Brooke. He lacked tact and sensitivity. He was brusque, abrasive, impatient, intolerant, and prejudiced, neither a good judge nor a good manager of men. He lacked respect for the feelings of others, spoke without thinking, often giving offence, broke confidences, and was an inveterate tattler and gossip. His recurrent illnesses and the chronic pain he suffered help explain his shortness of temper. The failure of the Mission to achieve more saddened and disillusioned him. The deaths of so many of his children were a personal tragedy. Yet he was disinclined to look within himself for causes of failure and was too ready to find fault with the SPG for not providing more support, with the Rajah's Government and its officers, and with his own missionaries. His complaints had substance, but his personality did not help resolve them. He roused antagonisms,

despite other qualities which could win for him affection and respect. He was at his best in his first years, when, with energy and enthusiasm, he laid the foundations of the Mission: but he was then alone and the task straightforward, he was younger and not sapped by the climate, illness, and disappointment, and his vision still marched with that of the Rajah.

By the beginning of 1863 McDougall was bitter and disillusioned. He may not have been aware that Brooke had regarded him as the worst missionary he could conceive,¹⁸² but his differences with Brooke during 1862 should have warned him that if Brooke were to remain as ruler of Sarawak their relationship would be a troubled one. McDougall's standing had declined within Sarawak and within the Church as a result of the criticism and controversy associated with the *Rainbow* incident and St John's chapter on the Mission. McDougall's inclination was to place his hopes in Brooke in the coming crisis. Whatever happened would affect the Mission and his work, and the Bishop, for his part, was prone to fear the worst.

1. J. B. Brooke to J. Brooke, 2 April 1862, MSS Pac. s 90, Vol. 5, ff. 423-5.
2. J. B. Brooke to J. Brooke, 15 April 1862, *ibid.*, Vol. 5, ff. 426-9.
3. J. B. Brooke to J. Brooke, 26 April 1862, *ibid.*, Vol. 5, ff. 430-4.
4. J. B. Brooke to J. Brooke, 15 April 1862, *ibid.*, Vol. 5, ff. 426-9.
5. Matilda Grant to Lucy Grant, 6 May [1861], *ibid.*, Vol. 11, ff. 250-4.
6. J. B. Brooke to Revd and Mrs F. C. Johnson, 26 October 1861, *ibid.*, Vol. 6, ff. 122-3.
7. J. B. Brooke to J. Brooke, 1 November 1861, *ibid.*, Vol. 5, ff. 393-8.
8. J. Brooke to J. B. Brooke, 23 December 1861, *ibid.*, Vol. 3, ff. 287-90.
9. J. B. Brooke to J. Brooke, *ibid.*, Vol. 5, ff. 430-4.
10. H. McDougall to Fanny Sawyer, April 1862, McDougall Papers. Fanny Sawyer was sister to Eliza Bunyon.
11. J. B. Brooke to J. Brooke, 15 March 1862, MSS Pac. s 90, Vol. 5, ff. 418-21.
12. J. Brooke to J. B. Brooke, 8 May 1862, *ibid.*, Vol. 3, ff. 287-90.
13. J. Brooke to J. B. Brooke, 9 August 1862, *ibid.*, Vol. 3, ff. 320-4.
14. J. Brooke to J. B. Brooke, 29 June 1862, *ibid.*, Vol. 5, ff. 452-7.
15. *Loc. cit.*
16. Marion Rocke to J. B. Brooke, 24 November [1862], *ibid.*, Vol. 14, ff. 297-9.
17. H. McDougall to Eliza Bunyon, n.d. [but before 23 October 1862], McDougall Papers.
18. J. Brooke to J. B. Brooke, 1 September [1862], MSS Pac. s 90, Vol. 3, ff. 331-2.
19. As her confinement drew near, Julia had become increasingly nervous.

Annie Brooke's grave in the garden was neither comforting nor reassuring: H. McDougall to Fanny Sawyer, April 1862, McDougall Papers.

20. J. B. Brooke to J. Brooke, [? 21] May 1862, from *Rainbow*, off Bintulu, MSS Pac. s 90, Vol. 5, ff. 435-43.

21. Robert Hay, in the Sarawak Government Service, was the brother of Matilda Grant.

22. *The Times*, 16 July 1862. The letter is quoted in full in Max Saint, *A Flourish for the Bishop*, pp. 106-18.

23. H. McDougall to Eliza Bunyon, n.d. [but before 23 October 1862], McDougall Papers.

24. *The Times*, 16 July 1862: Saint, *A Flourish for the Bishop*, p. 118.

25. C. J. Bunyon, *Memoirs of Francis Thomas McDougall*, pp. 252-3, summarizes a letter to him from McDougall and dated 16 June 1862.

26. Henry Stuart Johnson was the younger brother of Brooke and Charles Johnson. He had joined the Sarawak Service in 1861, arriving in the company of the Rajah and St John.

27. *The Times*, 16 July 1862: Saint, *A Flourish for the Bishop*, pp. 106-18.

28. Bunyon, *Memoirs of Francis Thomas McDougall*, pp. 252-3.

29. J. Brooke to J. B. Brooke, 18 and 19 July 1862, MSS Pac. s 90, Vol. 3, ff. 314-17.

30. J. Brooke to J. B. Brooke, 26 July 1862, *ibid.*, Vol. 3, ff. 218-19.

31. Spenser St John to J. B. Brooke, 20 July 1862, *ibid.*, Vol. 15, ff. 274-5.

32. C. J. Bunyon to F. T. McDougall, 25 July 1862, quoted in Saint, *A Flourish for the Bishop*, p. 119. It is hardly likely that the Bishop killed eighty pirates with his eighty shots, but if Bunyon fell under that misapprehension it is not surprising that there was a general outcry at McDougall's action.

33. Charles Grant to J. B. Brooke, 26 July 1862, MSS Pac. s 90, Vol. 11, ff. 108-9.

34. Bunyon, *Memoirs of Francis Thomas McDougall*, p. 236; Saint, *A Flourish for the Bishop*, p. 119 and Note (a) on p. 121 quoting from Owen Chadwick, *Mackenzie's Grave*, p. 184, a comment by E. B. Pusey: 'It seems to me a frightful thing that messengers of the Gospel should in any way be connected, even by their presence, with the shedding of human blood.' See also Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions*, p. 383. C. J. Bunyon to F. T. McDougall, 25 July 1862, McDougall Papers, informed McDougall of Mackenzie's case and its condemnation.

35. Bishop of Durham to E. Hawkins, 1 October 1862, in SPG, *Correspondence on the Subject of the Conflict in which the Bishop of Labuan was Engaged with Pirates off the Coast of Borneo, in May, 1862*, London, 1863, SPG Bound Pamphlets No. 15011, Item 17, USPG Archives, p. 1. Contemporary opinion in Singapore also considered the Bishop exaggerated. See C. B. Buckley, *An Anecdotal History of Old Times in Singapore 1816-1867*, p. 691.

36. Archbishop of Canterbury to E. Hawkins, 8 January 1863, in *Correspondence . . .*, pp. 5-7.

37. Bishop of Durham to E. Hawkins, 20 January 1863, in *Correspondence . . .*, p. 6. See also Bishop of Durham to E. Hawkins, 23 October 1862, in *Correspondence . . .*, pp. 2-3.

38. *Correspondence . . .*, pp. 13-14.

39. *The Times*, 16 July 1862. The question in the House of Commons was

reported on p. 6. The Bishop's letter appeared on p. 5. Terry breech-loaders had been issued to the 11th Hussars, but a report was not expected until February 1863, after twelve months' trial.

40. *Ibid.*, 18 July 1862. Letter dated 16 July from 'One Who Revolves'.

41. *The Times*, 26 July 1862.

42. J. Harvey to F. T. McDougall, 8 September 1862, Turner Papers.

43. C. J. B[unyon], *The Borneo Pirates*, London, 25 November 1862, SPG Bound Pamphlets, No. 15011, USPG Archives, pp. 3-6.

44. Quoted in B[unyon], *The Borneo Pirates*, p. 2.

45. R. Hay to C. Grant, 28 May 1862, MSS Pac. s 90, Vol. 6, ff. 301-10.

46. In a letter to Lady Lucy Grant, Brooke commented, 'The Bishop is supposed to have fired faster and straighter than any one else', but he did not criticize the Bishop for doing so: J. B. Brooke to Lady Lucy Grant, 28 May 1862, *ibid.*, Vol. 6, ff. 404-10. Robert Hay mentions that when his own Malay servant was shot by a Lanun, 'the bishop turned round & shot the fellow who had fired at him'. Hay and McDougall carried the wounded servant below, where he died a few minutes later. This implies that McDougall began his medical administrations at this time and thus could be spared from the fighting: R. Hay to C. Grant, 28 May 1862, *ibid.*, Vol. 6, ff. 301-10. No one appears to have questioned why the Bishop should have had with him a new Terry double-barrelled breech-loading rifle. By the men on the spot, it was taken for granted, as was his active involvement in the affray.

47. In 1860, eighteen prefabricated steam gunboats (*canonero*) were sent from England and assembled at Cavite to be deployed in key straits through which the Balangingi passed and at stations in the Sulu Sea. As James Warren has pointed out, when the *canonero* were encountered in open sea, the Balangingi were annihilated. In 1862, fifteen Balangingi *pancos* were sighted between Tawi-Tawi and Borneo. The commander of the *canonero Samar* gave pursuit and reported:

'The chase lasted two hours during which time the pirates made strenuous efforts to reach the security of the Tawi-Tawi coast. When unable to do so, because we had placed ourselves between them and the shoreline, the *pancos* hove to as a group to fight. I then gave the order to sink them; a half an hour was all that was necessary to accomplish it, during which time the ram and cannon worked in unison to destroy them. . . . I continued steaming on course towards Borneo amidst the debris and bodies that strewn the sea.' (James Francis Warren, *The Sulu Zone, 1768-1898*, p. 196.)

In a footnote, Warren refers to 'these little boats'. Although the *canonero* carried a 24-pounder and swivel guns, the *Rainbow* with its two 9-pounders was equally well-armed for the purpose. The *Rainbow* appears to have been a smaller vessel, but the main advantage of the steamer was its speed and manoeuvrability, which enabled it to ram with deadly effect. The Lanun vessels destroyed by the *Rainbow* were similar to the *pancos* or Balangingi *garay* described in the Spanish account above. These had replaced the heavier Lanun vessel of earlier times by 1830: *ibid.*, Appendix A, pp. 256-7. The matter-of-fact account of the Spanish captain of his destruction of fifteen such *garay* provides a perspective which favours Brooke's laconic attitude to the *Rainbow* incident rather than McDougall's as being more in keeping with the facts. On the other hand, a steamer as small as the *Rainbow* would have had free board of only about 6 feet, so that there would have been

danger of the Lanuns boarding if they could have come alongside: personal communication from Mr D. J. Lyon, Head of Enquiry Services, National Maritime Museum, August 1988.

48. J. B. Brooke to J. Brooke, 27 and 29 May 1862, MSS Pac. s 90, Vol. 5, ff. 444-51, and J. B. Brooke to Lady Lucy Grant, 28 May 1862, *ibid.*, Vol. 6, ff. 404-10.

49. J. B. Brooke to J. Brooke, 30 October 1862, *ibid.*, Vol. 5, ff. 484-7.

50. J. Brooke to J. B. Brooke, 9 August 1862, *ibid.*, Vol. 3, ff. 320-4.

51. C. Johnson to J. B. Brooke, 30 November to 3 December 1862, *ibid.*, Vol. 8, ff. 185-7.

52. McDougall was still using the same arguments ten years later. Amongst the Turner Papers is the rough draft of a letter from McDougall to a bishop, possibly to Charles Baring, the Bishop of Durham, written from Ely and dated 13 November. No year is given, but McDougall was at Ely in 1872-3 after his return from Sarawak. The letter was in response to reflections in *The Record*, which Alec Vidler has called 'an organ of militant Evangelicalism', of 29 October, in which McDougall's role in the *Rainbow* incident was mentioned. McDougall's restatement of his case explained his reasons for being on the steamer in the first place and stressed again the self-defence argument: F. T. McDougall to a Bishop, 13 November [1872 or 1873], Turner Papers. For the comment on *The Record* see Alec R. Vidler, *The Church in an Age of Revolution*, p. 123.

53. Spenser St John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East*, Vol. II, p. 378. St John's comments must be seen in context. Charles Grant and the Revd William Chalmers had thoughts on the best means of organizing the Mission, particularly in Dayak areas. Chalmers's comments, in his report for 1860, appeared in the *Mission Field*, 1 March 1861, pp. 55-8. It is likely that St John was aware of the opinions of both men.

54. St John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East*, Vol. II, pp. 370-81.

55. Spenser St John to J. B. Brooke, 25 February 1862, MSS Pac. s 90, Vol. 15, ff. 262-3.

56. Spenser St John to J. B. Brooke, 21 and 24 May 1862, *ibid.*, Vol. 15, ff. 268-9.

57. Spenser St John to J. B. Brooke, 20 July 1862, *ibid.*, Vol. 15, ff. 274-5.

58. Spenser St John to J. B. Brooke, 8 October 1862, *ibid.*, Vol. 15, ff. 282-3.

59. Spenser St John to J. B. Brooke, 20 July 1862, *ibid.*, Vol. 15, ff. 274-5.

60. J. Brooke to J. B. Brooke, 8 May 1862, *ibid.*, Vol. 3, ff. 293-6.

61. C. Grant to John Grant, 16 April 1863, *ibid.*, Vol. 12, ff. 277-83.

62. J. Brooke to J. B. Brooke, 8-11 October 1862, *ibid.*, Vol. 3, ff. 345-7.

63. J. Brooke to J. B. Brooke, 24 November 1862, *ibid.*, Vol. 3, ff. 360-5.

64. Spenser St John to J. B. Brooke, 8 October 1862, *ibid.*, Vol. 15, ff. 282-3. The book had been sent earlier: in October St John was still 'anxious to hear' Brooke's opinion.

65. Spenser St John to C. Grant, 9 March 1863, *ibid.*, Vol. 15, ff. 49-52.

66. Spenser St John, *The Life of Sir James Brooke*, p. 352, says that he wrote the chapter 'in consequence of a conversation with Captain Brooke, who had strong views on the subject'. In his first draft of this biography, which appeared in 1879, St John had written, 'which I agreed with Captain Brooke to write', which more strongly implicated Brooke. Charles Grant, to whom St John, then in Peru, had sent the manuscript, had made the alteration. Commenting on Grant's editing, St John wrote: 'I do not see that my giving an account of Brooke's conversation about the

Missions can be injurious to his memory: the responsibility of the attack I took on my shoulders: if you read over Brooke's letters you will see that his opinions were stronger than any expressed by myself. The Bishop is well aware of this.' (Spenser St John to C. Grant, 5 September 1878, MSS Pac. s 90, Vol. 15, ff. 104-9.)

67. Both Grant and St John accepted that Brooke had been critical of the Mission and there is no reason to doubt St John's word in this case when he says that Brooke spoke to him on the matter when St John was last in Sarawak in 1861. We have Brooke's comment to his sister, for one, that McDougall was the worst missionary he ever conceived. See p. 88 above.

68. St John, *The Life of Sir James Brooke*, p. 352.

69. Mrs McDougall's feelings for Brooke were intense. She could conclude a letter with 'Goodnight dear Brooke, Your affectionate Harriette McDougall', and when Brooke broke with the Rajah and was not permitted to return to Sarawak in February 1863, she sent him an anguished note: 'Oh Brooke I will go with you, I will never speak to that crazy old man again—But why should you go? The people here, everybody loves you and would rather have you than old Rajah—make friends with Malays and stop. I will fight for you.' She signed it 'Yours affecty'. There is no evidence of impropriety and she wrote loyally and movingly of the Bishop's trials and his spiritual struggles, telling Brooke, 'You say that a wife cannot see any faults in her Husband, I deny that, but, she knows better than any one else, his virtues, she sees all the struggles against temptation, the victories over self, the earnest pursuit of duty better than a friend or outside spectator can do. She therefore feels more keenly any injustice done to him.' The Bishop must have been a difficult man to live with at times and perhaps Brooke's circumstances not only wakened her sympathy but a compassion based on feelings for the sons she had lost: H. McDougall to J. B. Brooke, Tuesday 3 [? December 1862]; n.d. [February or early March 1863], MSS Pac. s 90, Vol. 14, ff. 149-63 and 176. (In 1862 Tuesday the 3rd fell in September and December. Internal evidence favours December.)

70. J. B. Brooke to J. Brooke, 21 August 1862, *ibid.*, Vol. 5, ff. 470-9.

71. J. B. Brooke to F. T. McDougall, 21 August 1862, *ibid.*, Vol. 5, ff. 171-6. Brooke wrote: 'I am glad you have determined not to go to the Papers to answer this attack. I am sure it is better not to do so. I disagree with St John, and consider that chapter to have been written in a hasty off hand way without any due consideration & with little knowledge of how the Mission has been conducted for the last few years.' He defended the site of the Mission and of the schools, the town having encroached on the latter, expressed his view that the Mission was not a failure and that all that was required was 'perseverance, judicious energy and more missionaries', concluding that it was a pity the SPG did not send out more carefully chosen men.

72. McDougall desired that supporters of the Mission and of the SPG should be informed of his comments lest the Mission and the Society should lose support because of St John's 'warped & prejudicial statements': F. T. McDougall to E. Hawkins, 20 August 1862, USPG Archives, OLR, D23b.

73. J. B. Brooke to Revd and Mrs F. C. Johnson, 22 September 1862, MSS Pac. s 90, Vol. 6, ff. 143-6.

74. Cameron had arrived from Bishop's College, Calcutta, in March 1858 and was employed as a catechist.

75. McDougall's reasons for desiring a mission boat are given in F. T. McDougall to Samuel Clarke, 10 December 1855, Bishop McDougall's Letter Book, Turner Papers.

76. F. T. McDougall to E. Hawkins, 20 August 1862, USPG Archives, OLR,

D23b. This was published by direction of the Standing Committee of the SPG at a meeting held on 6 November 1862, chaired by the Bishop of London. The published version was edited to remove abbreviations, and appeared as *The Borneo Mission of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, London, 1862, SPG Bound Pamphlets No. 15011, Item 15, USPG Archives.

77. *The Borneo Mission, etc*, footnotes to pp. 2 and 9.

78. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

79. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

80. *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

81. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

82. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

83. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

84. J. Brooke to E. Hawkins, 28 November 1862, MSS Pac. s 90, Box 1, File 2, f. 73. See also J. Brooke to W. T. Bullock, 1 December 1862, *ibid.*, Box 1, File 2, f. 71.

85. J. Brooke to E. Hawkins, 28 November 1862, *ibid.*, Box 1, File 2, f. 73. See also J. Brooke to W. T. Bullock, 29 November 1862, Box 1, File 2, f. 71, asking Bullock or the Committee of the SPG to cause the Bishop to withdraw or substantiate his statement.

86. He did not think the Bishop had intended to charge the Sarawak Government with encouraging head-hunting, 'a custom which, as the Society has always understood, you have done your best to discountenance and put down': W. T. Bullock to J. Brooke, 6 December 1862, *ibid.*, Box 1, File 2, f. 71.

87. J. Brooke to W. T. Bullock, 16 December 1862, *ibid.*, Box 1, File 2, f. 72.

88. The title page of the pamphlet was deliberately ambiguous: '*The Bishop of Labuan. A Vindication of the Statements respecting the Borneo Mission, Contained in the Last Chapter of 'Life in the Forests of the Far East', by Spenser St. John, late H.M.'s Consul-General in Borneo. By the Author.*' St John later admitted to the Rajah's authorship: St John, *The Life of Sir James Brooke*, p. 352.

89. Spenser St John to C. Grant, 5 September 1878, MSS Pac. s 90, Vol. 15, ff. 104-9.

90. [James Brooke], *The Bishop of Labuan. A Vindication of the Statements respecting the Borneo Mission*, William Ridgway, London, 1862, SPG Bound Pamphlets, No. 15011, Item 18, USPG Archives, pp. 5-9.

91. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

92. *Ibid.*, pp. 10-12. See p. 116 above for comment on the *Vindication's* allegations of cowardice during the events of 1857-9. There is no doubt that the mission boats were expensive, perhaps unnecessarily so. There is also no doubt that travel by native prahu could be dangerous and wearing. The visits to Labuan required of the Bishop were time-consuming and subject to delays when the only passage was via Singapore.

93. The *Vindication* listed his absences as five months in 1850, five months in 1851, two months in 1852, two years and eight months while on leave between September 1852 and May 1855, four months from 20 August to 25 December 1855, four months in 1857, and two years and four months on leave from the end of 1859 to March 1862: a total of six years and eight months, to which were added absences in 1849, 1851, 1856, 1858, and 1859 totalling four months: *ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

94. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

95. *Ibid.*, p. 17. Italics in original.

96. *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19.
97. *Ibid.*, pp. 19-21.
98. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
99. *Ibid.*, pp. 24-5.
100. *Ibid.*, pp. 26-7.
101. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
102. *Ibid.*, p. 26. The letters of the Rajah and Charles Johnson were both written from White Lackington, the Johnson home, and dated 29 November 1862.
103. *Ibid.*, p. 27. Grant's letter from Kilgraston is dated 4 December 1862.
104. *Ibid.*, p. 28. Emphasis in original.
105. *Ibid.*, p. 29.
106. Undated press cutting filed with Paul Frederick Tidman's pamphlet, '*Matters of Fact*', in SPG Bound Pamphlets, No. 15011, Item 19, USPG Archives. The letter is dated 18 February 1863.
107. Tidman, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-3.
108. *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.
109. *Ibid.*, p. 5. Even so, Fox had had doubts and difficulties which he was prepared to discuss.
110. *Ibid.*, Introduction, dated Singapore, 6 February 1863.
111. W. Chambers to F. T. McDougall, 26 August 1862, USPG Archives, OLR, D23b.
112. C. Johnson to J. B. Brooke, 23 and 24 November 1862, MSS Pac. s 90, Vol. 8, ff. 178-84.
113. W. Hackett to the *Guardian*, 11 October 1862, USPG Archives, OLR, D23b.
114. J. Glover and W. Chambers to F. T. McDougall, 20 February 1863, *ibid.*
115. F. T. McDougall to C. J. Bunyon, 22 October 1862, McDougall Papers.
116. Spenser St John to J. B. Brooke, 24 November 1862, MSS Pac. s 90, Vol. 15, ff. 286-7.
117. *Loc. cit.*
118. F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 20 May 1856, USPG Archives, OLR, D6b.
119. 'The Mr. Gomez goes to Singapore in the "Jolly" to superintend the printing of something he has written and to seek amongst the ladies there for a wife—at least so we say—however he is to have a holiday.' H. McDougall to J. B. Brooke, 28 March [1856], MSS Pac. s 90, Vol. 14, ff. 136-7.
120. F. T. McDougall to C. J. Bunyon, 9 February 1857, McDougall Papers.
121. C. Johnson to J. B. Brooke, 2 November 1862, MSS Pac. s 90, Vol. 8, ff. 175-8.
122. F. T. McDougall to C. J. Bunyon, 22 October 1862, McDougall Papers.
123. J. B. Brooke to F. T. McDougall, 31 October 1862, MSS Pac. s 90, Box 2, Item 5, 'Private Letter Book of J. Brooke Brooke', ff. 104-7. Gomes assured Brooke that he would publish full accounts when the church was completed and that the house he occupied was his own and not built with Church funds: W. H. Gomes to J. B. Brooke, 5 February 1863, *ibid.*, Box 3, File 3, ff. 76-81.
124. J. B. Brooke to F. T. McDougall, 5 November 1862, *ibid.*, Box 2, Item 5, ff. 108-13.
125. J. B. Brooke to R. Hay, 6 November 1862, *ibid.*, Vol. 7, ff. 100-2. To his parents Brooke said, 'The Bishop & myself have just been falling out. His

Lordship is not over popular here, & I thought it necessary to give him a rap over the knuckles for something like slander.' J. B. Brooke to Revd and Mrs F. C. Johnson, 13 November 1862, *ibid.*, Vol. 6, ff. 147-9.

126. J. B. Brooke to Revd and Mrs F. C. Johnson, 22 September 1862, *ibid.*, Vol. 6, ff. 143-6.

127. H. McDougall to J. B. Brooke, n.d. [1862], *ibid.*, Vol. 14, f. 142.

128. J. B. Brooke to F. T. McDougall, 20 January 1863, *ibid.*, Box 2, Item 5, ff. 133-5.

129. J. Brooke to J. B. Brooke, n.d., part of letter only, but written probably in November 1862, *ibid.*, Vol. 3, ff. 337-40.

130. Spenser St John to J. B. Brooke, 9 November 1862 and 24 November 1862, *ibid.*, Vol. 15, ff. 284-5 and 286-7.

131. In 1878 this still rankled as he recalled in a letter to Charles Grant that Mrs Chambers 'committed the unpardonable offence of writing private letters to my lady friends denouncing my morals': Spenser St John to C. Grant, 5 September 1878, *ibid.*, Vol. 15, ff. 104-9.

132. Spenser St John to J. B. Brooke, 9 November 1862, *ibid.*, Vol. 15, ff. 284-5.

133. Spenser St John to J. B. Brooke, 24 November 1862, *ibid.*, Vol. 15, ff. 286-7.

134. Spenser St John to J. B. Brooke, 26 December [1862], *ibid.*, Vol. 15, ff. 290-1.

135. J. B. Brooke to F. T. McDougall, 20 January 1863, *ibid.*, Box 2, Item 5, ff. 133-5.

136. H. McDougall to J. B. Brooke, n.d. [January 1863], *ibid.*, Vol. 14, ff. 145-6.

137. 'I think you should be satisfied with the Bishop's expression of of [*sic*] sorrow for what happened yesterday and his statement that he meant no disrespect to you in the presence of your staff. Frank always rushes home the very minute he reaches here and I was dismayed at the time that elapsed between my seeing the steamer and his appearance. Therefore I went down to the landing place expecting to find him ill and unable to walk. He was not pleased at my coming in the hot sun and this made him to speak hastily. If Arthur [Crookshank] had not been at your elbow you would have thought nothing of it. I saw it in your eyes and his before we parted. Think no more of it dear Brooke—no offence was meant and we will remember in the future that you are Rajah *only* with that umbrella over your head.'

The 'umbrella' was the yellow umbrella of state, so that Brooke was present in his official capacity as Rajah Muda and head of the Government. The incident indicates how sensitive men had become and how ready to take offence in the situation created by the controversies arising from the *Rainbow* incident and St John's chapter: H. McDougall to J. B. Brooke, n.d. [February 1863], *ibid.*, Vol. 14, ff. 147-8. McDougall wrote to Bullock on 20 February having just returned from Labuan, and it was on his return that the 'umbrella' incident must have taken place: F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 20 February 1863, USPG Archives, OLR, D23b. Brooke was about to leave for Singapore to meet the Rajah and was under strain at the time.

138. H. McDougall to J. B. Brooke, n.d. [February 1863], MSS Pac. s 90, Vol. 14, ff. 147-8.

139. F. T. McDougall to J. B. Brooke, n.d. [February 1863], *ibid.*, Vol. 14, ff. 92-3. A copy of his explanation of his comment about head-hunting, addressed

to Brooke with the advice that he could forward it to the Rajah if he liked, appears in the USPG Archives and is dated 19 February 1863: F. T. McDougall to J. B. Brooke, 19 February 1863, USPG Archives, OLR, D23b.

140. F. T. McDougall to J. B. Brooke, n.d. [probably January 1863], MSS Pac. s 90, Vol. 14, ff. 88-9.

141. H. McDougall to J. B. Brooke, n.d. [probably late December 1862 or early January 1863—the SPG published the Bishop's defence after a meeting of its Standing Committee on 8 November 1862], *ibid.*, Vol. 14, ff. 142. Mrs McDougall attempted to shift responsibility for the use of Brooke's letter from the Bishop to the Society: 'I am very sorry you should be vexed but the Society thought it quite necessary to publish Frank's letter.'

142. 'You will observe the traitors by whom we are surrounded & they are savage because they have not succeeded in ousting the government. Do you think it prudent to continue these men as the Agents of Govt? The sooner they carry out their threats of leaving Sarawak the better.' (J. Brooke to J. B. Brooke, 25 October 1862, *ibid.*, Vol. 3, ff. 350-1.) See also a reference to the Bishop's constant communications with the Borneo Company fostering an intriguing spirit: J. Brooke to J. B. Brooke, 9 August 1862, *ibid.*, Vol. 3, ff. 320-4. The Rajah's suspicions of intrigue verged on paranoia at times.

143. J. Brooke to J. B. Brooke, 25 September 1862, *ibid.*, Vol. 3, ff. 341-4.

144. J. Brooke to J. B. Brooke, 24 November 1862, *ibid.*, Vol. 3, ff. 360-5.

145. J. Brooke to J. B. Brooke, 8 November 1862, *ibid.*, Vol. 3, ff. 356-9.

146. J. Brooke to J. B. Brooke, n.d., part of a letter only, but probably written in November 1862, *ibid.*, Vol. 3, ff. 227-40.

147. J. Brooke to J. B. Brooke, 24 November 1862, *ibid.*, Vol. 3, ff. 360-5.

148. J. Brooke to J. B. Brooke, [? 9] and 10 December 1862, *ibid.*, Vol. 3, ff. 371-4.

149. J. Brooke to J. B. Brooke, 17 and 18 December 1862, *ibid.*, Vol. 3, ff. 375-9.

150. J. Brooke to J. B. Brooke, 23 December 1862, *ibid.*, Vol. 3, ff. 380-2.

151. In 1858, for example, Annie Brooke had written to her sister, 'don't go and think we want to *sell* Sarawak—that is very far from Brooke's wish: he wants to get a Protectorate and struggle on': Annie Brooke to Lucy Grant, [? August] 1858, *ibid.*, Vol. 9, ff. 127-32.

152. This was the case when the Rajah was in Sarawak in 1861, for example. 'It was awkward for Brooke who could not honestly subscribe to the Rajah's views, and yet if he didn't it might bring on a stroke and the Rajah might have died.' C. Grant to R. Hay, 11 August 1861, *ibid.*, Vol. 10, ff. 417-25.

153. J. Brooke to J. B. Brooke, 5 September 1861, in Owen Rutter, *Rajah Brooke and Baroness Burdett Coutts*, pp. 124-5.

154. J. B. Brooke to J. Brooke, 2 January 1862, *ibid.*, pp. 134-5.

155. J. Brooke to A. B. Coutts, 17 February 1862, *ibid.*, p. 135.

156. Cf. note 137 above.

157. Marion Rocke to J. B. Brooke, 24 November [1862], MSS Pac. s 90, Vol. 14, ff. 297-9.

158. Rosina Koch to J. B. Brooke, 5 January [1862], 19 November [1862], and n.d., *ibid.*, Vol. 14, ff. 54-9.

159. Julia's influence might not have been entirely to the good in that it served to distance him from his subjects. Mrs McDougall noted that Brooke and Julia had made their house as English as they could, with Brussels carpets and papered

walls. 'They like to fancy themselves in England,' she wrote: H. McDougall to her mother, Mrs Bunyon, 1 April 1862, McDougall Papers.

160. J. B. Brooke to Revd and Mrs F. C. Johnson, 22 September 1862, MSS Pac. s 90, Vol. 6, ff. 143-6.

161. J. B. Brooke to J. Brooke, 26 October 1862, *ibid.*, Vol. 5, ff. 488-91.

162. *Loc. cit.*

163. J. B. Brooke to J. Brooke, 14 November 1862, *ibid.*, Vol. 5, ff. 492-4.

164. J. B. Brooke to Revd and Mrs F. C. Johnson, 21 January 1863, *ibid.*, Vol. 6, ff. 152-7.

165. J. B. Brooke to R. Hay, 28 January 1863, *ibid.*, Vol. 7, ff. 105-8.

166. J. Brooke to A. B. Coutts, 29 December 1862, in Rutter, *Rajah Brooke and Baroness Burdett Coutts*, p. 150.

167. J. Brooke to A. B. Coutts, 30 December 1862, *ibid.*, p. 151.

168. C. Brooke to J. Brooke, 14 January 1863, *ibid.*, pp. 154-5.

169. J. Brooke to A. B. Coutts and Mrs Brown, [31 December 1862], *ibid.*, pp. 151-2. Mrs Brown was Miss Coutts's companion.

170. Spenser St John to C. Grant, 21 April and 4 May 1874, MSS Pac. s 90, Vol. 15, ff. 63-5.

171. J. Brooke to J. B. Brooke, n.d., part of a letter only, probably written in November 1862, *ibid.*, Vol. 3, ff. 337-40.

172. J. Brooke to A. B. Coutts, 29 December 1862, in Rutter, *Rajah Brooke and Baroness Burdett Coutts*, p. 150.

173. J. Brooke to A. B. Coutts and Mrs Brown, [31 December 1862], *ibid.*, pp. 151-2. Before he left England, the Rajah made a new will by which he bequeathed the sovereignty of Sarawak to Miss Coutts: *ibid.*, pp. 155-6. The Rajah left England on 15 January 1863, accompanied by Charles Brooke and by Mr Charles La Touche, who represented Miss Coutts.

174. H. McDougall to J. B. Brooke, 26 December 1862, MSS Pac. s 90, Vol. 14, ff. 168-9.

175. H. McDougall to J. B. Brooke, 1 November [1862], *ibid.*, Vol. 14, pp. 164-5.

176. H. McDougall to J. B. Brooke, n.d., possibly early 1863, *ibid.*, Vol. 14, ff. 172-3.

177. H. McDougall to Eliza Bunyon, [October] 1862, McDougall Papers.

178. F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 25 February 1863, marked 'Private', USPG Archives, OLR, D23b.

179. F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 8 March 1863, marked 'Private', *ibid.*

180. H. McDougall to J. B. Brooke, n.d. (but after Cavenagh's visit in October 1862, because Brooke's remarks about a national church were made at a dinner for the Cavenaghs), MSS Pac. s 90, Vol. 14, ff. 160-3.

181. J. B. Brooke to J. Grant, 19 February 1858, *ibid.*, Vol. 6, ff. 343-55.

182. J. B. Brooke to Emma Johnson, 28 May 1860, *ibid.*, Vol. 6, ff. 100-3. See p. 88 above.

An Uneasy Truce, 1863-1868

CONTRARY to the Bishop's hopes, Brooke did not turn back the Rajah at Singapore. Instead, at a meeting which ended with Brooke in tears, the Rajah obtained Brooke's submission¹ and a request from him that he be allowed to proceed on leave with an annual allowance of £500, which might be cut 'if I misbehave myself'.² The Rajah graciously consented,³ exultantly informing Miss Coutts, 'The coup d'état is complete': for there is no denying that while he expressed pain and sorrow at what had occurred, he was pleased with the way he had handled it.⁴

Charles Brooke, as we must now call him, preceded the Rajah to Sarawak, leaving Singapore with Miss Coutts's representative, Mr Charles La Touche, on 28 February 1863. The Rajah arrived in Kuching on 7 March to 'every demonstration of welcome and attachment, public and personal'. Brooke had not made public his differences with the Rajah, who decided to inform only the members of the Council and other chiefs in the expectation that Brooke would soon be forgotten by the ordinary people. He could find no fault with Brooke's administration except that he had neglected to build a steam gunboat and instead had begun constructing a fort.⁵ Brooke's rebellion had been on paper only, although the Rajah wondered whether he might try to return after he himself had left,⁶ or make some claim to legal rights.⁷ The Rajah met with government officers, finding only Robert Hay strong in Brooke's defence. For the time being Hay remained, but in due course his feelings for Brooke caused him to resign from the Rajah's service.⁸ With that single exception, the Rajah was well satisfied that the people and government officers remained loyal to him.

The Rajah was less satisfied with the Borneo Company and the Mission: 'Priests and merchants however are both inclined to the transfer of Sarawak to England, for it would increase the profits of their respective callings.'⁹ The Mission, he believed, was much as ever: 'peace and charity do not make their abode there'.¹⁰ Nevertheless, the Bishop was a power in the land and had been on close terms with Brooke. The Rajah needed to effect a reconciliation

and gain the Bishop's acquiescence for his dismissal of Brooke. He quickly ascertained that there had been no active collusion between the Mission and Brooke in his defiance of the Rajah,¹¹ and took the first steps to re-establish a working relationship.

The Bishop had been too ill to call upon the Rajah as protocol demanded, his illness aggravated by the news that the Rajah had 'turned Brooke off in disgrace' and his fears that the Rajah intended to get rid of him as well.¹² Yet he would have to meet the Rajah and, as the latter said, 'go through the civilities of ordinary social life'.¹³ It would not be easy. Charles Brooke had found the McDougalls thin and unwell, suspicious, and scarcely civil to him when he had called on them.¹⁴ Mrs McDougall, greatly distressed at Brooke's departure,¹⁵ hardly able to express her 'feelings of indignation and grief',¹⁶ avoided the Rajah and exchanged with him only 'the least of small greetings'.¹⁷ Nevertheless, the Bishop wrote to the Rajah to say that he would call when better.¹⁸ He hoped that the Rajah and Charles Brooke would continue to encourage the Mission as Brooke had done, but they did not attend Church the first Sunday and rode by during the service.¹⁹ On the evening of 9 March, a chance meeting between the Rajah and the McDougalls broke the ice.²⁰ Meanwhile Chambers, who had come in from Banting, was summoned to a meeting with the Rajah. The latter denied he had instigated St John's criticism of the Mission, as the Bishop believed, nor did he bear the Bishop any ill will, although after what had passed he could not regard him with the same confidence as he had once done. 'Public objects as well as private concord required social agreement', the Rajah told Chambers, and having spoken plainly, there was no reason why he and the Bishop 'should not meet in Society'. Reassured, the Bishop called upon the Rajah, who returned the visit, 'and thus so far as society was concerned there was no disturbance of harmony'.²¹

This formal reconciliation was followed by a meeting between the Rajah and McDougall and Chambers on 17 March, at which the Rajah produced the correspondence between himself and Brooke. The Bishop 'emphatically declared that he had been ignorant of Mr Brooke's proceedings', though he told the Rajah that Brooke had constructed the fort with some idea of resisting Sarawak's transfer: a gratuitous observation hardly likely to help Brooke and indicative of the Bishop's awareness that Brooke had planned defiance of the Rajah's wishes. The meeting concluded with the Rajah saying that he looked for 'prudence and discretion from the

British inhabitants, and an example of it from the clergy'.²²

Meanwhile, Brooke, having given way in Singapore, renewed his claims when he returned to England. While many even of the Rajah's friends were inclined to think he had treated Brooke badly, there were many of Brooke's family and friends who, while agreeing with the justice of his claims, doubted the wisdom of his proceedings.²³ In England, as in Sarawak, it was becoming clear that whatever Brooke thought his installation as Rajah Muda had meant, it had not amounted to an abdication on the part of the Rajah. Even the McDougalls accepted this. Learning that Brooke had revoked his submission and had revived his claims, Mrs McDougall wrote with distress that she and the Bishop could not support him.

The Church nowadays you know cannot be the Church Militant, and however gladly we should all welcome you amongst us, and pleased as we shd be that you should be our Rajah we could neither aid nor countenance any act of rebellion against the old Rajah *who* it seems has never really abdicated though he placed you in the seat of power during his absence.

She advised him to wait until the Rajah's death before stepping into his inheritance²⁴ and to avoid open conflict if he had not gone too far already. Having seen the correspondence between Brooke and the Rajah, the Bishop had concluded that Brooke did not have a good case.²⁵

Brooke had indeed gone too far, and the Rajah pressed the McDougalls neither to write to Brooke nor give him information about Sarawak because the Bishop's name was bandied about as evidence of Mission support for him. Mrs McDougall replied firmly that she wrote to Brooke as her friend, that the Rajah would scarcely respect her if she gave up doing so at his request, and that he could trust them not to create mischief. Nevertheless, she thought it wise to ask Brooke not to make use of their letters 'in any way that should cause trouble to us or cause words between the Rajah and the Bishop as that would be disastrous to the Mission as well as to us'.²⁶ Given the way that protagonists were inclined to rush into print with anything that would help their cause, this was an understandable precaution.

Brooke persisted in his campaign and in August 1863 Mrs McDougall asked for his pamphlet, *A Statement regarding Sarawak*, repeating, however, that he had no chance of success. There was nothing the Rajah had done which could justify deposing

him by force, nor did Brooke have the force to do it. She also expressed sympathy for Charles Brooke, whom she believed acted in good conscience and found it painful that his family should think he had betrayed his brother. She even suggested that Charles should perhaps accept the country in trust for Brooke.²⁷

For the first several weeks after the Rajah's return, Mrs McDougall had stayed at Santubong to avoid meeting him and to keep Brooke's daughter, Agnes, out of his sight.²⁸ The Rajah wanted the child given up to Mrs Penty, whom he had brought out, but Mrs McDougall refused, Charles Brooke believed out of perverseness.²⁹ In the end, she had to give way. As the Rajah became more incensed at Brooke's defiance, he regarded the child as a rallying point for pro-Brooke sentiment, as a 'political difficulty' which had to be removed.³⁰ He wanted nothing of Brooke's left in the country, though the McDougalls took in many of Brooke's belongings, hoping that they would be able to restore them to him whenever he should return.³¹ At first, Mrs McDougall had been deeply distressed, so angry at the charges of treachery levelled at Brooke that she could not sleep and hoping that when she returned to Kuching from Santubong, she would be able to keep her peace and not speak treachery herself. 'I have no sympathy in this small despotism', she told Matilda Grant, 'and don't think it *can* last.'³²

Yet, even she could not stand out against the Rajah. Convinced that he had not in fact abdicated, she was vulnerable to his arguments and pleading, especially when he disarmed her with his old charm. At the beginning of September, back in Kuching and with the Bishop absent on a visitation to Lundu, she was inveigled into inviting the Rajah to dinner before he should leave Sarawak. 'I was mad with myself as soon as the words passed my lips', she told Brooke, 'but he came that day so sad at poor Accomb's sudden death, and was so like his old self, so gentle to Baby so that I for the moment forgot myself when he thanked me for letting him talk over his grief.' The Bishop was vexed with her, but the Rajah would consider it a personal insult from McDougall if he was not now invited and for the Mission's sake this had to be avoided. This shamefaced confession concluded a letter in which she had commented on the Rajah's reaction to Brooke's pamphlet. He had declared Brooke a traitor, warned the Singapore Government to prevent his return, and instructed the natives to capture him if he landed in Sarawak and to kill him if he resisted.³³ These extraordinary measures confirm McDougall's views on the Rajah's lack of balance when crossed.

That Mrs McDougall nevertheless invited the Rajah to dinner must have appeared to Brooke all the more a betrayal.

In fact there was little else the McDougalls could do if the position of the Mission was not to be jeopardized, and over the period of the Rajah's stay the main points of difference were resolved and a reconciliation of sorts achieved. In particular, the position of Gomes was clarified. Gomes came from Lundu to stay with the Rajah for a few days in April. The Rajah offered to make him Government Chaplain at Lundu in order to increase his salary to that of a European missionary, being opposed, as he told Miss Coutts, to 'such distinctions of caste and colour'.³⁴ Emboldened, Gomes threatened to give up his connection with the SPG if his application for a salary increase was not approved. McDougall believed that the Rajah wanted Gomes as his political agent at Lundu and as a missionary independent of the Mission and McDougall.³⁵ Nevertheless, he supported Gomes's application for an increase in salary from \$100 to \$120 a month,³⁶ but at the same time warned Gomes that the Rajah would not live for ever and that to abandon his legitimate calling, and the SPG and the Church which had educated and supported him, would look bad. Chastened, Gomes replied that he had been told that McDougall 'was inimical to him because of his race', but now realized that he had been mistaken.³⁷ Meanwhile, the Rajah had moved the blacksmiths' shops in Kuching to a site within 100 yards of the school house, 'bringing the din of 20 anvils to annoy us', McDougall arguing that they were on Mission land, the Rajah that they were just outside it.³⁸ Beset by this petty persecution, the Bishop decided things had gone far enough and told the Rajah 'plainly he had better be an open enemy or an open friend'.³⁹

This firm stance helped clear the air. The Rajah always respected courage and conviction.⁴⁰ Moreover, he was inclined to be conciliatory in order to win McDougall to his opinion.⁴¹ Thus, when the Society did not see it as consistent with their rules to grant Gomes an increase and McDougall suggested that it might be a gracious act on the Rajah's part to make up the deficiency in return for the services Gomes rendered to the Government, a compromise was reached.

McDougall consented to Gomes being employed by the Government in all things that did not interfere with his duties as a missionary of the SPG. The Rajah thus retained Gomes's services and the Bishop his episcopal authority. Gomes was content with

the arrangement. McDougall told Bullock, with some satisfaction, that the Rajah had 'quite turned round',⁴² but did not acknowledge his own compromise nor that the Rajah had achieved all that he wanted: the Mission had acknowledged him as Rajah and had rejected the claims of Brooke. The reconciliation was sealed by the McDougalls inviting the Rajah and nine others to dinner,⁴³ fulfilling the promise the Rajah had extracted from Mrs McDougall, and, more publicly, at a banquet hosted by the Rajah on the evening of 21 September, 'at which more than fifty English sat down to supper'.⁴⁴ The room in which it was held had been decorated by the boys of the Mission school.⁴⁵ There was dancing, the Rajah partnering Mrs McDougall twice, and no one else. There were speeches, the Bishop proposing the Rajah's health and prosperity and the Rajah responding. Mrs McDougall thought her husband's speech clever, 'saying what was *just* for the old man & alluding to the dark clouds which had disturbed Sarawak of late but which he hoped would disperse on the Rajah's return to England'. The Rajah's speech proposing the Bishop's health, she told Bunyon, had been most friendly, 'though not a word that was a compliment'.⁴⁶ Public reconciliation did not preclude some wary sparring. The Rajah's satisfaction was completed during the course of his voyage home, when he learned that, at a Cabinet meeting in August, the British Government had decided to recognize Sarawak as an independent state and to appoint a British Consul.⁴⁷

Before departing, the Rajah had visited Lingga and Banting. He was pleased by his reception, but questioned the narrowness of Chambers's teaching and the importance he attached to ritual. Constrained from speaking his mind lest he contradict what the Dayaks had been taught as being vital to their salvation, he nevertheless was convinced that Chambers had made an impression that would 'lead them to Christianity, and an advanced civilization'. But his view of what that implied no doubt differed from the ideal towards which Chambers and the other missionaries struggled. 'But they won't be Angels,' he added, 'shut up in a Borneo bandbox, but faulty, erring, sinful, wicked Protestant Christians, like their fellows in England, and elsewhere—and they will be much more useful, manly, muscular subjects and citizens, in consequence. I hate Monsters of perfection.'⁴⁸

The Rajah had no sympathy with ritualism, which, under the impetus of the Oxford Movement, had revived in the Anglican Church. The Mission in Sarawak avoided the controversy which in congregations elsewhere led almost to schism, although one

missionary, Hawkins, was more High Church than McDougall approved.⁴⁹ Chambers was Evangelical rather than High Church, but he and other missionaries in Sarawak derived comfort and spiritual strength from following the more ritualistic rubric permitted by the Book of Common Prayer. Perhaps, too, they felt their congregations required the discipline and colour of ceremony and ritual. The Rajah, whose Unitarian tendencies had weakened by this time,⁵⁰ was broadly tolerant, but suspected that Chambers's Dayak converts attached too much reverence to the ritual without a sufficient understanding of the faith it symbolized.

Ritualism was only one issue creating controversy in the Anglican Church. It was a time of intellectual and doctrinal ferment as orthodoxy came to grips with new scientific theories and as textual criticism questioned the accuracy and authenticity of the text of the Scriptures themselves. McDougall had always held aloof from free-ranging discussion. When he returned to England eventually, he was disturbed and distressed by the partisanship he found in the English Church.⁵¹ Rajah James, on the other hand, retained his interest in religious debate and controversy. Their different attitudes, which underlay much of the conflict between them, are evident in their differing reactions to the controversy which surfaced in the English Church over the opinions and writings of Bishop John Colenso of Natal.

Colenso had had considerable success converting the Zulus of Natal, but was troubled by the questions his converts raised. He was disturbed by discrepancies in the biblical text, he questioned the doctrine of eternal punishment for sin, and his sympathy with Zulu culture caused him to approve of polygamy. In 1863, he was summoned before his superior, Bishop Robert Gray of Cape Town, on charges of heresy and was convicted the following year. On appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, he was acquitted on a legal technicality, but, after the South African Church was recognized as autonomous, the English bishops deposed Colenso in 1869. McDougall and the Rajah were both involved, the Rajah publicly, McDougall because Colenso had married Mrs McDougall's elder sister, Frances.

McDougall was distressed by Colenso's 'heterodoxy & contumacy', telling Bullock in July 1864 it 'may be well for people to know we are loyal & orthodox' and giving him permission to make public the report of his recently held Synod, the first in Sarawak.⁵² By October 1866 he was convinced that Colenso could no longer call himself a Christian bishop. 'He must give up', he told Bullock, 'or

all men will call him not only dishonest but a traitor.⁵³ McDougall allowed himself none of the doubts which had troubled Colenso and his response to Colenso's predicament was constrained by his own orthodoxy and by his family relationship. That Colenso was his brother-in-law caused him to grieve for him. It also caused him to distance himself from Colenso's views, feeling that his own standing as an orthodox churchman was threatened by the connection. Conviction and prudence dictated caution and a sense of relief that in Sarawak he was, as he told Bullock, 'out of the row'.⁵⁴

James Brooke had no such constraints upon him. He subscribed to the defence fund organized by Colenso's supporters in England,⁵⁵ read the relevant theological literature,⁵⁶ and sprang to Colenso's defence, believing that Colenso had every right to his opinions and that his trial and condemnation by Bishop Gray had been unjust.⁵⁷ In particular, he was incensed by a letter by the Archbishop of Canterbury in the *Guardian* which advised the clergy in Natal to disobey Colenso, and by the decision of the SPG to release 'those of the Clergy in the diocese of Natal whose stipends are in part or wholly paid by the Society, from all obedience to the Bishop of the diocese Dr. Colenso'.⁵⁸ The Rajah's main concern was that justice be done to Colenso, not with the rightness or otherwise of his opinions. There might be opinions that a man might hold which would render him unfit to remain a bishop of the Church of England, but he did not think that Colenso had been given a fair hearing or a fair trial.⁵⁹

Although there is no evidence that the Rajah and McDougall ever corresponded on the Colenso affair, it illustrates the differences in temperament between the two men. McDougall believed in a revealed truth as defined by the Anglican Church and enshrined in the Thirty-nine Articles and the Book of Common Prayer. He was troubled and alarmed by the criticism and enquiry which in the 1860s was exposing the fallibility of Scripture and of received tradition. He feared that enquiry would lead to loss of faith. James Brooke argued that enquiry guided by reason would substantiate truth and provide the basis for a rational faith. McDougall shrank from the religious and intellectual ferment of the times; James Brooke revelled in it.

The controversy impinged directly upon the relations between Church and State in Sarawak only when it involved the question of ecclesiastical jurisdiction: this had been raised by the SPG releasing the clergy it supported in Natal from their obedience to Bishop Colenso. The Rajah believed that the decision compromised

the foreign missions of the Society by giving them a political and party character and that it was 'so dangerous and subversive of authority everywhere, that distrust must be the consequence'.⁶⁰ Whatever his personal feelings for McDougall, the Rajah supported his authority as Bishop and he did not wish to see a situation in Sarawak where the clergy might be released from their obedience to their bishop by the dictate of an external authority like the SPG. It threatened his own authority as Rajah, in that he had chosen and recognized McDougall as Bishop of Sarawak. Moreover, given his ambiguous position as a British subject ruling an independent state, the principle involved could be invoked to encourage, for example, members of his service to place loyalty to an external power, in this case Britain, above their loyalty to him as Rajah. The Bishop's position was also ambiguous, as Rutter has pointed out:

The Rajah had conferred on the Bishop of Labuan the title of Bishop of Sarawak and recognized him as the head of the Anglican Church in Sarawak, but recognized no territorial jurisdiction. The allegiance of the Bishop of Labuan to the See of Canterbury was a consequence of his personal position as a Bishop of the Crown of England, but the Bishopric of Sarawak, though instituted in full communion with the Church of England, was a free Church in a free State.⁶¹

The question of jurisdiction troubled the Rajah as even Miss Coutts recognized, especially if he apprehended any encroachment on his Government from an action by McDougall in his role of Bishop of Labuan.⁶² Thus, when McDougall called a synod of his clergy in June 1864, the Rajah sought clarification. McDougall had acted in accordance with a despatch from the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State for the Colonies, to all colonial governors, to be communicated to all colonial bishops. The despatch had been prompted by the Colenso affair in which the Bishop of Cape Town had 'exceeded the law in his assumption of a coercive jurisdiction and a consistorial court'.⁶³ The despatch pointed out, however,

... that, assuming there was no local law to the contrary, the members of the Church of England in a colony in which that Church was not established had the same liberty of assembling for any lawful purpose as was possessed by the members of any other religious denomination, and that any colonial bishop or metropolitan might, without the consent of the Crown, or any other express legislative authority, summon meetings of the clergy and laity under the designation of provincial or diocesan synods, or any other designation, for the purpose of deliberating on matters concerning the welfare of the Church.⁶⁴

McDougall stressed to the SPG that his synod was a synod of the 'Diocese of Sarawak . . . which is, of course, wholly unfettered by English laws and Colonial restrictions'.⁶⁵ Labuan was in a different category as a colony and McDougall was acting only as Bishop of Sarawak. He sent a copy of the proceedings to the Rajah, who immediately sought to assert his authority. He sent a letter to be handed by the Tuan Muda, Charles Brooke, to the Bishop. In it, he pointed out that the State of Sarawak was not connected with any religion and that the position of the Church of England was that of a free church in a free country. He considered it right and advisable for the Bishop to meet with his clergy to discuss the internal affairs of the Church, but he wished the term 'synod' to be defined to prevent any conflict with the civil power. In a separate statement to Charles Brooke, he questioned the use of the word 'diocese', preferring 'bishopric', and wondered whether, after the British Government's recognition of Sarawak, the Bishop's relation to the Crown of England had not been altered, and whether it was lawful for an English prelate to hold two bishoprics at the same time. On taking legal advice, he was assured that McDougall's position was not contrary to English law.⁶⁶

Ever prepared to fear the worst, McDougall saw in this an attempt by the Rajah to damage him and the Mission, informing Bullock, to whom he sent a copy of the Rajah's letter:

The wily old man wants to embroil me I see. He does not like my publicly asserting that I am, by his appointment, Bishop of Sarawak, & that I mean to act as such. . . . He is an implacable man, he bears no good will now to our Missions or myself, & will I fear lose no opportunity of striking at me that he can get.⁶⁷

This was going too far. The Rajah had a legitimate interest in the question of jurisdiction and had already involved himself in the Colenso affair, which quickened that interest. If McDougall was suspicious of the Rajah, the Rajah, too, had cause to watch the Bishop. Both men were jealous of their prerogatives, and the 1860s were a time when the question of the relations between Church and State was assuming new prominence in England and in Europe as a whole as the secular State challenged the power of established Churches and adopted a neutral stance with regard to the beliefs of its citizens. As the disabilities restricting the rights of Dissenters and Roman Catholics were removed in England, the relationship between the State and the established Church changed. Disestablishment, even, was in the air.⁶⁸ The Mission in Sarawak had never

enjoyed the status of an established Church, but it had enjoyed government protection and goodwill and an ecclesiastical monopoly.

In the first years it was natural for McDougall to assume a special relationship and the position of the Church *vis-à-vis* the State was blurred. The Rajah maintained a policy by which the Church was forbidden to convert the Malays, which the Bishop had come to accept, but overall there was an assumption that the State would be supportive. In the 1860s the general climate of opinion had changed, and even McDougall saw the need to clarify the position of the Church in Sarawak. At his second synod, therefore, held in June 1865, a resolution was passed thanking the Rajah for his communication, accepting the definition of the position of the Church in Sarawak, and assuring him of the Church's determination not to encroach on the civil power.⁶⁹ The Rajah had acquired the clarification he desired and had asserted once more his prerogative as ruler. The Bishop had asserted his authority over his clergy as Bishop of Sarawak, but had acknowledged that the Church in Sarawak was independent of the State. The Church accepted that it operated in a state in which the Christian, Muslim, and Buddhist religions were equally tolerated. The Church could expect no favours, as it had in the past. On the other hand, it could claim an independence from Government interference. Whether it would benefit from this freedom was up to the Bishop and his clergy. One consequence was to leave it feeling more exposed and inclined more than ever to turn to England for support. On the occasion of his third synod, in October 1865, McDougall declared:

I feel persuaded that we can only maintain our position in this country by true unswerving allegiance to our English mother; we are purely a missionary church militant in a heathen and Mohammedan country—the Church in Borneo, not the Church of Borneo—wholly unable to stand alone, and dependent for its support upon the alms of the Church at home, administered by the S.P.G.⁷⁰

It was in order to retain such support that the first synod had stressed its orthodoxy and expressed its gratitude to the SPG. Its affirmation of faith and its 'earnest desire and determination to admit no discussions of doctrine' reflected McDougall's caution at the time of the Colenso affair.⁷¹ He was anxious that the Church in Sarawak should remain 'loyal and orthodox', and to this end the synod adopted a rule that clergy could not vote at a synod until they had been in the diocese for two years. McDougall argued that men arrived with such 'wild notions' that they needed two

years to form a 'decent opinion of men & things'. It also would prevent any new bishop, after McDougall's departure, from outvoting the resident clergy by bringing with him new men 'who know nothing about the work or the temper of the people & perhaps care little about keeping closely to the doctrine & discipline of the Church, as we have done our best to do'.⁷² Chambers fully agreed,⁷³ and his orthodoxy was to recommend him to McDougall as his successor, despite other differences.

One of these differences was over the pronunciation and spelling of Malay written in romanized script. The Malay catechism prepared by McDougall soon after his arrival in Sarawak had been in Arabic or *Jawi* script. Given the failure to make progress amongst the Malays, he now deemed it better 'to instruct the Dyaks in a character which the Malays cannot read and ridicule'.⁷⁴ The main business of the second synod, in 1865, was to discuss the compilation of a catechism and a common hymnal and to standardize the written form. McDougall had begun the revision of his Malay Prayer Book and in January 1865 sent copies of the first sheet of the romanized Malay Liturgy to Bullock, telling him, 'There is great difficulty about the spelling. I, and all the other missionaries except Chambers, think that Malay and most of its cognate dialects may all be spelt without any extra or accented letters.'⁷⁵ Chambers continued his opposition at the synod, becoming excitable and, in McDougall's words, making a fool of himself.⁷⁶ Mrs McDougall found herself hostess to a house full of missionaries and bore the brunt of their bickering and squabbling outside the synod meetings. The latter were held in the church 'under restraints of discipline & outward courtesy', after which the Bishop retired to the solitude of his library, leaving his wife to cope. 'I was the repository of angry feelings in this house', she told her sister, '& cd only wonder at so much discomfit on behalf of a wretched u, which Mr Chambers called "his little pet ewe".'⁷⁷

Chambers gave way, as he had ten years before on the use of 'Isa' for 'Jesus'. He does not appear to have resented his defeat. Indeed, his humorous reference to his 'little pet ewe' indicates a wry acknowledgement of the ridiculous in a debate over a single letter. He no doubt felt his system to be better and fought for it, but one suspects he may have taken a sly delight in trotting out his 'little pet ewe', not necessarily incompatible with vehemence in his defence of it.

The annual synods went a long way towards meeting the objections that had been raised by St John, the Rajah, and Brooke as to

McDougall's treatment of his clergy. At the third, McDougall instituted a change also in the procedure by which converts were accepted into the Church. In the past he had insisted on withholding baptism until the priest was convinced of the candidate's sincerity and his full understanding of the essentials of the Christian faith. McDougall now told his clergy that he had decided that a long catechumate was unwise, and referred them to Apostolic times when baptism followed shortly after the expression of faith. High standards could not be expected, he said, from those who had not 'had the seed and earnest of the Holy Spirit planted in their hearts by baptism'. While warning against baptizing in too great a haste, he declared that those who appeared to be genuine in their profession of repentance and faith should be baptized.⁷⁸ St John was to remark with smug satisfaction that as a result of his chapter 'the management of the mission was completely changed & I heard that most of my recommendations were put into practice'.⁷⁹ Certainly, the controversy created by his chapter was followed by changes in accord with his ideas, and McDougall himself learned discretion and self-control, as Mrs McDougall noted, writing to her mother at the end of October 1866, 'Our Synod is over without a discordant note. I think Frank is loved and trusted by his missionaries, every year makes him more patient and self-governed so that there is no excuse for any storms in our little Church.'⁸⁰ Such tranquillity was arrived at only in their last year in Sarawak.

The McDougalls' return from leave in March 1862 had been an opportunity for a new start by the Bishop, for new missionaries had arrived in the same month to replace those who had left. William Crossland and William Ransome Mesney were from St Augustine's, Canterbury. Frederick William Abé, who had married a week before sailing from England, and John Lewis Zehnder were German Lutherans. Abé was talented musically and was to establish among the Land Dayaks of Quop a musical tradition which still survives. Zehnder was a gifted linguist. Swiss by birth, he is said to have known Hebrew, Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, French, German, Italian, and Welsh, as well as English. In Borneo, he acquired Chinese, Malay, and some Dayak languages. The fifth recruit was a schoolmaster, John Richardson. The McDougalls brought back with them Julia Steward, whom they had taken to England for training and who was placed in charge of the girls' school.⁸¹

Crossland and Mesney were sent to Chambers at Banting, although Crossland soon fell out with Chambers. Abé and Zehnder remained in Kuching, though Abé soon refused to live in the same house as

Zehnder and wanted separate quarters for himself and his wife. The two Lutherans had to be accepted into the Anglican communion and were confirmed in early June. A week later, on Trinity Sunday, 15 June 1862, they were ordained as deacons, together with Crossland and Mesney. Crossland and Mesney returned with Chambers, Mesney remaining with him at Banting and Crossland establishing a new mission station at Sabu on the Undup. Abé was sent to the Land Dayaks at Quop and Zehnder to the Sea Dayaks at Merdang. Richardson was sent to work among the Selakau Dayaks at Sedemak near Lundu at the beginning of 1863. There was progress, too, in Labuan, where the first chaplain, Julian Moreton, arrived at the end of 1862.⁸²

The promptitude with which the new missionaries were appointed to their stations was not a consequence of St John's criticisms, for news of his controversial chapter did not reach Sarawak until October 1862. To a large extent it was possible because there were now native catechists available to assist the new missionaries. Thus, at Quop, Abé was assisted by Chung Ah Luk, who had been one of the Chinese boys admitted to the Mission school in 1850 and had, in 1860, joined Chalmers at Quop. Zehnder was assisted at Merdang by Thomas Dyak Webster, the first Sea Dayak to pass through the Mission school. Both were paid by the Bishop, who had not received approval from the SPG to appoint them. It was only after approval was received early in 1863 that catechists could be sent elsewhere. By the end of 1864, there were, in addition to Chung and Webster, Foo Ngyen Khoon and Oh Tong in Kuching, Si Mirum at Quop, and Bulang and Bugai at Lundu. Numbers were still insufficient, but the situation had greatly improved.

While McDougall had been on leave, the Mission in Kuching had been managed by Charles Koch. When he had arrived in Sarawak early in 1856, McDougall had considered him a good, holy-minded man but thought little of his theological attainments.⁸³ He was ordained deacon in September 1856. During the Chinese attack on Kuching, a misunderstanding occurred which coloured their relationship thereafter. Unfamiliar with English idiom, Koch believed that McDougall had threatened to cut his throat if he resigned from the Mission.⁸⁴ Koch did not resign and was ordained priest on 7 November 1858 and in 1859 married Rosina McKee, who had been courted by Chalmers. He remained steadfast during the crises of 1859 and McDougall left him in charge when he went on leave in December 1859, although some eighteen months before he had considered Koch to be very young and wanting the firmness

of an Englishman.⁸⁵ On his return in March 1862, McDougall praised Koch and 'his excellent wife' for keeping things going under trying circumstances.⁸⁶ They had had differences with the Owens and their health had suffered. McDougall advised them to go to Santubong to recover.⁸⁷

However, as Brooke noted, the Bishop soon fell out with his missionaries,⁸⁸ in particular Gomes and Koch, both of whom he believed had been turned against him by the Rajah and St John when they were in Sarawak in 1861.⁸⁹ We have noted his relationship with Gomes. He also fell out with Koch, whom, Mrs McDougall said, 'got some crockets in his head' which had to be sorted out at a meeting with Chambers and the Bishop.⁹⁰ She thought Mrs Koch 'a fiery little woman' and a gossip,⁹¹ but if the Bishop's remarks regarding half-castes had been made known to her, she may have had every reason to be fiery. During the Bishop's absence, Koch had been head of the Mission and she its first lady. They would be sensitive to any slights, especially if St John and the Rajah had informed them of slighting remarks in the past. McDougall remarked to Bullock that Koch and Gomes had been 'growly and jealous' ever since the arrival of the St Augustine's men, who worked harder and better than they,⁹² but their attitude may equally have been prompted by feelings of resentment at his treatment of them. Certainly, during 1863, McDougall had nothing good to say about Koch.

In January 1863, Koch sought from McDougall a testimonial regarding his work and was unhappy with the cold formal certificate McDougall gave him. He was apparently seeking praise and recognition which McDougall was temperamentally incapable of dispensing. Instead, McDougall told Bullock that Koch was not equal to the work he wanted doing, nor did Mrs Koch overburden herself with Mission duties. 'She has been the lady,' he said, 'my wife the working woman.'⁹³ When Koch went on leave, McDougall remarked that he would not grieve if he did not return, as 'he and his wife are more ornamental than useful in the missionary way'.⁹⁴ This was hardly just, for when Koch had left McDougall found it necessary to bring Zehnder from Merdang to assist him in Kuching, 'as I find from the work I have had since Mr Koch left that if I go on, as I have been doing, I shall be so entirely occupied with the local work here as to be obliged to neglect my higher and more important work as Bishop and overseer of the other Missions.'⁹⁵

While on leave, Koch looked for employment elsewhere, as McDougall had suspected he would. Irritated by the inconvenience

his failure to return would cause the Mission, McDougall nevertheless supported him for the vacant chaplaincy of Malacca, where he might 'do well with semi-Dutch and Portuguese people of his own sort'.⁹⁶ When Koch finally accepted a position in Ceylon, McDougall went to great lengths to get the SPG to make him refund his passage money, which he felt he had obtained under the false pretence of rejoining the Mission,⁹⁷ and refused to write letters of commendation for him unless the money was refunded.⁹⁸ Whatever the justice of McDougall's view, his reaction was coloured by his prejudice. No doubt it was Koch of whom he spoke slightly as a half-caste to Brooke the night he also slandered Gomes.⁹⁹ In both cases his feelings were aggravated by his belief that both men had been influenced by the Rajah and St John.

As we have seen, McDougall was reconciled even with Gomes, and during his last years in Sarawak he showed greater restraint and tolerance. The synods provided opportunities for the clergy to meet and air their views. They also promoted uniformity in doctrine and practice, provided mutual support, and enabled the Mission to take stock and evaluate its progress. After the Rajah's departure, leaving Charles Brooke to govern as the Tuan Muda in Sarawak, these were years of relative calm.

The Mission's progress in spreading the Christian faith remained uneven, however. In Kuching there was some decline because of a trade recession which caused the Chinese to leave.¹⁰⁰ In 1864, Owen resigned as schoolmaster, having developed a drinking problem and got into debt. The school was placed under Boon Ahin, one of the schoolboys admitted in 1850, who had been sent in 1862 to be catechist and schoolmaster in Malacca. He ran the school under Zehnder's supervision. In 1865, Julia Steward married a government clerk and gave up her supervision of the five girl boarders, who were sent to Mrs Abé at Quop. Ahin resigned in 1866. His wife had been looking after the younger children. McDougall decided to cease taking in native girls and younger children as there was no one to look after them. The school was conducted by another Chinese, Ah Jow. It was not living up to McDougall's early expectation, largely for lack of staff, but in 1866 the first Land Dayak boys from Quop were admitted.¹⁰¹

If the Mission in Kuching had to some extent stagnated, that at Quop was making good progress, perhaps because Abé's poor health prevented him travelling and dissipating his efforts. He also had a drinking problem, which caused McDougall great concern, but in itself this may not have been a great handicap at Quop,

where the people had no objection to alcohol. More importantly, Abé and his wife established a routine. Abé instructed the catechist Chung Ah Luk in the mornings, while his wife conducted a school. Both he and his wife took further classes in the evenings. The daily evening service was well attended and women began seeking instruction from Mrs Abé in 1865. The headman had been baptized in 1862. The ageing *manang* (shaman) accepted baptism in 1865 and by the end of that year almost all the village was Christian, and it is hard to see why McDougall should have expressed doubts about consecrating the church in December that year, unless it was difficult for him to accept Abé's success. Progress among the other Dayak villages was not as great. There were some conversions at Sea Dayak Merdang and Land Dayak Sentah, for Abé was not entirely immobile, and Zehnder and, for a while, Hawkins had been stationed at Merdang. After Hawkins returned to Kuching, Abé would sometimes stay briefly at Merdang.¹⁰²

Lundu, too, had a Christian congregation. Its church, consecrated in September 1863, had acquired a spire and stained glass in 1865. There were fifty baptisms in 1865, and when McDougall visited in 1866, there were eighty-two communicants and the day-school had forty pupils. Gomes went on leave in early 1867, after fifteen years' continuous service. Mrs Gomes had done good work among the women.

Meanwhile, under Richardson at Sedemak, another Christian community was in the making. The church there was opened under licence, because McDougall could not walk the distance from Lundu, in November 1866, and Richardson claimed 103 converts, including some women, by that date. Gomes did not return and was replaced by Zehnder, who was also to have a long ministry at Lundu. As with the Land Dayak mission, results had not been spectacular, but, as at Quop, a Christian community had been firmly established.¹⁰³

At Banting, the Chamberses were also at last making contact with the women. Mrs Chambers had started a school for girls and in 1864 some twenty to thirty were coming for lessons when not needed at home. In September 1865, McDougall reported that women 'were coming in at Banting'. The church was enlarged, a new nave being consecrated in September 1866. Chambers had also built up the school, so that in the middle of 1866 there were nearly four dozen boys and girls attending, mostly as day pupils. With Mesney's assistance, Chambers was under less pressure and more time could be spent teaching those who came enquiring,

although it was still impossible to devote adequate time to visiting the neighbouring longhouses. Crossland was also having success at Sabu. At the end of 1863 he had taken two headmen to Banting for baptism and in February 1864 conducted a baptism at Sabu. In July 1866 McDougall visited Sabu and confirmed eleven candidates.¹⁰⁴

However, for the Mission, the most exciting development was the conversion of Buda, the son of Linggir, 'that notorious Sarebas Chief Orang Kaya Pamancha' who had once vowed to carry home the Rajah's head in a basket. Buda's conversion came about by chance and his own initiative rather than from the active proselytization of the Mission. He had received some instruction from Koch in Kuching in 1858, but had then returned home, married and moved to Sebatan on the Krian River. Following a quarrel with his wife, he arrived at Banting for cock-fighting. While there, he wandered into the school where Mesney was teaching, showed interest, and stayed for instruction in reading and writing as well as Christianity. He returned to Sebatan, reappeared with his wife and daughter for further instruction, and was baptized on Christmas Eve, 1863. He was appointed a probationer catechist in 1865. With three others who had been baptized with him, he taught the people of his longhouse to sing Christian hymns translated into Iban and gave Christian instruction. He carried the message to neighbouring longhouses, no doubt helped by his prestige as a warrior. Chambers and Mesney began receiving from the Krian and Saribas longhouses requests for teachers. McDougall placed priority upon the Rejang and the Melanau districts and wrote that the Saribas and Krian would have to come under Banting. A catechist was sent to the Saribas from Banting, and Mesney followed. In August and September 1867, Chambers visited the Saribas and Krian and found that many people had been well instructed by Buda. In accordance with McDougall's instructions at the 1866 synod, he baptized over 180, almost as many as had been converted at Banting after many years. It was a story tailor-made for the Mission's supporters at home. Chambers wrote an account for the *Mission Field* in 1868. It appeared that the Mission was poised to reap its long delayed harvest.¹⁰⁵

This evidence of progress brought no joy to McDougall, who was preoccupied with his prospects for the Singapore Bishopric, wary of what he regarded as the Rajah's hostility and Charles Brooke's antipathy to him, worn down by illness and inclined to find fault with his missionaries and to begrudge them their

achievements. Relations with the Rajah often affected his judgement on purely mission work, as, for example, his assessment of the work among the Land Dayaks at Quop. These factors intermingle and interact during his last few years as Bishop.

McDougall welcomed the appointment of a British Consul in 1864 'as hitherto aggrieved *English* subjects here malgre moi come to me in their troubles with local Authorities', obviously a situation aggravating to the local authorities. At the same time he mocked the Rajah's pretensions to independence, obtained for him, he believed, by Miss Coutts: '... an English Consul is to come and do him homage and *King James* has sent out coins from a Birmingham mint with his image & superscription—and then who will not fall down and worship it are doomed to have no easy time here, I can see.' Despite letters from the Rajah expressing goodwill, McDougall still saw his old enemy at work in secret behind his back.¹⁰⁶ Mrs McDougall, he told Bunyon, was completely disillusioned and now hated Sarawak. The missions were promising well and the work, he said, interested him, but he still complained that 'if I had but a better staff I shd feel that whatever comes of Sarawak & the Rajah I have at least been able to found our Church here on sound & broad foundations'.¹⁰⁷

In reality, however, he was no longer interested in Sarawak. Singapore beckoned, and he was glad enough to have even the Rajah's support for his claims,¹⁰⁸ although he could not believe that the Rajah had no ulterior motive.¹⁰⁹ McDougall wanted Sarawak to pass under the British Crown and believed it would hasten that end if there were a single diocese embracing the Straits Settlements and Borneo. Once under a government 'friendly to missionary operations', the Church in Sarawak would expand until there might be occasion for another Bishop of Sarawak. In the meantime, he argued, denying any personal ambition, his experience, connection, and influence in the Straits Settlements and in Sarawak would be needed to put the Church in the region on a proper footing. Singapore, he told Bullock, should be the centre for the Church in the Archipelago.¹¹⁰

Throughout these last years his discontent with Sarawak was manifest. It showed itself not only in his hankering after Singapore, but in thoughts of retirement and change, almost at times wishing the Rajah would succeed in driving him out. Thus in February 1865, in a rambling letter to Charles Bunyon, he wrote of retirement, perhaps after another three years, and played with the idea that he might exchange with Colenso as the Natal climate would suit him

and Mrs McDougall—completely impracticable, as he realized. Equally improbable was his suggestion that the Rajah, who was, he said, 'muffing discouraging ignoring & throwing cold water on all we do or attempt—& trying to injure me at home', should pension him off. 'If he really cares for the good of the country,' he told Bunyon, 'his only plan is to get me out by fair means, either by giving a pension, either through Miss Coutts or getting a man with a good living who will exchange.'¹¹¹ Perhaps he hoped Bunyon would pass the message to the right quarters: nothing came of it, and on reflection, McDougall himself must have realized it was entirely unrealistic and made no further allusion to it.

Unknown to McDougall, the Rajah and the Tuan Muda, Charles Brooke, had been protecting the Mission's interests, restraining Miss Coutts in one of her philanthropic schemes which could have introduced new dissension into the Anglican Mission. In about May 1864, Miss Coutts proposed taking up land in Sarawak to establish an experimental farm which would demonstrate the agricultural potential of the country and instruct Dayaks in improved farming methods. Part of her scheme was to install a Church of England clergyman who would be independent of the existing Mission. The Rajah told the Tuan Muda and the Resident in Sarawak to throw the weight and influence of the Government behind the scheme.¹¹² Charles Brooke proposed establishing the farm on the Rejang, but the Rajah preferred Quop.¹¹³ Both, however, opposed the appointment of a clergyman. It would lead to conflict with the established Mission and the SPG. The Government would have to remain neutral and the Bishop and the SPG would win.¹¹⁴ Miss Coutts eventually gave way, the farm was established at Quop under secular management and conflict with the Anglican Mission was avoided.

The Rajah's insistence on Quop highlighted another difference between himself and the Bishop. The Rajah saw the Land Dayaks as an oppressed people he had liberated from Malay tyranny and Iban incursions. In his original appeals for support, he had named them as being most in need of British protection. Their prosperity and their conversion to Christianity would justify his rule in a way the development of no other people could. Yet there were particular difficulties in working among the Land Dayaks. Although close to Kuching, they lived in villages which, built for defence against Malay and Iban attack, were often perched on high hills and difficult of access. Moreover, the Land Dayaks spoke several dialects, not mutually understood, so that missionary effort was fragmented.

McDougall admitted that he had never looked upon the Land Dayaks 'as our most hopeful missionary sphere', but he recognized that if he did not keep the Quop mission going, the Rajah would be 'down on us about neglecting the Land Dayaks'.¹¹⁵ In this instance, the Rajah's judgement was sounder than McDougall's.

By 1866 the McDougalls were hanging on in Sarawak with growing impatience. They were not happy. Mrs McDougall complained that the Rajah wasted money on uniforms for his officials, 'something combining European & Oriental State!', that could have been better spent on wells and drains for the town, which was offensive to walk through.¹¹⁶ The Bishop fretted that there would be a fresh mess in Sarawak if the Rajah did not come out, but supposed he did not dare leave Miss Coutts, whose money kept Sarawak going.¹¹⁷ A few months later, in October 1866, concerned at Malay discontent because of taxation, he remarked that the Rajah could manage the Malays better than Charles Brooke, '& he ought to be out here looking after his people instead of hum-bugging with Miss Coutts'.¹¹⁸ McDougall's exasperation stemmed from his desire to remain in Sarawak only until the Rajah came out, because he believed he would be needed to counter any moves by the Rajah inimical to the Mission.¹¹⁹ Until the Rajah made his visit, McDougall could not go home, much as he wished to on grounds of health and in order to further his claim to the Singapore Bishopric.

McDougall had been ill many times before, but by 1865 his symptoms were causing Mrs McDougall grave concern. He had suffered a slight stroke after their visit to Penang in 1864, but she believed that the troubles he had undergone in 1862-3 and the 'system of troubling rather than active opposition' since had produced his heart problem.¹²⁰ In May 1865 she noted how the hot weather was beginning to affect him.¹²¹ In July, herself weary of Sarawak, she wrote to her mother:

It is very hard work for me to live in Sarawak—I hate the place, and care very little for anybody in it, Frank's health suffers so long a residence in this hot moist climate and there is nothing *not duty* to keep us here, but, even I with all my longings for home, cannot help seeing that Frank *must* stay here until there is some competent person to replace him.¹²²

In August she believed her husband's health to be so precarious that they might have to leave for home any day. He had palpitations and fever and suffered from sleeplessness and indigestion.¹²³ Nevertheless, there was life in the Bishop yet, for at a dinner party

on 9 November, he alarmed his wife by dancing with Mrs Ricketts, the British Consul's wife.¹²⁴ However, there was no gainsaying that he was unwell. A month's rest at Santubong did some good, but he found walking uphill or any sort of jungle walking caused him great distress. He now weighed 14 stone, too great a weight for a Dayak to carry, and in December 1865 he was dreading the walk to Quop to dedicate Abé's church.¹²⁵ In January he complained of heart trouble with, at times, severe pain. Unable to take exercise without suffering palpitations, he was getting 'most unepiscopally stout'.¹²⁶ Another quiet month at Santubong brought little relief¹²⁷ and by February 1866 he could not sit up or hold a pen because of lumbago, so that Mrs McDougall wrote to Bullock at his dictation, taking the opportunity to add that as soon as the monsoon was over she would get him away. McDougall, however, was resolved to stay until the following year and there was also the problem of who was to succeed him. 'However,' she added, 'I have no suggestion to make about the arrangement of the puzzle, I only see the one great necessity of my husband getting well.'¹²⁸ Nevertheless, McDougall went to Labuan in March, although the 'hot weather confuses my noddle & sets my heart off', he told Bunyon.¹²⁹ Mrs McDougall believed by mid-June that the greater degree of stability in the Mission made a Bishop's presence less absolutely necessary.¹³⁰

One constraint was the need to find a successor should McDougall not return, either because of ill health or because of his translation to Singapore. Neither McDougall nor his wife thought Chambers suitable, especially after the second synod. McDougall thought him crotchety. He would either make a party among the missionaries or have no influence at all.¹³¹ Mrs McDougall agreed: '... the climate and a jungle life together have unfitted him for the government of men and all the Missionaries would be at war with one another under his management.'¹³² The next in seniority was Gomes, 'a good man and gentle', in Mrs McDougall's opinion, 'but a Cingalese and it would be difficult for him to exact obedience from Europeans'.¹³³ Of the others, McDougall regarded Hawkins as listless, Abé as lacking in enthusiasm and engrossed in family cares, and Zehnder as likely to break down. In his opinion, Sarawak needed a clergyman of standing, a university man if possible.¹³⁴ As it happened, the Chamberses, who had been thinking of taking leave because of their health, decided by February 1866, to stay a further two years,¹³⁵ and were still in the country when McDougall decided rather hastily at the beginning of 1867 to leave.

Throughout 1865-7, while the decision to detach the Straits Settlements from India pended, McDougall argued for a single diocese embracing the Settlements and Sarawak with himself as bishop based in Singapore. He was worked out in Sarawak, he told Bunyon in February 1865, but Singapore would give him fresh power and improve his health and savings, for the cost of living was lower in Singapore.¹³⁶ The passage of the Straits Transfer Bill in September 1866 revived his hopes. Lobbying on his behalf had begun and he told Bullock that if chosen for Singapore, he would try to give five years more to the work, spending three months each year in Sarawak.¹³⁷ Anxious to look after his interests in London, he prepared to return home.¹³⁸ In January 1867 he arrived in Singapore to conduct a visitation to the Settlements, while Mrs McDougall and Mab recovered their health on Penang Hill. He concluded that if he were placed in charge at Singapore 'more may be done by our Church than has ever yet been attempted', the Roman Catholics and the Dissenters having had it all their own way.¹³⁹ He had been contemplating leaving Sarawak before the next hot season, which he did not think his health would endure,¹⁴⁰ and had stayed on so long only because he wanted to be in the country should the Rajah return.¹⁴¹ It was clear, however, that the Rajah would not return before 1868.¹⁴² Thus, when he received a letter while in Singapore at the beginning of February 1867 urging him very strongly not to delay returning home to look after his affairs at the Colonial Office, he completed his visitations and, without returning to Sarawak, left for England.¹⁴³

By then it was clear that the Rajah would not be coming out to Sarawak again for some time, if ever. He had suffered his second stroke just before Christmas 1866, which raised with new urgency the problem of the succession to the Raj. He had decided in mid-1865 to appoint Charles Brooke as his heir, leaving it to the latter's discretion if he should wish to adopt Brooke's son, Hope, as his heir at a later date.¹⁴⁴ Miss Coutts did not like Charles Brooke, considering him cold and aloof,¹⁴⁵ but she acquiesced in surrendering her claim to the succession, and may have, as Rutter suggests, proposed this course.¹⁴⁶ Meanwhile, Brooke had been trying to obtain a reconciliation with the Rajah. The latter was inclined to it on personal and family grounds, but was adamant that it should not imply any recognition of Brooke's claim to succeed. Brooke was as adamant that he had not surrendered his rights, although he was by now more concerned about the prospect for his heirs than for himself.¹⁴⁷ When the Rajah suffered his second stroke,

Brooke and his mother, Mrs Johnson, and the Rajah's other sister, Mrs Savage, hastened to Burrator, the Rajah's home. They were prevented from seeing the Rajah by Arthur Crookshank, who directed them to Dr Beith, the Rajah's physician, who forbade them to disturb his patient; and by Spenser St John, who had hastened from London to the Rajah's side and had a heated scene with Mrs Savage. St John believed, with justification, that the visitors were anxious to install themselves at Burrator in the hope of reversing the Rajah's opposition to Brooke's succession.¹⁴⁸

In February 1867, the Rajah was moved to Miss Coutts's house at Torquay. During this time the British Government decided not to accept the Rajah's offer of Sarawak to the British Crown, and St John revived an earlier idea of his of an Association, by which Sir James Brooke would remain 'Titular Rajah' while the Association would take over responsibility for governing Sarawak. The scheme was partly directed against Charles Brooke, who would not succeed to the powers of the Rajah, and partly against Brooke, whom St John suspected was more influential than he really was.¹⁴⁹ It came to nothing, and St John shortly afterwards resumed his post in Haiti, from which he had been on leave. Nevertheless, the scheme reflected the concern the Rajah's friends felt for the future of the country, especially when Brooke's claims were being pressed by his family.¹⁵⁰

However, Brooke's own health was failing and in June 1867 he wrote to Bishop McDougall. He had heard that on receiving news of the Rajah's illness, the European community in Sarawak had been 'terrified to find that in the case of his death there was no acknowledged successor', and had addressed the Rajah to name one. Brooke reiterated his claims, based on his long service to the country and the personal losses he had suffered. 'Yet,' he added, 'if the Natives and Europeans are content to follow the rule of my younger and abler brother, the Tuan Muda, there will be no opposition from me. I would freely give a few more years of life to go out and give them peace and prosperity. . . . But never to bring discord.'¹⁵¹ McDougall communicated this declaration to the Rajah: 'I received a satisfactory note from Brooke saying that he had made up his mind not to interfere with his brother in the Government of Sarawak if you had confirmed him as your successor.'¹⁵² McDougall had learned to live with Charles Brooke as *de facto* ruler. The return of Brooke was less appealing as time passed. It would have upset the new *status quo*. In any case, McDougall was looking towards not only a diocese centred on

Singapore, but the eventual incorporation of Sarawak into an extended British colony. He had no great faith in the future under whichever Brooke.

The first great act of the drama was drawing to an end, the actors departing the stage. After an apoplectic attack in September 1867, the Rajah suffered his final stroke on 9 June 1868, dying on the morning of 11 June. His death removed the main protagonist. Brooke followed within a few months, dying on 1 December. As early as February that year, Crookshank had informed Charles Brooke that Brooke's health 'would not allow him to come out again'.¹⁵³ Also in 1868, McDougall decided that his health would not permit him to return to the East. He was in England when the Rajah died. Despite the partial reconciliation between him and the Rajah, he was not invited by Crookshank to the funeral.¹⁵⁴ There had been other reconciliations, however. The Rajah had become churchwarden at Sheepstor, near Burrator, in 1860 and had raised money for the church's restoration. Writing to Templer he stressed,

*I do take an interest in this, for Burrator is the home where I enjoy peace and quiet, and a man is bound to do all the good he can, in a little as in a great sphere. I have chosen a spot for my remains to lie in Sheepstor churchyard. 'It will be so jolly!' and you and Hannah must visit me on a fine day.*¹⁵⁵

He was buried in the spot chosen, his coffin carried by the village men. Sarawak had been a fine adventure, but, in the end, James Brooke died an English gentleman and a rural squire. In his spiritual life, his questing mind had raised doubt and he had sought a rational faith, but the Church of England was broad enough to embrace him at the end as he returned to its practice and became its patron at Sheepstor. Dean Stanley even gave permission for a memorial tablet to be erected in Westminster Abbey, although nothing came of that proposal.¹⁵⁶

Nor were the McDougalls to return to Sarawak. They had left without fanfare, half expecting to return, at least to Singapore. One senses that they felt that their mission was finished. Mrs McDougall summed up their feelings in a letter to Charles Bunyon in March 1866:

Does it not seem a weary long time since we first came to Sarawak? When we were all young and enthusiastic and could give up even the beaten path of tranquil happiness for an idea! Could we have caught a glimpse of all these years, these sorrows and losses, the romance we cherished turned into so sober a reality, surely our hearts would have fainted and we could

not have done it. However, I have not a doubt but that it was all right, and the years have borne their fruit to us and to others. The sober reality which remains is well worth cherishing and being very thankful for, by which I mean the mission and the native Church at Sarawak.¹⁵⁷

Her own role in what had been achieved should not be underestimated. 'I often laugh at my multifarious avocations out here,' she told her brother. 'I am a kind of *dernier resort* to everybody, and I would not have it otherwise.'¹⁵⁸ One suspects that without her presence and influence, relations between the Mission and the Government might have suffered even greater strains than they did.

By the time of the McDougalls' departure, those relations had become more formal and each party's expectations of the other more realistic. The distance which Mrs McDougall had come to see as necessary had been achieved. As she said of Charles Brooke in May 1866, he was not ill-natured to the Mission and that was all one could expect of him.¹⁵⁹ In the past, personal attitudes and feelings had bedevilled relations, a situation difficult to avoid with two such autocratic institutions in which subordinates were few and the personalities in command strong. By the 1860s, however, State and Church were becoming less important to each other. The Mission required the goodwill and tolerance of the Government, but could survive quite well as long as there was no overt opposition. There was none because, whatever their feelings about the Bishop, the Rajah, Brooke until his departure, and Charles Brooke saw the usefulness of the Mission to the Government, as a civilizing force and in developing, it was hoped, a Christian Dayak counterbalance to the Muslim Malays. Brooke's frustrations were largely due to the Mission's failure to achieve the latter goal rapidly enough, and for this they tended to fault the Bishop, while acknowledging that those sent to assist him were not ideal. They believed he could have made more of the men he had and could have retained the services of many who left. While welcoming public support from the Bishop and the Mission for the Brooke regime and its policies, the Brookes, and in particular the Rajah, were sensitive to any adverse comment which might threaten their public image and Sarawak's interests as they defined them. The Rajah had difficulty in separating those interests from his own personal ones. Once personal differences and animosities crept in, it was difficult to separate them from matters of policy, the Rajah and the Bishop tending to regard all matters in personal terms.

From 1863, however, the Bishop and the Rajah never met, and physical distance favoured tolerance. Moreover, both men were

becoming less physically capable of playing dominant roles. The Rajah received reports from Charles Brooke, but did not maintain the same close watch on him as he had on Brooke, and McDougall mellowed towards his clergy and became preoccupied with his hopes for the Singapore Bishopric. On his return to England in 1867, McDougall realized that his health would not allow him to return to Sarawak and the offer of a living at Godmanchester in Huntingdonshire caused him in mid-1868 to resign the Bishopric of Labuan, and with it that of Sarawak. The Rajah's death occurred at about the same time.

Though one set of actors had departed, the play continued. In Sarawak, Charles Brooke was publicly proclaimed Rajah and clearly evinced his determination to enter on his inheritance and rule, telling Miss Coutts:

I was proclaimed 7 days after the news arrived, and the natives showed unmistakable signs of their wish that the system of government organised by Sir James Brooke should continue. The country is perfectly quiet and I do not apprehend any disturbance by the change, in fact I look on it as an impossibility.¹⁶⁰

The proclamation was in the Court House 'in the presence of all Government Servants, the Consul, Clergy and principal Inhabitants of the place, all in full dress'.¹⁶¹ The Church lent its presence to this act of State, but what were relations to be between the Mission under its new Bishop and the Raj under Charles Johnson Brooke?

1. J. Brooke to A. B. Coutts and Mrs Brown, 23 February to 2 March 1863, containing his journal at Singapore for that period, in Owen Rutter, *Rajah Brooke and Baroness Burdett Coutts*, pp. 163-9.

2. J. B. Brooke to J. Brooke, 26 February 1863, *ibid.*, p. 168.

3. J. Brooke to J. B. Brooke, 26 January 1863, *ibid.*, p. 169.

4. J. Brooke to A. B. Coutts and Mrs Brown, 23 February to 2 March 1863, entry dated 2 March, *ibid.*, p. 169.

5. J. Brooke to A. B. Coutts and Mrs Brown, 15-28 March 1863, written in journal form, entry re the fort dated 17 March, *ibid.*, p. 175.

6. Entry for 18 March, *ibid.*, p. 176.

7. Entry for 16 March, *ibid.*, p. 174.

8. Entry for 20 March, *ibid.*, pp. 176-7. For Hay's departure, see J. Brooke to A. B. Coutts and Mrs Brown, 7 July 1863, *ibid.*, p. 208.

9. J. Brooke to A. B. Coutts and Mrs Brown, 15-28 March 1863, entry for 22 March, *ibid.*, p. 178.

10. J. Brooke to A. B. Coutts and Mrs Brown, 10 March 1863, *ibid.*, p. 172.

11. 'To the Bishop and Mrs McDougall he had probably told most, if not all,

he had done, but there is no evidence whatever of their advising or aiding, or even of their approval of his acts.' J. Brooke to A. B. Coutts and Mrs Brown, 15-28 March 1863, entry for 16 March, *ibid.*, p. 174.

12. F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 8 March 1863, marked 'Private', USPG Archives, OLR, D23b.

13. J. Brooke to A. B. Coutts and Mrs Brown, 10 March 1863, in Rutter, *Rajah Brooke and Baroness Burdett Coutts*, p. 172.

14. C. Brooke to C. Grant, 7-10 March 1863, MSS Pac. s 90, Vol. 8, ff. 41-7.

15. See Chapter 6, note 69, above.

16. H. McDougall to J. B. Brooke, 9 March [1863], *ibid.*, Vol. 14, f. 177.

17. H. McDougall to J. B. Brooke, n.d. [1863], *ibid.*, Vol. 14, ff. 178-9.

18. C. Brooke to E. B. Evelyn, 9 March 1863, *ibid.*, Vol. 8, ff. 221-3. The Revd E. B. Evelyn was husband to Charles's sister Emma.

19. F. T. McDougall to E. B. Evelyn, 9 March 1863, *ibid.*, Vol. 14, ff. 110-11.

20. Charles Brooke and the Rajah were out riding on the evening of 9 March and met the Bishop driving with Mrs McDougall. The Bishop had wanted to turn back, but Mrs McDougall would not. The Rajah offered his hand, which they shook, and then rode alongside them for half an hour talking of various matters: C. Brooke to E. B. Evelyn, 9 March 1863, postscript dated 10 March and addressed to his sister, Emma, *ibid.*, Vol. 8, ff. 221-3.

21. J. Brooke to A. B. Coutts and Mrs Brown, 15-28 March 1863, entry for 18 March, in Rutter, *Rajah Brooke and Baroness Burdett Coutts*, pp. 175-6.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 176. In informing Brooke of the Rajah's meeting with McDougall, Arthur Crookshank said that the Bishop had held out the olive branch and that he and the Rajah had met. Crookshank was writing on 9 March. He remarked also that Chambers had come in from Lingga and was 'now closeted with the old gentleman across the river'. This was presumably in the evening, after the chance meeting between the McDougalls and the Rajah a little earlier. Crookshank went on to say that he was trying to soothe the Rajah and show him how well governed Sarawak had been under Brooke. Also, he regarded Charles Brooke as being more opposed to Brooke than the Rajah was and said that while he regarded the Rajah and Brooke as rulers of the country, he did not so regard Charles, with whom he would clash in a week if he ever came to rule: A. Crookshank to J. B. Brooke, 9 March 1863, MSS Pac. s 90, Vol. 9, ff. 274-5. Crookshank was to remain and serve Charles Brooke until 1873.

23. Tarling mentions, for example, the advice given Brooke by John and Charles Grant in England and by Charles Brooke, Crookshank, and Hay from Sarawak: Nicholas Tarling, *The Burthen, the Risk, and the Glory*, pp. 294-5 and 379-85.

24. She did not know that before his departure from England, the Rajah had made a new will, by which he left the sovereignty of Sarawak to Miss Coutts. For the text of the relevant clause and correspondence relating to it, see Rutter, *Rajah Brooke and Baroness Burdett Coutts*, pp. 155-8.

25. H. McDougall to J. B. Brooke, n.d. (but after 8 May 1863), MSS Pac. s 90, Vol. 14, ff. 178-9. In a letter to Matilda Grant of 8 May [1863], Mrs McDougall said that she had not till then heard from Brooke since he left Singapore: *ibid.*, Vol. 14, ff. 207-10.

26. H. McDougall to J. B. Brooke, n.d. [1863], *ibid.*, Vol. 14, ff. 180-5.

27. H. McDougall to J. B. Brooke, 20 August [1863], *ibid.*, Vol. 14, ff. 192-5.

28. H. McDougall to Matilda Grant, 8 May [1863], *ibid.*, Vol. 14, ff. 207-10. She spent six weeks at Santubong: H. McDougall to J. B. Brooke, n.d. [1863], *ibid.*, Vol. 14, ff. 180-5.

29. C. Brooke to Emma Johnson, 28 March 1863, *ibid.*, Vol. 8, ff. 224-5. Mrs McDougall kept Agnes because Brooke had wished it, but she was prepared to send Agnes home with Mrs Penty when the child was fit to travel: H. McDougall to J. B. Brooke, 9 March [1863], *ibid.*, Vol. 14, f. 177.

30. H. McDougall to J. B. Brooke, 20 August [1863], *ibid.*, Vol. 14, ff. 192-5. By this time, Mrs McDougall was anxious to get Agnes to a cooler climate and in the same letter praises Mrs Penty.

31. H. McDougall to J. B. Brooke, n.d. [1863], *ibid.*, Vol. 14, ff. 180-5.

32. Moreover, the Dayaks had been called out for an expedition against the Kayans, and she saw this as hindering the Mission's work: H. McDougall to Matilda Grant, 8 May [1863], *ibid.*, Vol. 14, ff. 207-10.

33. H. McDougall to J. B. Brooke, 4 September [1863], *ibid.*, Vol. 14, ff. 196-202. 'Baby', of course, was Agnes, so the Rajah's aversion to her was not complete.

34. J. Brooke to A. B. Coutts and Mrs Brown, 18 April 1863, in Rutter, *Rajah Brooke and Baroness Burdett Coutts*, p. 183.

35. F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 16 May 1853, marked 'Private', USPG Archives, OLR, D23b.

36. F. T. McDougall to E. Hawkins, 16 May 1863, *ibid.*

37. F. T. McDougall to C. J. Bunyon, 11 June 1863, McDougall Papers.

38. H. McDougall to Eliza Bunyon, 12 June 1863, *ibid.*

39. F. T. McDougall to C. J. Bunyon, 11 June 1863, *ibid.*

40. One of the Rajah's complaints against Brooke was, paradoxically, that having taken the road of rebellion, he did not stay with it. 'How bad has been my nephew's conduct! I disapprove even of his submission, though it was my aim, for had he been honestly convinced that he possessed the rights he asserted with such a flourish of trumpets, he should have firmly held his ground, and appealed to the people and to that sense of justice, which belongs to us all.' J. Brooke to A. B. Coutts and Mrs Brown, 29 April-8 May 1863, entry dated 6 May, in Rutter, *Rajah Brooke and Baroness Burdett Coutts*, p. 188.

41. H. McDougall to Eliza Bunyon, 12 June 1863, and H. McDougall to C. J. Bunyon, 24 September 1863, McDougall Papers.

42. McDougall did not believe that the Rajah had undergone a genuine change of heart. 'I receive his advances only for as much as they are worth & it is much pleasanter of course for me not to feel myself thwarted in my work as before.' F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 23 September 1863, USPG Archives, OLR, D23b.

43. H. McDougall to C. J. Bunyon, 24 September 1863, McDougall Papers.

44. Half the number were from HMS *Rifleman*, which was to take the Rajah to Singapore: J. Brooke to A. B. Coutts and Mrs Brown, 23 September 1863, in Rutter, *Rajah Brooke and Baroness Burdett Coutts*, p. 211.

45. H. McDougall to C. J. Bunyon, 24 September 1863, McDougall Papers. The evening was vividly described by Frederick Boyle, FRGS, who was visiting Sarawak at the time: Frederick Boyle, *Adventures among the Dyaks of Borneo*, pp. 137-8. Boyle gives the date as 24 September, but it is clear from the Rajah's account and Mrs McDougall's letter that it was 21 September.

46. H. McDougall to C. J. Bunyon, 24 September 1863, McDougall Papers.

47. J. Brooke to A. B. Coutts and Mrs Brown, 23 September and 2 October 1863, entry dated 2 October, in Rutter, *Rajah Brooke and Baroness Burdett Coutts*, p. 214. See also *ibid.*, p. 213, for background.

48. J. Brooke to A. B. Coutts and Mrs Brown, 14 August 1863, *ibid.*, pp. 209-10.

49. On the ritualist movement in the latter half of the nineteenth century see Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church*, Vol. II, pp. 308-25. On the newly arrived missionary, C. W. Hawkins, see pp. 176-7 below. Ritualism was an issue which caused dissension and there were many cases in England and elsewhere of congregations objecting strongly to cassocked priests, lighted candles, incense, and genuflection. Ritualists believed that the core of the service was the sacrament and that ritual honoured the sacrament and increased the congregation's awareness of its importance. It was allied to a tendency to deny the sacrament to those the priest considered unworthy of it and thus to a movement to restore individual confession. Ritualism was suspected by many Anglicans as tending towards the Church of Rome. 'Romish practices' were condemned, and the defection of eminent divines like Manning and Newman, along with more humble priests and laymen, to the Roman Church gave credence to this view.

50. In 1860, the Rajah had become churchwarden at the church at Sheepstor, near his home in England, Burrator. He raised money for the church's restoration and became its patron.

51. F. T. McDougall to a bishop [probably the Bishop of Durham], 13 November [1872 or 1873], from 'College, Ely',—rough draft in Turner Papers.

McDougall's conservatism is shown in his sermons, twenty-six of which have survived, and are with the Revd Max Saint, Oxford. They are long, tedious, sound theologically but unexciting. No contemporary comment appears in the written and printed versions, but it may have been interpolated. He repeated several of them many times; the dates on which they were preached are written on their covers. One, which he called his Easter Sermon, was used in 1865, 1866, 1868, 1870, 1879, and 1884. One Lenten sermon was preached in 1866, 1873, 1877, and 1883. A Christmas sermon was used in 1863, 1868, and 1883. There was no change in his theological views and he felt the same sermons to be suitable for Sarawak in the 1860s or Godmanchester or Milford or elsewhere ten to twenty years later.

52. F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 8 July 1864, USPG Archives, OLR, D23b.

53. F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 5 October 1866, marked 'Private', *ibid.*

54. F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 12 May 1866, *ibid.*

55. 'I fight against persecution, knowing that a man may be put to death in ways more cruel than burning.' J. Brooke to Revd George Cox, 2 March 1864, in Gertrude L. Jacob, *The Raja of Sarawak*, p. 358.

56. J. Brooke to George Cox, 31 December 1864, *ibid.*, pp. 258-9.

57. J. Brooke to George Cox, 8 February 1866, *ibid.*, pp. 259-60; J. Brooke to Mrs Brown, 31 January 1866 and 2 February 1866, in Rutter, *Rajah Brooke and Baroness Burdett Coutts*, pp. 255-7; H. McDougall to Eliza Bunyon, 11 May 1866, McDougall Papers, mentions receiving from Charles Brooke two copies of the *Examiner* with Sir James Brooke's articles defending Colenso. It is significant that they were not sent to the Bishop. Mrs McDougall was far more sympathetic to Colenso than her husband. Miss Coutts objected to the Rajah taking a public part

in the debate and disagreed with the Rajah's view of Bishop Colenso's legal position within the Church. An earnest correspondence developed between them on this issue: A. B. Coutts to J. Brooke, 9 February 1866 and 11 February 1866; J. Brooke to A. B. Coutts, 10 February 1866 and 12 February 1866, in Rutter, *Rajah Brooke and Baroness Burdett Coutts*, pp. 260-3.

58. J. Brooke to George Cox, 2 February 1866, in Jacob, *op. cit.*, p. 359.

59. J. Brooke to A. B. Coutts, 12 February 1866, in Rutter, *Rajah Brooke and Baroness Burdett Coutts*, p. 263.

60. J. Brooke to George Cox, 2 February 1866, in Jacob, *op. cit.*, p. 359.

61. Rutter, *Rajah Brooke and Baroness Burdett Coutts*, p. 259.

62. A. B. Coutts to J. Brooke, 11 February 1866, *ibid.*, pp. 261-2.

63. C. J. Bunyon, *Memoirs of Francis Thomas McDougall*, p. 261.

64. *Loc. cit.*

65. Brian Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, p. 69.

66. Bunyon, *Memoirs of Francis Thomas McDougall*, pp. 262-3.

67. F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 27 December 1864, marked 'Private', USPG Archives, OLR, D23b.

68. Alec R. Vidler, *The Church in an Age of Revolution*, p. 139.

69. Bunyon, *Memoirs of Francis Thomas McDougall*, p. 263.

70. *Ibid.*, pp. 263-4.

71. The statement of the faith, practice, and purpose of the Church in Sarawak was as follows:

'As members of that Church we recognise the true Canon of Holy Scripture, as set forth by the same, on the testimony of the primitive Catholic Church to be the rule and standard of Faith; we acknowledge the Book of Common Prayer and Sacraments, together with the thirty-nine Articles of Religion, to be a faithful and true declaration of the doctrine contained in Holy Scriptures; we maintain the form of Church Government, by Bishop, Priests and Deacons, as Scriptural and Apostolical; and we declare our firm and unanimous resolution, in dependence on Divine aid, to preserve those doctrines and that form of Government and to transmit them to our posterity.

'It is our earnest desire and determination to admit no discussions of doctrine, but to confine our deliberations to matters of discipline, to the temporalities of the Church, and to such modes of operation, and regulations of order and ritual, as may be required by the necessities of our infant Native Church, and promote its efficiency and extension; and we desire no control or authority over any but those who are or shall be members of the same Church.'

(Diocesan Register, Kuching, quoted in Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, pp. 69-70.)

72. F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 8 July 1864, USPG Archives, OLR, D23b. McDougall had wanted a Missionary Conference, but had yielded to the strong feeling for a synod among his clergy.

73. In a letter to McDougall at the time of the third synod in 1866, Chambers elaborated on the dangers that might arise.

'That a bishop who held that the Council of Trent, whatever its look, and the Thirty-nine Articles, whatever their look, might be explained so as to reconcile them, might by surrounding himself with clergy of his own opinions and drawing up the necessary explanations, and getting them accepted by his synod, succeed in removing his Church from England to Rome.'

Alternatively, a Calvinistic bishop might succeed in replacing the Church Catechism with 'hyper-Calvinism', or a bishop of Arian tendencies establish an Arian Church. Bunyon, *Memoirs of Francis Thomas McDougall*, p. 264.

74. F. T. McDougall to E. Hawkins, 12 January 1863, USPG Archives, OLR, D23b.

75. F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 15 January 1866, marked 'Private', *ibid.*

76. F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 22 June 1865, *ibid.*

77. Mrs Chambers was also a trial, being very irritable and in poor health: H. McDougall to Eliza Bunyon, 22 June 1865, McDougall Papers.

78. Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, p. 71.

79. Spenser St John, *The Life of Sir James Brooke*, pp. 352-3.

80. H. McDougall to her mother, Mrs Frances Bunyon, 28 October 1866, McDougall Papers.

81. Julia Steward at the age of three had been one of the first children taken into the Home School in 1848. The girls' school in 1862 was the rival to that of Miss Roche.

82. Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, pp. 64-82, traces the developments in the Mission from the date of McDougall's return in March 1862 until his departure in 1867 and resignation in 1868. This and the following paragraphs have been drawn from this source and checked with reference to USPG Archives, OLR, D23b, and the letters for the relevant years in the McDougall Papers. Specific citation is given where there is a discrepancy or a direct quotation.

83. F. T. McDougall to E. Hawkins, 24 September and 9 October 1856, and to W. T. Bullock, 25 September 1856, USPG Archives, OLR, D6b.

84. Apparently, Koch had approached McDougall after the missionaries had escaped downriver from the Chinese attack and had said, 'My Lord, I beg to resign my post in Sarawak,' to which the Bishop replied, 'If you do just now Koch you would cut your throat with SPG.' In 1866 Koch said in a letter to McDougall, 'I remember years ago your saying when I proposed to resign my post, "Koch if you resign now I will cut your throat".' Mrs McDougall saw in this the danger of speaking slang to the uninitiated because Koch had misunderstood the English idiom: H. McDougall to Sophy McDougall, 8 August 1866, McDougall Papers. Whatever words he used, McDougall no doubt made it clear to Koch what he thought of him for wanting to resign.

85. F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 24 April 1857, marked 'Private', USPG Archives, OLR, D6b. A few months earlier, McDougall had thought him unsuitable for a proposed mission station at the Sadong colliery because of his youth and his mixed parentage: he was 'not of the stuff to deal with English miners & colliers': F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 12 December 1856, *ibid.* He nevertheless regarded Koch as much better than Chambers at routine work: F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 24 April 1857, *ibid.*

86. F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 30 March 1862, USPG Archives, OLR, D23b.

87. F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 13 November 1862, *ibid.*; H. McDougall to her mother, Mrs Bunyon, 1 April 1862, McDougall Papers; F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 26 May 1862, USPG Archives, OLR, D23b.

88. J. B. Brooke to J. Brooke, 26 April 1862, MSS Pac. s 90, Vol. 5, ff. 430-4. See p. 100 above.

89. F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 17 January 1863, USPG Archives,

OLR, D23b; H. McDougall to Eliza Bunyon, [before 23 October] 1862, McDougall Papers.

90. Presumably referring to the comment made by McDougall at the time of the Chinese rising, because Mrs McDougall said they were things which had stuck for some years and of which McDougall had been innocent: H. McDougall to Eliza Bunyon, [before 23 October] 1862, McDougall Papers.

91. *Loc. cit.*

92. F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 17 January 1863, USPG Archives, OLR, D23b.

93. *Loc. cit.*

94. F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 29 April 1865, *ibid.*

95. F. T. McDougall to E. Hawkins, 19 February 1864, *ibid.* With this, McDougall forwarded the missionaries' reports and his report on the Kuching Mission for 1863. This letter and report were published in the *Mission Field*, Vol. IX, 1864, pp. 81-6, the quotation given being from p. 85.

96. F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 24 January 1866, USPG Archives, OLR, D23b. Koch did not get the position. Governor Cavenagh did not approve of him—he wanted an Englishman and a man with more energy than Koch: H. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 10 February 1866, *ibid.* She was writing for the Bishop, who was laid up with lumbago. Presumably, Cavenagh's opinion of Koch was based on information he had received from McDougall.

97. F. T. McDougall to the Secretary of the SPG, 31 March 1866, and to W. T. Bullock, 20 April 1866, *ibid.* E. Hawkins was, of course, Secretary of the SPG, but this was more than a usually official letter.

98. H. McDougall to Sophy McDougall, 8 August 1866, McDougall Papers.

99. See p. 121 above.

100. Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, p. 67. Taylor summarizes the developments in Kuching mentioned in this paragraph on pp. 67-9. See also correspondence for this period in USPG Archives, OLR, D23b.

101. Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, p. 73.

102. *Ibid.*, pp. 72-4.

103. *Ibid.*, p. 76.

104. *Ibid.*, pp. 76-8.

105. *Ibid.*, pp. 78-9. Chambers's account of Buda's work appeared in the *Mission Field*, 1 August 1868 and 1 September 1868, Vol. XIII, 1868, pp. 219-22 and 252-6. See also Peter D. Varney, 'Some Early Iban Leaders in the Anglican Church in Sarawak', pp. 273-5. Ironically, Buda gave up Christianity in 1876 and 'returned to his old superstitions' when he became incurably ill.

106. F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 4 May 1864, marked 'Private', USPG Archives, OLR, D23b.

107. F. T. McDougall to C. J. Bunyon, 15 April 1864, McDougall Papers.

108. F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 20 June 1864, marked 'Private', USPG Archives, OLR, D23b.

109. F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 6 September 1864, from Government House, Penang Hill, *ibid.*

110. F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 29 April 1865, *ibid.* Again he was being unjust to the Brookes who had been friendly enough to missionary operations, whatever their personal differences with him: F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 29 April 1865. He referred again to the desirability of having the centre for the Church at Singapore before there was any change in the political

position of Sarawak in F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 22 June 1865, *ibid.*

111. F. T. McDougall to C. J. Bunyon, February 1865, McDougall Papers.

112. Rutter, *Rajah Brooke and Baroness Burdett Coutts*, p. 228. The outline of the scheme is given by Rutter on p. 226 and the Memorandum setting it out in full on pp. 227-8.

113. J. Brooke to A. B. Coutts, 31 August 1864, *ibid.*, pp. 229-30.

114. J. Brooke to A. B. Coutts, 30 April 1865, *ibid.*, pp. 245-6.

115. F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, November 1865, USPG Archives, OLR, D23b.

116. H. McDougall to C. J. Bunyon, March 1865 (postscript dated 8 March), McDougall Papers.

117. F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 30 July 1866, marked 'Private', USPG Archives, OLR, D23b.

118. F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 5 October 1866, marked 'Private', *ibid.*

119. F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 15 January 1866, marked 'Private', *ibid.*

120. H. McDougall to C. J. Bunyon, 21 August 1865, McDougall Papers.

121. H. McDougall to Eliza Bunyon, 16 May 1865, *ibid.*

122. H. McDougall to her mother, Mrs Bunyon, 11 July 1865, *ibid.*

123. H. McDougall to C. J. Bunyon, 21 August 1865, *ibid.*

124. H. McDougall to Fanny Sawyer, 10 November 1865, *ibid.*

125. In an interesting aside on jungle travel he remarked, 'Harriette sits in a basket & the Dyaks trot merrily with her.' But, then, she was much lighter than he: F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 3 December 1865, marked 'Private', USPG Archives, OLR, D23b.

126. F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 15 January 1866, marked 'Private', *ibid.*

127. H. McDougall to Eliza Bunyon, 6 February 1866, extract only, *ibid.*

128. H. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 10 February 1866, *ibid.*

129. F. T. McDougall to C. J. Bunyon, 9 March 1866, McDougall Papers. For trip to Labuan, see F. T. McDougall to Secretary of SPG, 31 March 1866, USPG Archives, OLR, D23b.

130. H. McDougall to her mother, Mrs Bunyon, 16 June 1866, McDougall Papers.

131. F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 15 January 1866, marked 'Private', USPG Archives, OLR, D23b.

132. H. McDougall to Mrs Bunyon, 11 July 1865, McDougall Papers.

133. *Loc. cit.*

134. F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 15 January 1866, marked 'Private', USPG Archives, OLR, D23b.

135. H. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 10 February 1866, *ibid.*

136. F. T. McDougall to C. J. Bunyon, February 1865, McDougall Papers.

137. F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 8 September 1866, USPG Archives, OLR, D23b.

138. F. T. McDougall to C. J. Bunyon, 27 October 1866, McDougall Papers.

139. F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 6 March 1867, P & O Steamer *Baroda*, en route to Bombay and Suez, USPG Archives, OLR, D23b.

140. F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 12 May 1866, *ibid.*

141. F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 15 January 1866, marked Private, *ibid.*

142. F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 12 May 1866, *ibid.* This was before

the Rajah suffered his second stroke.

143. In writing to Bunyon explaining his reasons for coming home, McDougall stressed that as well as the need to look after his interests at the Colonial Office, his and his family's health would suffer from delay: F. T. McDougall to C. J. Bunyon, 7 February 1867, in Bunyon, *Memoirs of Francis Thomas McDougall*, pp. 273-4.

144. J. Brooke to A. B. Coutts, 14 June 1865, in Rutter, *Rajah Brooke and Baroness Burdett Coutts*, p. 247. See also Tarling, *The Burthen, the Risk, and the Glory*, p. 420.

145. A. B. Coutts to J. Brooke, 27 December 1864. She perceived 'dislike and distrust' in Charles Brooke's manner to her. The Rajah replied, 'In Paris you mistook reserve for mistrust. . . . He is a reserved, sensitive man, difficult to know or appreciate out of Sarawak': J. Brooke to A. B. Coutts, 29 December 1864, in Rutter, *Rajah Brooke and Baroness Burdett Coutts*, pp. 233-4.

146. *Ibid.*, p. 247.

147. Tarling, *The Burthen, the Risk, and the Glory*, pp. 420-4.

148. *Ibid.*, p. 426; Spenser St John to A. B. Coutts, 26 December 1866, in Rutter, *Rajah Brooke and Baroness Burdett Coutts*, pp. 285-6.

149. St John had first suggested a 'Great Governing Company', with himself as a Director, in a letter to Miss Coutts in November 1863, from Haiti. It was to solve the problem of how Sarawak was to be governed in the absence of the Rajah, a problem which had exercised Miss Coutts, who had raised it in a letter to St John. One of St John's aims was to swamp the influence of the existing Sarawak Government officers with new men, in order to prevent any revival of support for Brooke. For the same reason, he would have got rid of the Bishop: 'The Bishop is my *bete noir* as he is not only the enemy of the Rajah but the warm supporter of Mr Brooke, over whom he exercises a great influence. I would give the Bishop an unlimited leave of absence from Sarawak.' St John was in error as to the firmness of McDougall's support for Brooke, but in 1867 he was still writing of swamping the Sarawak Government Service with new men: Spenser St John to A. B. Coutts, November 1863 and 18 February 1867, *ibid.*, pp. 221 and 295-6. See also Tarling, *The Burthen, the Risk, and the Glory*, pp. 427-8.

150. A. B. Coutts to T. Fairbairn, 15 June 1867, in Rutter, *Rajah Brooke and Baroness Burdett Coutts*, p. 297.

151. J. B. Brooke to F. T. McDougall, 13 June 1867, MSS Pac. s 90, Vol. 7, ff. 193-7. By this time, McDougall was back in England.

152. F. T. McDougall to J. Brooke, 9 July 1867, in Rutter, *Rajah Brooke and Baroness Burdett Coutts*, pp. 297-8.

153. A. Crookshank to C. Brooke, 9 February 1868, MSS Pac. s 83, Vol. 2: Tarling, *The Burthen, the Risk, and the Glory*, p. 430.

154. A. Crookshank to C. Brooke, 14 August 1868, *ibid.*, Vol. 2: Tarling, *The Burthen, the Risk, and the Glory*, p. 430.

155. Jacob, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 325.

156. Rutter, *Rajah Brooke and Baroness Burdett Coutts*, p. 306.

157. Bunyon, *Memoirs of Francis Thomas McDougall*, p. 270.

158. *Ibid.*, p. 271.

159. H. McDougall to Eliza Bunyon, 11 May 1866, McDougall Papers.

160. C. Brooke to A. B. Coutts, 6 August 1868, in Rutter, *Rajah Brooke and Baroness Burdett Coutts*, p. 307.

161. E. I. Martin to A. B. Coutts, 8 August 1868, from Quop Estate, *ibid.*, pp. 306-7.

Second Bishop, Second Rajah: 1868-1881

AT the beginning of 1866, McDougall had asked the SPG for a replacement for Koch, 'one able to take a general superintendence in my absence. Chambers, though an excellent missionary and a real good man cannot.'¹ Nevertheless, when he left for England in February 1867, he named Chambers as his Commissary in Sarawak. Hawkins remained in charge of the school and the services in Kuching. McDougall was wary of Hawkins, who had been influenced by the second generation of the Oxford Movement and was 'very High and Ritualistic in his views', which would not commend him to Charles Brooke; though he believed Hawkins would follow his injunctions and do nothing to offend his congregation.² Hawkins would not be restrained, however, and Chambers had to reprove him for introducing of High Church forms of service.³ His letter informing McDougall of this crossed with that from the Bishop appointing him Archdeacon of Sarawak. He was installed by Hawkins on 13 May 1868. Faced with his own decision to resign as Bishop, McDougall had changed his mind about Chambers, partly because there was no obvious successor,⁴ and partly because he was assured of Chambers's orthodoxy.

McDougall now campaigned for Chambers's appointment as Bishop. This meant obtaining the approval of the Sarawak authorities as well as that of the Archbishop of Canterbury and of the Colonial Office. Sir James Brooke approved of Chambers but referred the matter to Charles Brooke, being prepared to confirm his decision.⁵ The latter raised no objection.⁶ However, the Rajah wanted Chambers 'consecrated Missionary Bishop or Bishop of Labuan first, with the title of Bishop of Sarawak to come afterwards'.⁷ Thus would the independence of the Sarawak Bishopric be maintained. Archbishop Tait accepted McDougall's recommendation of Chambers and, after some hesitation, so did the Colonial Office, persuaded by McDougall's assurance that 'the local government as now carried on by Sir James Brooke's successor have confidence in him and would accept his minis-

trations as Missionary Bishop in the Sarawak Territory, where it is doubtful they would allow a stranger to officiate'.⁸

Chambers returned home at the beginning of 1869. He and his wife were long overdue for leave. Hawkins was left in charge at Kuching, but Chambers recruited a Mr Cooper from Singapore to take charge of the school.⁹ The finer details of the transfer of the Straits Settlements from India were still being settled when Chambers was consecrated Bishop of Labuan on 29 June 1869. When the Act of Parliament separating the Straits Settlements from Calcutta was passed, Letters Patent were issued attaching them to the See of Labuan and naming Chambers as Bishop. The Government of Singapore was to pay Chambers £200 every two years to cover the expense of a biennial visit, although, in fact, Chambers visited Singapore every year he was in the East, paying the additional costs himself.¹⁰ He was anxious to have a resident clergyman in Singapore to work among the Eurasian and 'lower class European population', and proposed applying to the heads of the principal Singapore mercantile houses for financial assistance.¹¹ He also looked to the SPG for a man to run the purely missionary work to the heathen, suggesting Hawkins might be suitable.¹² The Society provided £200, but in August 1870 Hawkins resigned to go to Adelaide in South Australia,¹³ and it was only with the appointment of Gomes in 1872 that the missionary activity of the Church in Singapore was placed in capable hands.¹⁴

Despite the calls on his time and energy made by Singapore and the Straits Settlements, and even by the Anglican community in Batavia,¹⁵ Chambers's main interest lay in Sarawak. He made his annual trips to Singapore during the time of the north-east monsoon, when travel along the Borneo coast to visit the outstations was impossible. The rest of the time he spent in Borneo, most of it travelling in the rural areas, not as a Bishop making a visitation, but as an active missionary supporting and supplementing the work of the missionaries stationed there.

Charles Brooke had lost no time in defining his government's relationship with the Mission. McDougall had been aware of his priorities, telling Bullock in January 1868 that 'The Sarawak Gov^t expects us to keep up a good school at Sarawak'.¹⁶ In April that year, Charles Brooke wrote to Hawkins, who was in charge of the school, making it clear that as the Government contributed to the Mission school it had a right to enquire whether the mission

authorities were going to send out a schoolmaster, especially as he considered standards had fallen.¹⁷ Chambers was asked by the Tuan Muda to send a copy of this letter to McDougall. Charles Brooke was anxious to put education on a more progressive footing and told Chambers that when the Government's resources permitted, it would liberally support secular education. He had also suggested that Roman Catholic tutors might give more time and attention to education than the Anglican Mission. Chambers had opposed this notion, but he acknowledged the justice of the reproach and urged that a suitable schoolmaster be procured. "Happy go lucky" says the Tuan Muda is the inscription that should be put over the school door.¹⁸ The function of the school was changing. McDougall had originally seen it as producing Christians who would carry the Gospel to their people, either by their personal witness or as catechists. This function had been partially achieved, but the school was also producing the English-educated clerical staff the Government and the Borneo Company required. The Government contributed to the school for this reason and therefore claimed some right to interfere in its management. Charles Brooke was not one to let such a right lapse.

Charles Brooke also asserted himself over the appointment of a government chaplain, making it clear from the beginning that government contribution to his salary sanctioned government involvement in defining his duties. In England in 1869 to acquire a wife,¹⁹ the new Rajah wrote to McDougall in June, expressing his pleasure that the Bishopric nomination had been settled and suggesting the appointment of a married clergyman at Kuching 'which would enable Chambers to be free to go about the stations on the coast'. He expressed his willingness to pay towards such an appointment, and thought the Borneo Company might contribute as well. He did not, however, approve of Hawkins for the position, desiring, 'a more gentlemanly & sociable individual'.²⁰ The new chaplain would, after all, be ministering in particular to the European community and would therefore have to be socially acceptable. Only marginally would his be a missionary role.

After a distant and stilted courtship, Charles Brooke married Margaret de Windt on 29 October 1869. It was hardly a love-match. He was 40 and needed a wife who could produce an heir. Life in Sarawak had not fitted him for English society, and in any case he had little time. Margaret de Windt was just 20, healthy, and from a suitable family. She was bored at home, impressed by

reading Charles's *Ten Years in Sarawak*, and romantically attracted to the idea of being consort to the Rajah of such a strange and distant place. Thus she consented, and in many respects it is hard to see how the Rajah could have made a better choice.²¹ The couple arrived in Kuching in April 1870. With the perceptive eyes of a newcomer, the Raneë soon penetrated the foibles and petty jealousies of the small European community of which she was now chief lady.

In charge of the administration in the Rajah's absence had been the Resident, Arthur Crookshank. Back in 1863 he had assured Brooke that he acknowledged him and Sir James as rulers of the country, but not Charles, but like all the government officers except Hay and Charles Grant, he had trimmed his sails.²² His wife had been, until the Raneë's arrival, the First Lady in Sarawak. 'Can one be surprised, therefore,' the Raneë later wrote, 'if at the back of her gentle mind she, a woman of thirty-three, should feel just a tiny bit annoyed that I, a young girl, "just out of the school-room" as she rather inaccurately phrased it, should take the place she had come to regard as hers?'²³ The other members of the small European establishment were Mr and Mrs Helms of the Borneo Company, Oliver St John, Treasurer of Sarawak,²⁴ Major Rodway, Commander of the Sarawak Rangers, formed in 1862, and two or three young men on the Rajah's staff whose names the Raneë did not consider important enough to record. Nor did she record at this point Dr Houghton, the government doctor. Mr Helms, in addition to being the Agent of the Borneo Company, was the acting British Consul. Their number was soon added to by the arrival of the Kemps and of Bishop and Mrs Chambers.

Chambers had arrived in Singapore on 13 April 1870 and announced that he wished St Andrew's Church to become the Cathedral for the Diocese of Labuan, as it was still called. This was eventually done. St Thomas's Church in Kuching became the Diocesan Church for the Sarawak Bishopric. Chambers was installed by Zehnder as Bishop of Sarawak on 5 June 1870. Hawkins left on 18 June and Kemp was licensed as Government Chaplain and as missionary on 27 July. Chambers visited the Saribas and Krian missions, returning in December to visit Penang and Malacca and to be enthroned at St Andrew's Cathedral in Singapore.²⁵

Chambers and Charles Brooke had known each other for many years, but the close friendship that had once existed between

them had cooled after Chambers's marriage.²⁶ Chambers became less accessible to Charles and less tolerant of his way of life. At one time he had, according to Charles, made allowance for concubinage and had 'thought it was the right thing to do it in a legitimate monogamy'.²⁷ By 1862, however, Chambers was publicly denouncing St John for keeping a woman: but this was part of the St John controversy and Charles was mildly amused rather than angered or disappointed by Chambers's change of view.²⁸ The two men maintained contact. Before the St John storm broke, Charles, who was in England, was 'particularly glad' to receive a letter from Chambers, 'as I had begun to think we had split, from his silence'.²⁹ Another letter shortly afterwards gave an account of the Dayaks and Chambers's attempts to discountenance 'their feasts and drunkenness', which Charles thought unwise, as 'the more interference of that kind will only retard instead of hasten any advancement'.³⁰ Their differing stances during the St John controversy did not permanently mar their friendship, for, after his return to Sarawak, Charles remarked to Robert Hay that Chambers had visited him and was as 'kind and affectionate as ever'.³¹ In 1867, Chambers went so far as to send a petition to Rajah James praying him to settle the succession upon Charles, signing it on behalf of the clergy of Sarawak.³² In his turn, Charles made no objection to the appointment of Chambers as Bishop.

Nevertheless, the Chamberses as a couple were not popular in Sarawak: more exactly, Mrs Chambers was not popular. Brooke remarked in 1862 that the missionaries disliked her even more than they did McDougall,³³ and regarded her, if St John can be believed, as 'the impersonation of "envy, hatred and malice and all uncharitableness"'; while St John thought her 'a detestable woman' and never forgave her for writing to his friends about his mistress.³⁴ Charles Brooke said of them in 1863 that they were not at all popular in Kuching or among the other missionaries.³⁵

Even the McDougalls found the Chamberses difficult. Mrs McDougall liked Mrs Chambers and admired her work among the Dayak women and girls at Banting, but noted also her hasty temper³⁶ and her 'sanguine and somewhat vehement temperament',³⁷ but attributed her irritability in 1865 to poor health and the discomforts of Dayak life.³⁸ At Banting, Mrs Chambers made for herself a refuge against such life, her house 'as beautifully nice as if they did not live out of the world—her china, glass and silver all so bright and well-appointed and her bedroom . . . so lady-like in

all its belongings'.³⁹ When we recall that Chambers before his marriage was accused by McDougall of 'going native', we can realize the transformation that marriage wrought upon his daily life. Ten years older than he, Mrs Chambers's 'vehement temperament' no doubt made her a force to be reckoned with. Chambers was under the wifely thumb, a conclusion borne out by a complaint from Walter Watson, District Officer at Skrang in 1862, of the trouble caused to him by a visit to his station by 'Mrs Chambers with her suite of husband, 2 sucking padres and a host of Chinamen'.⁴⁰ She travelled in some style, and there is no doubt as to who was the dominant figure in her party.

The prospect of her returning to Sarawak as the Bishop's lady exercised the minds and tongues of the small group of European ladies in Kuching. Ranee Margaret observed and listened.

Mrs Crookshank and Mrs Helms then proceeded to discuss the new Bishop Chambers and his wife. "Horrid woman!" said Mrs Crookshank. "She will want to go in to dinner before me. However," she continued in a serene but very decided voice, "my husband is the Rajah's prime minister, and prime ministers' wives always take precedence over bishops' wives."⁴¹

The Ranee deprecated the 'bickerings of ladies'⁴² but she soon shared their distaste for Mrs Chambers whom she decided 'was not very amiable',⁴³ and who, 'on account of her dominating character and her airs and graces, had been given the nickname of "Mrs Proudie" by those who resented her patronage'.⁴⁴ Almost immediately a breach developed between the Bishop and the Rajah. Prompted by his wife, or so the Ranee believed, Chambers in his first address from the pulpit denounced the Rajah's officials and their ways in terms such 'that all present felt a fierce anger rising in their hearts'. The Ranee felt the denunciation undeserved, 'their lives having been quiet, simple and orderly', and the Rajah was much angered.

The service over, he went his way home, and there and then wrote the Bishop a "what-for" letter, in which he also touched on the many services he and his officers had rendered to the S.P.G. But "Mrs Proudie" was on the look-out and had made up her mind that the Bishop must remain—rightly or wrongly—paramount in Church affairs. The episcopal answer, prompted by her, added fuel to the flames, with the result that, for the time being, Church and State in Sarawak were torn apart.

The breach was kept open by the Crookshanks, until they retired three years later.⁴⁵

The Ranee herself was not above personal pettiness. The Treasurer, Oliver St John, who had some of his uncle's less pleasant characteristics without his ability, fell from grace when the government doctor, Houghton, accused him of speaking ill of the Ranee. For this he was ostracized. When his fiancée came out to marry him, the Ranee refused to receive her. She was taken in by the Chamberses until her marriage. When the wedding took place, the Rajah and Ranee were away from Kuching. All the European community except the Crookshanks attended the wedding breakfast. On their return, however, the Rajah wrote to the men, the Ranee to the ladies, reprimanding them for their attendance, after which even the Chamberses found it expedient to drop the St Johns publicly. St John later resigned as Treasurer and was reappointed some three months later to a subordinate posting at Paku. Ostracized by other officials, he received great kindness from Chambers,⁴⁶ which no doubt contributed to the maintenance of the rift between Church and State. St John's departure from Sarawak in 1875 removed him as a bone of contention.⁴⁷ The Crookshanks had left in 1873 and Mrs Chambers died while she and the Bishop were on leave in 1875. State-Church relations were more harmonious thereafter.

Whatever personal differences arose, the Rajah maintained an interest in the work of the Mission. His religious views were ill-defined. He was wary of religious enthusiasm and was tolerant of a range of beliefs. As a younger man he seems to have adopted a vague pantheism.⁴⁸ His years in Sarawak taught him to respect others' beliefs and to tolerate their customs. He was disinclined to accept any truth as revealed or any faith with complacency. In his book, *Ten Years in Sarawak*, published in 1866, he makes passing references to religion which throw some light on his views at the time he came to govern. He did not alter them greatly in later years, except to question more profoundly the virtue of Christianizing or even 'civilising' a native people.⁴⁹ In the discussion current in the 1860s regarding Darwin's hypothesis and Christian teaching, he saw advantages in the former, for it awakened the faculties

... to observe, to inquire, and to gain and hold to the several straws on the path of knowledge; whereas the other permits our minds to sleep with a consolatory faith, trust, and satisfaction, that we are in existence, and it little matters how we came, except that we are sent by an Almighty Power to do good in this our habitation.⁵⁰

He realized, unlike some early observers, that the Dayaks had a religion, and regarded them as less fanatical or fatalistic than the Muslims.⁵¹ He viewed Iban courtship and marriage practices with tolerant understanding, disagreeing with those, unnamed, 'teachers of the Gospel' who circulated the view that their conduct was 'remarkably volatile and disreputable'.⁵² The Chinese he regarded as being neither notably bigoted nor prejudiced, and the respectable class among them he believed were equal in honesty and integrity to white men. He noted in their favour that 'where converts have been made, there have been few cases in which they have returned to their former creed',⁵³ implying his tacit approval of the Mission's work among them.

He was tolerant of Islam. At a time when it was unusual for Europeans to do so, he attended Muslim weddings, believing that his presence did not make him any less a Christian or them disposed to depart from Muslim rites and usages. He did not think Muslims as fanatical as many supposed. 'The impression or feeling is more one of jealousy in their minds towards the white men, and the Christian too often evinces a triumphant bearing of pity, tinctured with contempt, towards Mahomedans.' He always found them willing to converse freely and rationally on religion, but felt that their creed did not encourage mental culture, as he called it. 'But,' he went on, 'does any religion permit and direct a teaching to be strictly impartial, even at home? The student, who is told to inquire for himself, has always had the letter laid down to the greatest nicety, and any deviation from its written code is severely deprecated and condemned.'⁵⁴ He recognized the force of custom, seeing the Dayaks love of pork militating against them becoming Muslim. He regarded as deserved the criticism Dayaks had levelled against one of their number who had converted to Islam, not for embracing a new religion but for deserting friends, relations, and family.⁵⁵

His attitude towards the Mission and its proselytizing task was ambivalent. On the one hand he criticized it for its failure, blaming this partly on the reluctance of missionaries 'to give up their all—even the refinements of society—to enable them to improve those among whom they labour'.⁵⁶ On the other, he admired the Dayak way of life⁵⁷ and their sense of independence.⁵⁸ Their acceptance of Christianity might destroy both.⁵⁹ His main concern was with the Dayaks and, as Rajah, the impact of education, Christianity, and change upon them troubled him. His

interest in the problem was reflected in the pages of the *Sarawak Gazette*, which first appeared in August 1870. His failure to resolve it to his satisfaction is revealed in the relatively slight progress made in developing a firm State policy, particularly with regard to education and the role that should be played by the Government and the Mission.

For the first three years of its existence, the *Gazette* was edited by the Revd John Kemp, the Government Chaplain, who contrived to maintain a delicate balance between the views of the Rajah and the Mission. The *Gazette* was an official publication and reflected the Government's views, but space was given to letters and contributions from others. Thus lively debates could occur, although the Rajah made clear in December 1870 that hostile criticism would not be countenanced.⁶⁰ Kemp appears to have broadly approved of the Rajah's views. When he left Sarawak, he was credited with writing all but one of the editorials which had appeared during his three years as editor.⁶¹ These editorials must have met with the Rajah's approval, but Kemp's influence may be seen in the exposure given in the *Gazette* to the activities of the Mission.

In its fourth issue, the *Gazette* reported favourably on a school established by the Revd W. Crossland at the gold-mining centre of Marup. Opened two years before, it had fifteen students, most of them the sons of Chinese traders by Dayak wives, 'a very promising and steady race' which the *Gazette*, echoing the Rajah's opinions on miscegenation,⁶² expected to become an important part of the population. Crossland accepted pupils on the understanding that no converts were to be made within the first two years and thereafter only with the consent of the children and their parents. The *Gazette* argued that by this means true converts would eventually be gained, predicting that at least half the children would embrace Christianity after the statutory two years had passed.

One of the primary wants in this country is education, and nearly all are ready to receive it, but not necessarily by conversion as a *sine qua non*. Secular education may effect great good, but it is a great question whether too sudden conversion is an unmixed good, and whether reaction does not in many cases set in as rapidly when the convert begins to see the light of reason. However it is to be hoped that labour impartially and honestly devoted to the good cause, many [*sic*] result both in education, and in Christianity in its essence.⁶³

In this last sentence one may see the Anglican priest in Kemp struggling with the Government editor.

In November 1870 the Government was contemplating establishing a secular school in Kuching under the supervision of the Mission. In his leading article, Kemp questioned whether the direction of a secular school, 'even considering it as a possible training place for Christian Converts, is the legitimate work of Mission Clergy in a heathen land'. The missionary could heartily co-operate in removing obstacles to the reception of Christianity, but (a criticism of Crossland) could not bind himself to abstain for a fixed period from receiving into the Church any who wished to be baptized. Yet, in deference to the government view, he conceded that if people would not send their children to school except on the promise that they would not be converted, then they should be granted what they wanted.⁶⁴ When the school opened in December in the house of Deacon Foo Ngyen Khoon, it attracted Chinese boys whose parents did not wish to send them to the Mission school. The teaching was under the general supervision of the Mission, which provided two instructors until numbers permitted the engagement of a regular teacher. No religious teaching was given, but as some students were the sons of native Christians it was not forbidden to mention religion. Nevertheless, the instructors were warned not to offend 'heathen prejudice' or, in an unfortunate turn of phrase, 'to place themselves in a position of being accused of casting pearls before swine'. The school charged 20 cents a month and was maintained by a government grant, with the Mission contributing to the salaries of the two instructors until numbers and the income from fees increased.⁶⁵

The Government established a similar school at Paku in 1871 for the sons of poor Chinese who could not pay the dollar a month charged by Chinese schoolmasters. At the end of the year, fourteen boys were receiving education and food free.⁶⁶ In February that year a letter in the *Gazette* argued that the boys should be taught in Chinese and given pride in being Chinese.⁶⁷ The *Gazette* replied that in both the Straits Settlements and Sarawak the aim was to raise the moral and intellectual condition of the people, implying that this was best done in English.⁶⁸ In practice, both languages were used. In 1876 the day-school in the bazaar taught reading, writing, and geography in Chinese and reading and writing in English.⁶⁹ It had twenty-four 'day

boarders' in March 1877 and was still subsidized by the Government and supervised by the Mission.⁷⁰ The Rajah showed his personal interest in it by visiting it in January 1876 along with the acting Resident and others.⁷¹

This collaboration between the Mission and the Government in the education of the Chinese was on a small scale and was in addition to the assistance given by the Government to the Mission school, for which a proselytizing purpose was recognized and of which the students were almost exclusively Chinese. To some extent, the interests of the Mission were subordinated to those of the Government, but the Mission retained its monopoly on education, albeit indirectly, and it could hope that the instruction given might remove prejudices and make Christianity acceptable to those educated. Of greater personal interest to the Rajah, however, was the role the Mission played, and might in future play, in the education and conversion of the Dayaks.

In April 1871 Chambers held his first synod, with education the main item on the agenda, prompting discussion in the letter columns of the *Gazette* about the role laymen could play in assisting the Mission to standardize the Dayak languages.⁷² This, and the *Gazette's* commentary in June on the Annual Report of the SPG and the difficulties encountered by the Mission in Sarawak,⁷³ prompted a lengthy letter from 'A Layman' on Dayak education. In an accompanying leader, Kemp welcomed this interest by laymen in the work of the Mission.

It was clear to 'A Layman' that the SPG lacked funds to provide enough missionaries to convert the whole population of Sarawak. He favoured, therefore, concentrating the Mission's effort upon the Sea Dayak country between the Batang Lupar and Kalaka rivers, stressing also the importance of education if Christianity was to be firmly established. He believed that the Government should provide secular education, and suggested that aspiring missionaries should spend three probationary years giving secular instruction, learning the language and customs of the people, and deciding whether they themselves were equal to the task before they were ordained. If they doubted their calling as missionaries, they could be appointed in a secular capacity.⁷⁴

'A Layman's' letter evoked no immediate response, not even from the clergy, as 'A Subscriber' noted three issues later. The clergy might think the laity comatose, he said, but this was not the fault of the laity alone. The Bishop was the only person who could hold out his hand and welcome lay co-operation. He then went

on to suggest that a school be established under Mission auspices so that Dayaks from all tribes could be educated and could receive manual and agricultural training. A common education would generate a spirit of unity and encourage the adoption of a common language. Students thus educated would be useful to the Government and the Mission, and he cited Buda as an example of one who had been a pest to the Government and was now a very useful member of the Mission. He was prepared to subscribe \$5 a month to such a school.

A fellow correspondent was more critical of the Mission, which in his view had not succeeded in the smallest degree in 'raising the natives in the scale of civilization and knowledge'. It lacked organization. No single man could work a successful mission, yet the Mission school was not supplying the helpers who could assist a missionary on his station,

exponents of some practical branch of industry in the eyes of the natives; a little congregation to enable Christian worship to be set before them with some slight approach to becoming dignity; not uninteresting companions of his solitude; and apt pupils in anything he might wish to teach them.

Living together, the Mission party would be a more efficient organ of improvement than any single effort.

The editorial comment on these letters pointed out the difficulties of implementing the proposed changes. Changes in the existing school would not benefit the Dayaks because they were reluctant to send their children for regular instruction. A school established in an outstation would not attract children from other tribes, while a school for Dayaks established in Kuching would be too far from the Sea Dayak country. If the existing school were reorganized to teach industrial and useful work, the fact that most of the boys were Chinese would hinder their influence with the Dayaks if placed amongst them. How, therefore, could the Dayaks be induced to send their children to school? Then came a statement commonly heard in the contemporary debate then raging in any part of the world where the State was assuming responsibility for education.⁷⁵

Compulsory education in this country, where toleration and respect for all religions is the law, can only mean secular schools, where no suspicion of religious teaching exists. Therefore the question of a practical industrial school becomes one for Government rather than Mission consideration.

The Mission might benefit from such a school, but the Mission might think it beyond its province. Moreover, the Government could act more quickly than the Mission if it wished to. 'If a Mission lead is waited for, whatever good results may be looked for from it, expedition will not be one.' Was this the voice of Kemp being a realist, or the more cynical judgement of the Rajah?⁷⁶ Whatever the case, the discussion fizzled out.⁷⁷

There was no public response from the Bishop and the Mission. The general tone of the discussion had been critical of the Mission's lack of success and the early suggestions of lay co-operation with the clergy in a common endeavour were lost sight of. At this juncture, the Government contented itself with continuing to contribute towards the maintenance of schools where they existed, placing those it had itself initiated under Mission supervision. The Rajah went out of his way to state publicly his confidence in the Mission at a dinner on 4 January 1872, asking all who remarked on the Mission to take into consideration,

... the wide sea of trouble, of difficulties and of disappointments the Missionary has to contend with when working in these far off lands; if these drawbacks be justly considered, I believe the Mission work in this country will be found equal to that of Missions in other parts of the world; and let us hope that the seed which is already sown may be sufficiently sound and prolific to ensure a plentiful harvest in the future. On Education, I would say, it is commenced, and it is advancing, not perhaps on a very extended scale, but yet on a sure basis, and the beneficial effects of education propounded by the Mission in Sarawak have been experienced in many localities.⁷⁸

This generous appreciation of the Mission's work must have been gratifying to Chambers, and the Rajah and Ranee indicated in other ways their interest in its educational effort. Each year they presented prizes at the Mission school,⁷⁹ the Resident deputizing if they were out of the country.⁸⁰

During the Synod of April 1871, the *Gazette* hoped that the Mission would establish a station on the Rejang to reach the Melanaus of Oya and Mukah and possibly another one further upriver to reach the Kayans. The latter area was still 'disturbed', and the writer stressed the necessity for close co-operation with the Government.

Experience teaches that Missionary work succeeds best when it goes hand in hand with a firm civil government, and until this last has done something towards altering Native character, and teaching the first

principles of obedience, no very sure ground exists for religious principles to work upon.⁸¹

This interdependence was given symbolic expression in May when the Rajah gave the Mission the right of quartering a Christian badge or monogram on the Sarawak flag, this to be known as the Mission flag.⁸² In the same month, the Sarawak Supreme Council passed an enactment recognizing civil marriage. The *Gazette* commented only that Church marriage was not possible when both partners were not Christian,⁸³ a common sense view that Chambers accepted, though the question of civil marriage later roused the antagonism of his successors. Relations remained amiable, the effects of the Bishop's first sermon having worn off. At Easter 1872 the Rajah and Rane'e's twin boys, James and Harry, were baptized, the whole European community being entertained to dinner on Easter Monday.⁸⁴ In September, the Bishop consecrated Perham's new church at Krian, for which the Government had donated the land.⁸⁵ Perhaps reflecting a feeling of the Rajah, a letter in June 1872 asked whether the Church authorities felt bound to use the Prayer Book verbatim 'as at home' and thus to introduce Queen Victoria's name into the Church service 'wherever Christianity is carried by English speaking people'. The writer felt that it set many men, presumably non-Britons, against the Church and suggested that the Queen's name should be used only on Sundays, when many Britons were in the congregation. At other times the 'native Churchgoers' should hear the name of the country that they lived in.⁸⁶

Such matters were of little import. More important was an editorial in September 1872 which reflected the views of the Rajah regarding education; that it be made relevant to the needs of the Dayaks and include manual work 'which is not play'. This would get rid of 'the "fine-gentleman" ideas which some half-educated natives have, and teach them to make [the] best of themselves rather than ape the manners and bearing of Europeans'.⁸⁷ Kemp was playing the role of Devil's advocate by this stage, as when he published an extract of a letter from an English newspaper critical of the Indian Missions, which compared their methods unfavourably with those of the Roman Catholics in China. The *Gazette* argued that publication of such comment was justifiable because the Mission bore on matters other than religious. While there were differences of opinion as to the best methods of Mission work, these should be debated and

discussed.⁸⁸ The last leader to refer to the Mission while he was editor stated, 'We believe the Mission authorities have the wish, though they may have not as yet the opportunity, to perform their part in improving the Land Dayaks.' Then followed advice as to how it might be done.⁸⁹

Kemp left in August 1873. In resigning, he had remarked on the difficulty of his position. He had found the work uncongenial and wished to minister to a larger European congregation.⁹⁰ Perhaps his main difficulties came from the other missionaries, for he was popular with the general European community. 'A gentleman and a scholar, a good and pious man, a staunch churchman, and one so suited to the difficult position of Chaplain; himself so in earnest yet so entirely free from all cant and affectation was a blessing for which we cannot be sufficiently thankful.' So affirmed the *Gazette* when he departed. He also gave short sermons which were said to be elegant and original.⁹¹

For a while, Kemp was sorely missed. The *Gazette* lacked a regular editor for a few months and appeared less frequently. The Rajah was in England, he and the Ranee having suffered the tragic loss of their three children on the voyage home. No appointment was made immediately. Nor was there a replacement as chaplain, and the *Gazette* was soon critical of the church services since Kemp's departure. One suffered 'the discordant singing of school-boys' and a long disconnected discourse.⁹² The appointment of Abé as Chaplain in March 1874⁹³ went some way towards remedying the situation, and the writer of the above must have been gratified if he attended church on 22 August the following year, when the Ranee played on the new organ for the first time and 'a choir of ladies and gentlemen sang the chants and a collection of hymns'. The Chinese choristers were still there and had yet to modulate their shrill little voices.⁹⁴ It required the Ranee's attention to bring that about.⁹⁵ One thing is clear, however: that under Kemp's ministrations, aided no doubt by the interest shown by the Ranee, the European congregation had flourished, whatever bickerings continued under the surface.

Many thought that the real work of the Mission should be in the outstations. At the beginning of 1875, the *Gazette* asked for contributions from missionaries and expressed a desire to publish reports of the Mission's progress. There was no immediate response, but in the following year, John Perham, the missionary at Krian, wrote an account of his school, partly in response to a

favourable comment on it in an earlier *Gazette*. He received \$100 a year from the Rajah and had six Dayak and three Chinese boys. The Dayaks learned to read and write their own language, Malay (in *Jawi* script), and English, though they acquired little of the last. The Chinese learned Malay and English. The Chinese language was not taught. There was no compulsion on the boys to become Christians, although most of the Dayaks had done so and one boy had already become a catechist among his people. Perham attributed the lack of interest in the school to parents having no idea of the usefulness of education and to lack of parental authority. As Perham pointed out, it was easy to accuse the Missions of lack of success, but not so easy to understand the difficulties of the work.⁹⁶ Perham later wrote for the *Gazette* a series of articles on the language and customs of the Sea Dayaks which were published also in the *Mission Field*. If there had been more missionaries like Perham, the European community in Sarawak might have been better informed about the work of the Mission and its effects upon the Dayaks, but the number of missionaries in Dayak areas was so few and they were so overworked that similar accounts were not forthcoming.

In any case, there was a growing doubt in many minds as to the benefit to the Dayaks of education. The *Gazette* argued in May 1877 that while Dayaks no doubt gained from contact with their pastors and Chinese schoolfellows, they soon became strangers to their own people. It doubted whether they could obtain the skills to compete with the Chinese and whether they could endure the discipline of military and naval service or work as their forefathers did. Clerical positions were limited, yet manual work was beneath them. In this, as in several later comments on educated Dayaks, their adoption of European dress counted against them.⁹⁷ In other words, the 'noble savage' was preferable to the de-tribalized product of a Mission education.⁹⁸

The debate was somewhat academic because there was very little likelihood of education affecting many Dayaks while the Mission continued to be understaffed. Perham himself had arrived in 1868. A St Augustine's man, he had been ordained deacon by McDougall in December 1867. On his arrival in Sarawak he was sent to Banting to assist Mesney. He was ordained priest in June 1870 and was sent to Krian to establish a new station among those whom Buda had converted and Chambers had admitted to the Church some three years before.

In that time they had received only one visit from a missionary, yet had remained loyal in the face of taunts from their non-Christian neighbours during a period of sickness and scarcity. Chambers asked for two more men, one to replace Perham at Banting, and one for the proposed mission to the Melanaus.⁹⁹ This would bring the numbers up to what they had been in McDougall's day, before the loss of Hawkins and Richardson.¹⁰⁰

Early the following year, Abé's health deteriorated and he sought leave,¹⁰¹ but it was not until January 1872 that he and his family left for Australia, not expecting to return. Quop was left for many years without a resident priest, visits being made from Kuching. In December 1873, a layman, Edmund Burke Shepherd, arrived to work among the Land Dayaks. After nearly a year's preparation, he was ordained deacon in November 1874 and licensed to work on the Upper Sarawak and the Samarahan rivers. At the same time, Chung Ah Luk was ordained deacon for Quop and Sentah. Shepherd's work among the Bukar Land Dayaks was, however, hampered by his frequent illness.¹⁰²

Another new arrival was Charles Spencer Bubb in 1871.¹⁰³ In deacon's orders, he was ordained priest by Chambers in March 1873. Unfortunately, he was not robust enough for work amongst the Land Dayaks where a great deal of walking was involved,¹⁰⁴ and Chambers sent him to assist Mesney at Banting, where he stayed at the mission station while Mesney visited the outstations. He was a hypochondriac, so worried about the effects of the climate upon his 'weak constitution' that Chambers believed he would become as ill as he fancied he was.¹⁰⁵ He agreed to remain while Mesney went on leave in 1875, but left before the end of the year and Mesney had to return early.¹⁰⁶ Chambers himself had left on 12 December 1874 for Singapore and England. His wife was ill and died in 1875. In June 1876, Chambers was back in Singapore and was in Kuching by July.

Before he had gone on leave, Chambers was faced with finding a replacement for Kemp. He attempted to get the Rajah to employ Kemp's successor as a full-time government chaplain so that the SPG could use their portion of the stipend so saved to employ a competent master for the school.¹⁰⁷ The Rajah replied that finances did not permit him to go beyond £250, so Chambers approached the Borneo Company to contribute £200 and wrote to McDougall to find a suitable man. Not hearing from either, anxious to get his wife away with the Mesneys,¹⁰⁸ and needing someone in Kuching, he suggested Abé, who had not found

employment in Australia.¹⁰⁹ Abé and his wife returned in January 1874. Chambers had begun preaching in the bazaar and Abé continued to do so, proceeding from the Mission to the meeting house in the bazaar with boys from the school singing 'Onward Christian Soldiers' and 'Brightly Gleams Our Banner'. These fortnightly meetings attracted enough listeners to make them worthwhile.¹¹⁰ However, Abé's health was poor and after a visit to his old church at Quop he collapsed, dying on 11 June 1876, just before the Bishop's return.

The Mission was now truly understaffed, but Chambers was adamant that Bubb should not return. The Rajah and other European officials strongly disliked his behaviour to the Dayaks and Mesney believed that the SPG 'would have been the gainer in one sense & that the most important, had they thrown the money which they expended on sending Mr Bubb out into the sea'.¹¹¹ In October, Crossland, his health failing, also left. Though hoping to return after a year, he never did.¹¹² At the Rajah's suggestion, because he wanted as the new chaplain replacing Abe a man who had been in the country many years, Mesney and his wife came in from Banting, leaving only Perham working among the Sea Dayaks. Mrs Mesney could carry on Mrs Abé's work among the girls in the bazaar, while Chambers hoped Mesney would oversee the Dayak pupils in the school and infuse a more missionary spirit among the boys in general.¹¹³ The arrival of a new schoolmaster, Mr J. B. Bayley, from Newfoundland and sent by the SPG, offered promise of improvement.¹¹⁴ Since Cooper's departure in 1873, the school had been briefly under a Mr Marsden, who had proved unequal to the task, and then a Mr Bristow, who had taught at the Raffles Institution in Singapore and had come highly recommended by its principal. However, Bristow 'had not the missionary spirit', whatever that might mean.¹¹⁵ Bayley, in one sense, had too much.

Bayley was horrified at what he found. He was one of those energetic men who, unleashed upon an institution or a situation not to their liking, would turn it upside down and inside out and leave it fundamentally changed, but who also rouse antagonism and often find they cannot carry through their plans. Bayley tended to extremes. He had expected to be a missionary master, he told Mesney in September 1877, not 'preparing infidel servants of Satan', which was how he saw educating boys for the Rajah's civil service. In a memorandum to the Bishop, he declared the designation 'Mission School' to be a misnomer. There was no

organized missionary teaching and little missionary spirit in it. Missionary funds were expended 'to provide Satan with clever servants'. Out of forty-one boarders, he could not say that even one would devote himself to the Mission. The Government, which partially supported the school, wanted secular instruction only. The SPG wanted religious instruction in order to train native catechists and pastors. The latter object was not attained. The worldly drove out the spiritual, the boys repeated their catechism by rote and without understanding and used prayers as charms to ward off evil. Bayley proposed that the objects of the school should be clearly stated; that rules and regulations should be drawn up and a system of holidays instituted; that a complete set of suitable missionary textbooks should be adopted. He supported his case with letters, which he claimed were unsolicited, with the exception of the last, but written, as he supposed, for his information. The letters were from the monitors, Tan Fook Ngyen and Si Dukat, the latter a Land Dayak from Quop. The last letter from each boy was in answer to questions from Bayley as to whether they understood the Chinese and Dayak services respectively. Fook Ngyen said that the Chinese boys understood the English service better because the Chinese dialect taught in the school differed from that used in the service. Si Dukat replied that the Dayak boys had not had the service properly explained to them so that they said the words with their lips and not with their hearts.¹¹⁶

Bayley might have been expected to correct the deficiencies he found, but he had gone too far, and, taxed by Mesney, had to admit that a Mission school might give secular instruction. He tried to explain that from his communications with the SPG and Chambers he had been led to believe that the sole object of the school was to provide an education for future missionaries.¹¹⁷ On 1 January 1878 he resigned, ostensibly because of ill health: the climate was getting him down. On the same date he sent a memorandum to Mesney suggesting that his successor be a trained man from England, that rules and regulations be drawn up, that the monitorial system be discontinued and pupil teachers be introduced, that proper accommodation be provided for the schoolmaster, and that he be properly informed about the school and his duties.¹¹⁸ His resignation took effect in July.¹¹⁹ One suspects that Bayley overstepped the mark. His recommendations were sensible, but if his equation of the Rajah's Government with the kingdom of Satan had become known, there was no future for

him in Sarawak. Nevertheless, his recommendations were followed up and in the succeeding years the school was reformed and reorganized on lines that Bayley the schoolmaster, if not Bayley the dedicated missionary, would have approved, for the secular continued to dominate the spiritual.

Chambers was a remarkable man. Whatever faults he had, whatever pettiness he might have at times shown, he was a man of simple and all-embracing faith. When he held his second synod, the fifth in the diocesan series, in October 1873, the SPG was urging self-support in the mission field, requiring native congregations to maintain their own churches and to contribute towards the support of native ministers and catechists. The Synod unanimously agreed to do its best and also to have collections in its churches for the Indian Mission.¹²⁰ Given the parlous state of the Mission in Sarawak, this can only be regarded as a loyal statement of intent. At the time of Chambers's third synod, in March 1878, the situation was, if anything, worse and yet Chambers made his theme the importance of extending the Mission by evangelistic work from all stations.¹²¹ He himself led an eight-day 'Mission' at Banting at the beginning of April, and abandoned his plans to attend the Lambeth Conference because he felt he could not be spared from Borneo.¹²²

The staffing of the Mission was becoming critical. In 1878, after ten years without leave, Perham was ordered home for his health. The most recent young man from St Augustine's, John Holland, who had arrived in 1877 and had been ordained deacon in August that year and priest in March 1878, had been assisting Perham at Banting. Left in sole charge, his health broke down and he went to Singapore before the end of the year. Although he returned for a few months, he left finally in June 1879.¹²³ Meanwhile, William Howell had arrived and had been sent to Banting at the end of April 1878. Howell, a Eurasian born in Labuan, had been educated at the Mission school in Kuching and there baptized. Chambers had taken him to England in 1874 and entered him at St Augustine's College. Howell was to have a long and useful missionary career, but in 1878 he had not been ordained (he was not ordained deacon until March 1882) and was an untried young man.

Despite his determination to stay, Chambers was ordered home in August 1878 by the government doctor, Houghton. He had been unwell for some time. After his mission to Banting he had gone to Singapore, where his health had improved, but

on his return to Sarawak he was struck down by fever.¹²⁴ He left Sarawak on 24 August, having appointed Mesney as his Commissary. At the time, the staff of the Mission consisted of Mesney and the ageing deacon, Foo Ngyen Khoon, in Kuching, with no schoolmaster since Bayley's departure in July; Zehnder was at Lundu; both the Land Dayak areas were under the care of deacons—Chung Ah Luk at Quop, and Shepherd, who was often ill, among the Bukars—and were visited by priests from Kuching; the Sea Dayak mission had lost Crossland, who did not return after his leave; Perham had gone on sick leave and Holland was shortly to follow; Howell was still a layman. The catechists were Tommy Hugh (Lundu) and Bulang (Sedemak) in the Lundu district; Thomas Dyak Webster (Merdang); Si Mirum (Quop), Si Ninyang (Sikong), and Sindom (Sentah) in Quop district; Si Kadang (Bukar district); Ah Look and Balasan (Banting); Unting (Padeh) and Balabut (Saruai) in the Saribas; Ambang (Temudok), Tor (Sebetan), and Limping in the Krian.¹²⁵ The importance of these catechists in holding congregations together must not be underestimated, but they could not take the place of priests. Chambers had been calling for new staff for years; now his letters became desperate. Ill, his writing reduced to a weak, spidery scrawl, he wrote on 11 December a cry for more men—'how underhanded we are'; on 16 December for men for posts vacated because of sickness and death; on 21 December for a schoolmaster as Mesney was feeling the strain, and Holland had to leave the jungle.¹²⁶ All these appeals were written after McDougall had reported that Chambers was too unwell to attend to business, had been forbidden to do so by his doctor, and was in a state of nervous agitation.¹²⁷ They were the letters of a man who saw his life's work threatened by what he could only regard as the neglect and lack of support of others.

Chambers struggled to regain his health through 1879. By November it was clear that he would never work again, let alone return to Borneo. He informed Archbishop Tait and the SPG of this, but his formal resignation was not accepted until his successor had been appointed in 1881. He remained a complete invalid until his death in 1893.

Although the Mission's achievement was disappointing, the Rajah's Government remained helpful and considerate. What little appeared in the *Sarawak Gazette*, after the early flurry of letters on the Mission, was friendly. In February 1875, the hypochondriac Bubb fittingly testified to the liberality of the Government in

supplying all the simple medicines the Mission required for its Dayak patients, adding,

... in all I have had to do with the Government officers, I have received the greatest kindness. Of help received from H.H. the Rajah, it would be difficult to exaggerate the amount, whether money for school purposes, free passages, stores conveyed by his steamboats, help for our people in time of scarcity, advice or assistance against interference; ... and he has never been backward in doing anything that could conduce to our comfort, or to the success of our work.¹²⁸

The assistance was by this time becoming more formalized and less an *ad hoc* arrangement between individual missionaries and government officers, as it had been in the past. This was partly because the Government itself was operating on a more regulated basis, communications had improved, and it was accepted policy to assist the Mission in the ways described by Bubb in return for the services the Mission performed in providing education and medical care. A further example is provided by Dr Houghton's proposal in 1874 to provide medical attention to all connected with the Mission at a fixed rate of \$25 a month. He had attended to the missionaries for eleven years without such an arrangement¹²⁹ and, one suspects, at times without payment. By this fixed rate he at least stood to gain something for his services.

That the Rajah was privately dissatisfied with the achievement of the Mission is shown by the rapidity with which he invited in the Roman Catholics after it was clear that Chambers would not be returning to Sarawak. One suspects he had delayed doing so before out of respect for Chambers, for whom such a move would have been distressing. The old friendship had survived the strains placed upon it, and, after all, by the time Chambers left he had been longer in the country than any European except the Rajah himself; and most of that time he had spent up-country under trying conditions among the people whom the Rajah held in most affection and esteem. Once he had departed, however, the Rajah felt free to change his policy. He retained the existing relationship with the Anglican Mission, and patterned that with the Roman Catholic Mission upon it: but in the 1880s he began to clarify his ideas about the role missions should play and the desirability of introducing the natives of Sarawak, particularly the Sea Dayaks, to the influences of education and Christianity. He saw his own role less as an agent of change, working with the Missions to that end, and more as a conservator of what was best in native culture.

He was increasingly critical of 'progress' and all that the process entailed. He increased his own authority over the Mission and its activities, something which he had begun to do from the beginning of his reign, but which now became a fixed point of policy. The departure of Chambers cut the last link with the pioneering past and with Rajah Charles's own past. The relationship between the Government and the Mission was to be in future more businesslike and less sentimental and personal.¹³⁰

1. F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 15 January 1866, marked 'Private' USPG Archives, OLR, D23b.

2. F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 30 July 1866, marked 'Private', *ibid.*

3. W. Chambers to F. T. McDougall, 16 April 1868, USPG Archives, OLR, D36c. The letter was at his wife's instigation: 'I do not want to trouble you on the subject. But Lizzie thinking—perhaps rightly—that it ought to be forwarded to you, has copied for you that end part of a letter I sent to Hawkins recently.' Perhaps Mrs Chambers thought it would do no harm to Chambers's chances for preferment.

4. McDougall was aware that Gomes would probably not return. After his leave, Gomes began, in 1872, a long and fruitful ministry in Singapore. In any case, Gomes was not seriously considered for the bishopric.

5. A. C. Crookshank to F. T. McDougall, n.d. [1868], *ibid.*

6. He was no doubt pleased to be consulted. He had complained in a letter to the missionary Hawkins that he did not know who had been left in charge of the Mission when McDougall left: C. Brooke to C. W. Hawkins, 6 April 1868, *ibid.*

7. F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 1 April 1868, *ibid.*

8. F. T. McDougall to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, received 1 July 1868, quoted in Brian Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, p. 83.

9. W. Chambers to W. T. Bullock, 3 April 1869, USPG Archives, OLR, D36c. Cooper does not appear to have been a good choice. The boys complained later that he got them to tend his cows and fowls and taught them little. See note 116 below.

10. Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, p. 85.

11. W. Chambers to W. T. Bullock, 17 September 1869, USPG Archives, OLR, D36c.

12. W. Chambers to W. T. Bullock, 14 February 1870, *ibid.*

13. C. W. Hawkins to W. T. Bullock, 28 June 1870, *ibid.*

14. W. Chambers to W. T. Bullock, 28 June 1872, *ibid.*

15. See, for example, W. Chambers to Secretary of SPG, 8 August 1874, *ibid.*

16. F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 7 January 1868, USPG Archives, OLR, D36c.

17. C. Brooke to C. W. Hawkins, 6 April 1868, *ibid.*

18. W. Chambers to F. T. McDougall, 16 April 1868, *ibid.*

19. '... if I can find anyone I like and who will accept me': C. Brooke to Emma Johnson, 2 August 1868, MSS Pac. s 90, Vol. 8, ff. 245-6.

20. C. Brooke to F. T. McDougall, 17 June 1869, USPG Archives, OLR, D36c. The letter is unsigned and addressed to a bishop not named, but it is from White Lackington, the Johnson home, and clearly from Charles Brooke to McDougall. Chambers was not consecrated until 29 June. Hawkins's resignation in 1870 stemmed partly, no doubt, from his reluctance to serve under the direct supervision of the Evangelical Bishop Chambers (and Mrs Chambers—see Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, p. 85) and partly, perhaps, from the knowledge that he was not liked by the European community in Kuching.

21. The Rancee's account of the Rajah's courtship is in Margaret Brooke, *Good Morning and Good Night*, pp. 20-7. Apparently, the first Rajah had, a few weeks before his death, advised Charles to marry the rich Mrs de Windt, Margaret's mother.

22. A. Crookshank to J. B. Brooke, 9 March 1863, MSS Pac. s 90, Vol. 9, ff. 274-5. Crookshank had said that if Charles Brooke became ruler, he would clash with him within the week.

23. Margaret Brooke, *Good Morning and Good Night*, p. 45.

24. Oliver St John was a nephew of Spenser St John. He had first arrived in Sarawak as Charles Brooke's private secretary in 1863. Put in charge of the Post Office, he had been caught opening the mail: F. T. McDougall to W. T. Bullock, 16 May 1863, USPG Archives, OLR, D23b.

25. Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, p. 85.

26. See pp. 42-3 above.

27. C. Johnson to J. B. Brooke, 23 and 24 November 1862, MSS Pac. s 90, Vol. 8, ff. 179-84.

28. 'I hear Chambers has written a very severe letter to the Society attacking St John in the harshest terms—& mocking him as a Demon in human shape—poor dear Chambers how foolish of him to disturb his rest & ruffle his temper to tell the public that St John kept a woman. The mildest part of the business was that he *only kept one*.' *Loc. cit.*

29. C. Johnson to J. B. Brooke, 24 July 1862, *ibid.*, Vol. 8, ff. 169-70.

30. C. Johnson to J. B. Brooke, 2 November 1862, *ibid.*, Vol. 8, ff. 173-4.

31. C. Brooke to R. Hay, 10 July 1863, from Lingga, *ibid.*, Vol. 8, ff. 101-7.

32. Much to the indignation of Richardson at Sedemak, who had not been consulted and who would have rejoiced in the return of Brooke: J. Richardson to F. T. McDougall, 5 April 1867, USPG Archives, OLR, D23b.

33. J. B. Brooke to J. Brooke, 13 September 1862, MSS Pac. s 90, Vol. 5, ff. 480-3.

34. Spenser St John to C. Grant, 5 September 1878, *ibid.*, Vol. 15, ff. 104-9.

35. C. Brooke to Emma Evelyn, 9-10 March 1863, *ibid.*, Vol. 8, ff. 221-3.

36. H. McDougall to C. J. Bunyon, 17 February 1865, McDougall Papers.

37. H. McDougall to Frances Bunyon, 28 October 1866, *ibid.*

38. H. McDougall to Eliza Bunyon, 22 June 1865, *ibid.*

39. H. McDougall to Eliza Bunyon, 6 October 1866, *ibid.*

40. Quoted by Steven Runciman, *The White Rajahs*, p. 288 and fn. 2 on p. 165.

41. Margaret Brooke, *Good Morning and Good Night*, p. 45.

42. *Ibid.*, pp. 50 and 52. On p. 64, too, she remarks on the petty quarrels within the English community.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 64.

44. *Loc. cit.* After the character in Trollope's *Barchester Towers*.

45. Loc. cit.
46. Oliver St John to C. Grant, 10 June 1874, MSS Pac. s 90, Vol. 15, ff. 4-10.
47. Oliver St John to C. Grant, 15 September 1875, *ibid.*, Vol. 15, ff. 16-17.
48. See p. 56 above.
49. See particularly Charles Brooke's *Queries: Past, Present and Future*, published in 1907.
50. Charles Brooke, *Ten Years in Sarawak*, Vol. I, p. 53.
51. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 54-5. See also Vol. II, pp. 228 ff., for further comment.
52. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 69.
53. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 83.
54. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 372-3.
55. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 198-9.
56. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 79.
57. He claimed to have contemplated becoming chief of a longhouse in Dayak fashion: *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 323.
58. Thus he wrote approvingly of an old Saribas chief, who had accepted Islam but ignored some of its precepts, 'For the Saribas were too independent to care for religious rules and restrictions': *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 155.
59. He let slip a phrase which is revealing of the assumptions underlying it. A Skrang Dayak 'had been unwell the whole march, and was walking along with a stick, with an attack on him which would have laid any Christian on his back'. 'Christian' is here synonymous with 'European', 'Englishman', or 'civilised man'. The assumption is that the 'uncivilised' Dayak has characteristics which in some circumstances render him superior to the European, to the Christian. One must be wary of building too much on a phrase casually thrown out, but as Rajah, Charles Brooke became less than certain that Christianity and the culture associated with it was best for the Dayaks: *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 187. For a discussion of the Rajah's views on education and its effects on Dayak culture, see Robert Pringle, *Rajahs and Rebels*, p. 139.
60. *Sarawak Gazette*, 17 December 1870. New legal regulations had come under criticism and the Rajah took the opportunity to defend his prerogative in such matters.
61. *Ibid.*, 1 August 1873. The author thus gives credit to Kemp in the text when editorial comment appears.
62. The Rajah's views were frequently expressed, most fully in Charles Brooke's *Ten Years in Sarawak*, Vol. II, pp. 329-38. For a fuller discussion see R. H. W. Reece, 'A "Suitable Population": Charles Brooke and Race-mixing in Sarawak', pp. 67-112.
63. *Sarawak Gazette*, 15 October 1870.
64. *Ibid.*, 3 November 1870. At that time, the term 'native' was inclusive of the Chinese.
65. *Ibid.*, 1 December 1870.
66. *Ibid.*, 1 December 1871, and letter from N. Denison, Assistant Resident, Upper Sarawak, *ibid.*, 15 December 1871. Denison remarked that the poverty of the Chinese prevented there being more scholars.
67. *Ibid.*, 25 February 1871.
68. *Ibid.*, 13 March 1871.
69. *Ibid.*, 31 January 1876.
70. *Ibid.*, 15 March 1877.
71. *Ibid.*, 13 January 1876.

72. *Ibid.*, 13 April 1871.
73. *Ibid.*, 18 June 1871.
74. *Ibid.*, 1 August 1871.
75. The writer calls to mind, particularly, the debates on compulsory and secular education in the Australian states in the 1860s and 1870s, but similar debates occurred in the United States, Canada, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom, as well as in Europe.
76. *Sarawak Gazette*, 18 September 1871.
77. *Ibid.*, 16 November 1871.
78. *Ibid.*, 16 January 1872.
79. E.g. *ibid.*, 24 January 1874, 18 March 1872, 30 January 1873, 31 January 1876, 15 March 1877, and 26 February 1878.
80. *Ibid.*, 28 February 1880.
81. *Ibid.*, 13 April 1871.
82. *Ibid.*, 31 May 1871.
83. *Ibid.*, 12 May 1871.
84. *Ibid.*, 13 April 1872.
85. *Ibid.*, 2 September 1872. It was 'rumoured' that the Dayaks there and in the Saribas were 'well disposed towards Christianity'.
86. *Ibid.*, 18 June 1872.
87. *Ibid.*, 16 September 1872.
88. *Ibid.*, 16 November 1872.
89. *Ibid.*, 17 April 1873.
90. J. Kemp to Secretary, SPG, 10 January 1873, USPG Archives, OLR, D36c.
91. *Sarawak Gazette*, 1 August 1873. Kemp went to Ceylon, from where he wrote in the following year a letter commenting on the climate, land, planters, wages, mercantile matters, how to secure good servants, the court house and the brass band, throwing in a reference to the Rajah's Arms, the hotel in Kuching, but making no comment on religious or Mission matters. Perhaps one can see in this a reason for his popularity: *ibid.*, 2 March 1874.
92. *Ibid.*, 16 March 1874.
93. *Ibid.*, 2 March 1874.
94. *Ibid.*, 1 September 1875.
95. *Ibid.*, 16 January 1877. The *Sarawak Gazette* for 24 April 1878 also remarked that the choir had been much improved by the Rancee and Mesney, who had been appointed Government Chaplain after Abé's death in 1876. An earlier intervention by the Rancee had not had such harmonious results. A Frenchman, a M. Poncelet, and his Malay wife had arrived in Kuching, having been rescued from shipwreck, and the Rancee persuaded the Rajah to induce the Bishop to appoint Poncelet organist in the Church. Poncelet loved music better than he could play it, but fortunately, or so the Rancee recalled, 'neither clergy nor congregation were at all critical in the matter of music, and listened on Sundays and Feast Days, quite unmoved, to the raucous voices of the Chinese choir-boys doing their best to drown the noises produced by the "organist's" undisciplined fingers on the keys of the organ': Margaret Brooke, *Good Morning and Good Night*, pp. 112-13.
96. *Sarawak Gazette*, 22 April 1876.
97. *Ibid.*, 19 May 1877.
98. This was a theme elaborated at some length by William T. Hornaday, chief taxidermist of the United States National Museum, who visited Sarawak

from August to December 1878. His views were published in 1885 and were unequivocal. He no doubt both influenced and was influenced by opinion in Sarawak. He praised the Brooke regime as a model of good government, although he would have had little time with the Rajah who left Sarawak with the Rance for England at the end of August 1878 (*Sarawak Gazette*, 31 August 1878). His book, when it appeared, was most probably read by the Rajah and would have reinforced the latter's doubts as to the benefits of education. Hornaday wrote:

'Savage tribes deteriorate morally, physically, and numerically, according to the degree in which they are influenced by civilization. Those which yield most readily to the mild blandishments of the missionary, the school-teacher, and the merchant are the first to disappear from the face of the earth. Behind the philanthropic pioneer of Christian civilization, even though he bears in his hand only the Bible and spelling-book, there lurks a host of modern vices and diseases more deadly than the spears and poisoned arrows of the savage. To improve a savage race is to weaken it; to wholly civilize and convert it is to exterminate it altogether.'

Referring specifically to the Dayaks, Hornaday noted that, save for changes of custom necessary to suppress head-hunting and piracy, they were untouched. They had mildly but effectively resisted the best efforts of the missionaries, whether Muslim or Christian, and remained unalterably devoted to jungle life. 'Wise Dyaks. Neither commerce, education, nor religion can in the least add to their happiness, and so long as they hold their present attitude all these influences combined cannot exterminate them': William T. Hornaday, *Two Years in the Jungle*, pp. 443-5; see also pp. 474-5.

99. W. Chambers to Secretary, SPG, 5 December 1870, USPG Archives, OLR, D36c.

100. W. Chambers to W. T. Bullock, 5 December 1870, *ibid.*

101. W. Chambers to W. T. Bullock, 18 March 1871, *ibid.*

102. Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, p. 88. For Shepherd see W. Chambers to W. T. Bullock, 24 December 1873 and 22 April, 8 August, and 11 December 1874, USPG Archives, OLR, D36c.

103. Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, p. 89; C. S. Bubb to H. W. Tucker, 20 June 1871, and W. Chambers to W. T. Bullock, 11 August 1871, USPG Archives, OLR, D36c.

104. W. Chambers to W. T. Bullock, 2 September 1871, *ibid.*

105. W. Chambers to W. T. Bullock, 9 July 1874, *ibid.*

106. W. Chambers to W. T. Bullock, 25 January 1876, *ibid.*

107. W. Chambers to W. T. Bullock, 27 January 1873, *ibid.*

108. W. Chambers to W. T. Bullock, 8 August 1874, *ibid.*

109. W. Chambers to W. T. Bullock, 21 July 1873, *ibid.*

110. *Mission Field*, 1 October 1875, pp. 302-3.

111. W. Chambers to H. W. Tucker, 24 July 1876, USPG Archives, OLR, D43b.

112. W. Chambers to W. T. Bullock, 30 October 1876, *ibid.* For reference to Crossland's 'liver trouble', see W. Chambers to W. T. Bullock, 10 September 1876, *ibid.*

113. W. Chambers to W. T. Bullock, 19 July 1876, *ibid.*

114. 'It is a great satisfaction to have so good a Master as he seems likely to prove.' (W. Chambers to W. T. Bullock, 15 November 1876, *ibid.*) For Bayley's acceptance of the position, written from Newfoundland, see J. B. Bayley to W. Chambers, 26 February 1875, *ibid.*

115. Quoted in Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, p. 94.

116. 'Mission School, Sarawak, Borneo. Copies of Correspondence, Memoranda, etc.,—1877-1878—J. B. Bayley'. The correspondence contains J. B. Bayley to W. R. Mesney, 1 September 1877; Tan Fook Ngyen to J. B. Bayley, 23 May, 31 May, 2 June, and 15 June 1877; Si Dukat to J. B. Bayley, 14 May, 24 May, 28 May, 4 June, and 14 June 1877; and other correspondence, J. B. Bayley to W. R. Mesney, USPG Archives, OLR, D47a.

117. J. B. Bayley to W. R. Mesney, 28 September 1877, *ibid.* Bayley refers to a conversation with Mesney of 21 September.

118. J. B. Bayley to W. Chambers, 1 January 1878, and J. B. Bayley to W. R. Mesney, 1 January 1878, 'Mission School, Sarawak, Borneo. Copies of Correspondence, Memoranda, etc.,—1877-1878—J. B. Bayley', *ibid.*

119. W. Chambers to H. W. Tucker, 4 January 1878, *ibid.*

120. W. Chambers to Secretary, SPG, 14 October 1873. Also W. Chambers to W. T. Bullock, 5 August 1872, in which Chambers mentions reading with great attention Bullock's words on the self-supporting system and promises to bring them before the other missionaries, but sees few encouraging signs for the self-supporting system in Borneo. USPG Archives, OLR, D36c.

121. Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, p. 99.

122. W. Chambers to W. T. Bullock, 15 April 1878, USPG Archives, OLR, D47a.

123. Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, p. 98.

124. W. Chambers to W. T. Bullock, 10 August 1878, USPG Archives, OLR, D47a.

125. Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, pp. 99-100. This list of Mission personnel is slightly different from his, which is for the time of the March synod.

126. W. Chambers to H. W. Tucker, 11 December 1878 and 16 December 1878 from Brighton and 21 December 1878 from Kensington, USPG Archives, OLR, D47a.

127. F. T. McDougall to H. W. Tucker, 11 November 1878, *ibid.* In a letter of the same date and signed in his own weaker hand, Chambers more or less appointed McDougall as his spokesman: W. Chambers To H. W. Tucker, 11 November 1878, *ibid.*

128. *Sarawak Gazette*, 1 February 1875.

129. E. J. Houghton to Secretary, SPG, 7 July 1874, USPG Archives, OLR, D36c.

130. This was already happening and in fulfilling their functions as Bishop and as Rajah, Chambers and Charles Brooke followed the line of duty as they saw it. Chambers's first sermon, which had so angered the Rajah, was a case in point. Another was the Bishop's refusal to allow the burial of Ranee Margaret's stillborn baby in the plot of ground consecrated for the use of the Brooke family. In the Ranee's words, he 'vetoed the idea of his finding his tiny grave in so holy a spot'. She implies that she understood that the Bishop had acted 'correctly', even if uncharitably and narrowly, as she saw it. The Malay Datus were so indignant, however, that 'although good Mahomedans, they came to the Astana, laid the poor mite in a coffin and carried it themselves to the cemetery, where it was buried with affection and dignity'. The Ranee added, 'How I loved and honoured them for their kind and broadminded action.' (Margaret Brooke, *Good Morning and Good Night*, pp. 130-1.)

Both the Rajah and the Bishop were men for whom principle did not give way to sentiment—hence, perhaps, their continued respect for each other.

Equals No More: The Relative Decline of the Anglican Mission, 1881-1909

WHEN Chambers resigned as Bishop in November 1879,¹ there was no surge of applicants for his job. The See was hawked around for almost a year before Archdeacon G. F. Hose of Singapore was officially offered it.² The SPG appeared reluctant to nominate Hose. Chambers had approached him months before, and the Rajah had informed H. W. Tucker, the new Secretary of the SPG, as early as April 1880 that he approved of Hose, who knew Malay and had experience in the region.³ The SPG may have reacted against this 'old boy' approach. Perhaps, too, they were seeking an infusion of new blood. In making the offer to Hose, Tucker remarked that the Mission in Sarawak had 'languished' in recent years and lamented that after more than thirty years there were no native clergy.⁴ Hose replied that this was primarily due to Chambers's ill health and the want of men,⁵ a point he reiterated when he made his first visit to Sarawak as Bishop in 1882, placing the responsibility squarely upon the SPG for failing to provide.⁶

Hose was consecrated in Lambeth Palace Chapel on 26 May 1881, and was installed in St Andrew's Cathedral, Singapore, on 27 November. On 17 January 1882, he was welcomed to Kuching by most of the European community and received his Letters Patent from the Rajah on the same day.⁷

Important changes had occurred since Chambers's departure. In 1881 the British North Borneo Company received its Royal Charter. Its territory came under Hose's aegis and made calls upon men and money that might otherwise have gone to Sarawak. In 1882 Sarawak acquired new territory up to the Baram River, another field for mission activity. However, the Anglican Mission was no longer alone in that field, for in 1881 the first Roman Catholic missionaries arrived in Sarawak. Disappointed with the Anglican Mission's meagre achievements and unhampered by sentiment now that Chambers was in retirement, Charles Brooke had responded to overtures from the Mill Hill Fathers. He

suggested that they establish themselves on the Upper Sarawak and Rejang rivers, where they would not compete with the Anglicans.⁸ In the ensuing years, the Rajah provided modest financial support to the Catholic educational effort in Kuching and Kanowit, advised on the siting of their mission stations, and warned against any interference with the Muslims. His policy was to keep the two Missions apart and he kept a close eye on their activities. The achievement of the Roman Catholic Mission, which also spread into British North Borneo, was modest but steady and generally met with the Rajah's approval.⁹

By the date of Hose's arrival in 1882, Charles Brooke had been Rajah for over thirteen years. He ruled Sarawak with a despotic hand, tempered largely by the exigencies of finance and his personal respect for the people he governed. With neither direct involvement by the British Government nor the development of any large commercial enterprise, 'limited personal resources dictated the continuation of native traditional authority and the development of the paternalistic totalitarianism that was the hallmark of Brooke personal rule'.¹⁰ Relatively few European officers were employed and the regime depended on the continued support of traditional leaders, in particular the Kuching Malay leadership.¹¹ Hence the continued ban on Christian proselytizing among the Malays and the Government's recognition of the Malay/Muslim élite as its partners in government, which, Robert Pringle has argued, encouraged pagans to accept Islam.¹² On the other hand, other aspects of Brooke policy, such as the separation of races largely for administrative convenience and political advantage, facilitated the work of the Missions, especially where Dayaks were thus removed from Malay influence, as at Banting.¹³

The Government was carried on by a small European establishment. Doering estimates that there were about thirty European officers in the 1880s, while Hose and McDougall estimate fifty to sixty in the early 1900s.¹⁴ In the earlier period, in particular, a European officer in an outstation would often be alone with his native officers, local clerical staff, police, and Rangers, with no European company. The Rajah insisted that his officers remain unmarried for the first ten years of service, and frowned on marriage even then. He believed that European wives were a disruptive element and distracted officers from their duties. Consequently, he tolerated local mistresses, provided such liaisons

were kept discreet. Unburdened by wives and family, his officers were expected to devote their full time to their duties, to travel and to maintain the personal contact with the population which was the hallmark of Brooke rule. They remained for extended periods in the one district, becoming thoroughly familiar with it and its people.

In recruiting his officers, the Rajah looked for young men of good family, not too well educated but with enquiring minds, a practical bent, physically fit, resourceful and prepared to give dedicated service. They needed to be able to survive loneliness and to rely on their own resources.¹⁵ In particular, they had to be gentlemen. 'I am particular about one joining our service who is not a gentleman', the Rajah wrote once, 'as it is a matter of great importance with the native community who are generally such gentlemen themselves.'¹⁶ All recruits were personally approved by him. The terms of service were patterned on the Rajah's own experience. A recruit received £40 passage money to Singapore and \$80 a month from his departure from Singapore for Sarawak. He was permitted two years' leave after ten years' service and retired on half-pay after twenty-one years. Promotion depended on merit and length of service. The conditions were not easy, but the young men who were attracted and who passed the Rajah's searching gaze served him well. The Rajah had a high opinion of them and defended them against criticism.¹⁷ In the Rajah's view, compared to his own officers, the missionaries as a whole did not measure up very well.

Soon after his arrival in Kuching, Hose had reported to the SPG that the Sarawak mission was woefully shorthanded.¹⁸ Shepherd, whom Chambers had left working among the Land Dayaks, had taken to drinking spirits and had become so obviously unfit for his duties that the Rajah had advised that 'he had better go to Europe at once and not come back again'.¹⁹ However, before he could do so, he died in a drink-induced fit in April 1881. Nevertheless, in February 1882, Charles William Fowler arrived from St Augustine's College.²⁰ On 5 March, Hose ordained two earlier arrivals, M. J. Bywater and William Howell, as deacons, both to work under Perham in the Sea Dayak mission. On 4 June Mesney was created Archdeacon of Sarawak, and on 11 June Fowler was ordained deacon to work under Mesney's direction among the Land Dayaks at Quop. Hose visited the Sea Dayak areas with Perham in July and August, confirming

200 Dayaks and becoming convinced of the encouraging prospects for that mission.²¹ However, missionaries were needed for the Batang Lupar, Saribas, and Krian.²² On 20 May 1883, he ordained Bywater, Fowler, and Howell priests, in the presence of a congregation which included a large number of Europeans, from the Rajah downwards.²³ This evidence of official interest was heartening, as was the arrival early in 1884 of F. W. Leggatt from St Augustine's.²⁴ This augmentation of staff stimulated new interest among the Dayaks, who began to build small prayer houses and to show an increased interest in education now that each mission station had a school. In December 1884, Hose looked back on his first three years with the satisfaction that 691 native Christians had been confirmed.²⁵

This early promise was not fulfilled. A steady influx of men and strong support from the SPG was needed if progress was to continue at a time when North Borneo made increasing demands on the diocese's resources and the Bishop's time. The latter was already taken up to a large extent by the demands of the Straits Settlements and expansion into the Malay States. The men who did arrive were too often unable to cope with conditions in Sarawak; some were certainly not 'gentlemen' by the Rajah's definition, others were simply bad choices. There were exceptions, but Hose was to complain for the rest of his episcopate of the deficiencies in numbers and quality of those missionaries sent out to him, so that the Mission itself was brought into disrepute and subjected to criticism from the Rajah for its failure to attract better men.²⁶

In 1885, Bywater, the missionary at Krian, was discovered to have been living for one and a half years with a native woman. During that time he had been courting Zehnder's eldest daughter, who was at school in Singapore, and had received from the SPG £100 to build a fitting house for her. Obviously, he had to go. Given Mission criticism of government officers who maintained similar liaisons, Hose found it all very embarrassing.²⁷ Hose was able to replace Bywater with Edwin Gomes, son of W. H. Gomes who had served at Lundu. The younger Gomes, who was a lay reader in Singapore, offered his services to Sarawak in 1886.²⁸ Hose ordained him deacon in Singapore in March 1887, at the same time as he raised Leggatt to the priesthood.²⁹ This gain was offset in June 1886 by the death of Mr H. Wood, the schoolmaster, who was replaced by William John Kearsy in 1887. More

serious was Perham's retirement because of ill health at the end of 1888. With his departure, there was no resident missionary at Banting until Fowler was sent there from Quop at the end of 1892. In the interval, the school lapsed, and the Government transferred its grant to Howell's school at Sabu.³⁰ In Kuching, Kearsy fell sick and was sent home in March 1890. St Thomas's School was run, once more, by the overworked Mesney.³¹

Given the staffing situation and especially the reason for Bywater's departure, it was perhaps unwise of Hose to say at a public meeting of the SPG while he was on leave in 1888 that got reported in the *Sarawak Gazette* that

The greatest hindrance to the work in his diocese was found in the irregularities of English residents, and it was therefore very important that our own country men who had settled there should receive assistance in the matter of leading better lives. The work in his diocese was supported *entirely* by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Archdeaconry of Winchester contributed *more than enough* to carry on the work of his diocese.³² [Italics in *Sarawak Gazette*.]

The *Gazette* contended that this last statement implied that the Government contributed nothing to the Mission, which it refuted with figures for the past five years to show that the Mission had received in grants \$5,911.08, not counting the prizes given annually by the Rajah to the schools, the offer of the Government steam launch for the Bishop's visitations, and other assistance. As officers in the Government service made up 90 per cent of the European population in Sarawak, the Bishop's reference to the irregularities of his countrymen could refer only to them. These officers, the *Gazette* continued, had served 'faithfully and zealously . . . many for long terms of years', and the improved state of the Dayaks remarked on by the Bishop was attributable mainly to their exertions. The Bishop and the missionaries stayed in the forts and houses 'of these irregular men who hinder their work and profess to be on terms of friendship and intimacy with them'.³³

No doubt a bishop has every right, and, indeed, a duty, to point out to his flock the error of their ways, but Hose's remarks were singularly ill-judged, given the assistance provided by the Government to the Mission. They rankled, and when missionaries later in the year complained that they were being overcharged for medicines from the Government dispensary, the *Gazette* pointedly published the Mission's medical accounts with the prices of all

medicines supplied from January to September 1888 and a list of medicines given free. It published at the same time an explanation by Mesney of the Bishop's remarks about the contribution of the Archdeaconry of Winchester to the SPG. That contribution was not made directly to Sarawak, but was sufficient to carry out the work in Hose's diocese. With some asperity, the editor of the *Gazette* suggested that it was better not to talk in parables,³⁴ and so the matter rested.

In December 1890, three new missionaries arrived. Frederick William Nichols and Edmund Guy Sargent were ordinands from St Augustine's College, and Walter James was the new schoolmaster. Sargent was sent to assist Leggatt at Skrang and Banting, and Nichols was placed with Mesney at Kuching. Within six months Sargent was sent home for being drunk and disorderly and to prevent 'a remonstrance from the Rajah'.³⁵ Nichols exasperated Hose by his lack of seriousness and application to his studies,³⁶ but he surmounted his difficulties, being ordained a deacon in September 1892 and priest in February 1894, and remaining in Sarawak until 1908.³⁷ Perhaps Sarawak was the making of him, just as it had been the undoing of Sargent. The problem was that the callow young men sent out from St Augustine's—inexperienced, not yet in Holy Orders, and often from poor families—were ill-prepared for life and work in Sarawak. Exceptional ones succeeded, but the majority did not. With some asperity Hose informed Tucker, 'I quite understand the difficulties of the Missionary Colleges and know that the new material sent to them by benevolent societies is often of very poor quality, but it is a great mistake to send the worst specimens to the tropics.'³⁸ As he told Tucker in June 1891, a young missionary should possess real and deep personal religion, physical strength, some intellectual ability, the character and manners of a gentleman, and skill in some useful science or handicraft. He should also be a non-drinker, or at least able to abstain for long periods. He realized that it would be difficult to meet these criteria,

... but when candidates for Holy Orders come out to us conspicuously wanting in all or most of them the Mission is made contemptible in the eyes both of Englishmen and Natives, who naturally argue that we cannot think very highly of the work we are doing when we expect it can be carried on by such instrumentality. Bad as it is to be undermanned, that is a less evil than being hampered and injured by incompetence and a low standard of manners and morals.³⁹

Strong words indeed from the normally phlegmatic Hose and indicative of his embarrassment and anger.

In 1896, Hose was looking for replacements for Fowler, who had first arrived in 1882, and for Zehnder, now 70, who since his arrival in 1861 had never returned to Europe and had taken only one holiday, in Malacca.⁴⁰ Mesney was ailing and towards the end of 1897 had to return home.⁴¹ Fowler left in the same year. Zehnder never did. He died at Stunggang in February 1898 while waiting for the boat that was to take him away.⁴² To replace these losses, Hose brought over from Singapore Arthur Frederick Sharp, who had been Assistant Chaplain at the Cathedral there since 1892, and received two young recruits, the already ordained Henry Percy Gocher, and Ben Darcy Beeley, both from St Augustine's College. Sharp, who arrived with his wife on 24 December 1897, was to make an impact on the Mission,⁴³ but was in ill health at the time of his first arrival and from July 1899 to August 1900 was on sick leave in England. Gocher and Beeley arrived in early 1899, the former being licensed in March, the latter arriving in April and being ordained deacon on 24 September. Neither lasted long. Gocher resigned on 3 December 1899 and went to Australia; Beeley followed him in October 1900.⁴⁴

The defections of Gocher and Beeley caused Tucker and Hose some soul-searching. As Tucker remarked, 'The dearth of men offering for Mission work is quite saddening.'⁴⁵ Both men realized that money was a major consideration. Tucker thought that the situation in the Singapore/Borneo Diocese was partly to blame, in that it was the only diocese in which a man who married received an increase in his stipend.⁴⁶ Gocher and Beeley were both engaged to be married and this had caused them to volunteer for Sarawak. They had not, however, realized the primitiveness of living conditions in the outstations or the relatively high cost of living. The expectations of young missionary clergy had risen, along with the general rise in the standard and comfort of middle-class living in Victorian England. Disappointing as this was to Hose and Tucker, Gocher and Beeley at least made them face the fact.

Hose visited the mission stations of the Saribas and Krian rivers in September 1900, and was forced to admit that the conditions were often deplorable.⁴⁷ More would have to be expended on salaries to offset the difficult conditions and the high cost of living. In England on leave in November 1901, he suggested a

revised scale of salaries and allowances for missionaries in Borneo and the Straits Settlements, being backed in this by Archdeacon Sharp, who had forwarded a scheme for amended salaries.⁴⁸ As Hose pointed out, no great assistance could be expected from private sources in Borneo. The number of Europeans was small and there was 'not a rich man amongst them', so the diocese was obliged to look to the Society for support.⁴⁹

In 1902 E. H. Gomes resigned after fifteen years in Sarawak. His reasons were partly personal, partly financial. As he told Bishop Montgomery, who had succeeded Tucker as Secretary of the SPG, there were many calls on a poor missionary's purse at an outstation in Sarawak.⁵⁰ A lay missionary, H. A. J. Larzen, who had arrived in March that year, attempted to supplement his income by sending articles to the London and Singapore press, which earned him the displeasure of the Rajah, who told Hose that if he was not dismissed he would 'cease in future to take any further interest in the Mission and its work'. 'I can't understand', he added, 'how such a class of man can be expected to raise the condition of the people, and it would be far better in my opinion to have no missionary.' He also had little respect for Leggatt, the chief missionary at Lundu, regarding him 'to be a low class individual' and little reliable in word or deed.⁵¹

The almost cosy relationship between the Government and the Mission which had existed in the 1880s deteriorated during the 1890s as the Rajah lost patience with its pretensions when measured against its achievements. An example of this was the Government's different response in 1892 and 1898 to the Church's objection to its attempt to legislate for Christian marriages. On 26 October 1892, the Rajah signed an Ordinance relating to the marriages of Christian converts. It stated that to render a Church marriage legal, both parties would have to appear before the Civil Magistrate so 'that they may receive a certificate of Civil marriage before that act is solemnised in church'. There was provision for divorce if 'adultery or harsh and unjust treatment be proved in the Supreme Court', which sat in Kuching. If persons had been previously married, they had to present proof of a legal divorce before civil remarriage, nor could persons married in Sarawak contract another marriage without obtaining a legal divorce. There were provisions for the maintenance of families by men wishing to leave the territory of Sarawak (it was not uncommon for Sea Dayaks in particular to seek work in North Borneo or elsewhere), for the legitimization of children, and for obtaining the consent to a

marriage of the woman's parents or guardians. There was to be a \$2 fee for registering a marriage.⁵²

The Bishop and his clergy objected strongly, particularly to the provision that the civil marriage was to take place before the church ceremony. The problem was that Dayak marriage customs were not in accord with missionary teaching. Dayak custom sanctioned premarital intercourse and temporary relationships, at least until a child was conceived and a father owned responsibility. Once Dayak marriages were entered into, they generally proved permanent, although there were provisions for divorce and various fines and sanctions laid down for marital misdemeanours and for ultimate separation. The Christian notion that a man and woman could not live together without the sacrament of matrimony was alien to Dayak minds, and the Rajah was probably right when he said that missionaries often persuaded couples who were living together to enter into marriage prematurely. The Bishop and clergy argued that the requirement of a civil certificate, which meant the couple going to the nearest government station, being questioned by the government officer in charge and paying a \$2 fee, would cause people to put off marriage and to continue to live together without the blessing of the Church. However, the Rajah believed that it was the only way to test the couple's seriousness.⁵³ Nevertheless, the Bishop sustained his objection and the Rajah gave way. The Order was rescinded on 10 November 1892,⁵⁴ 'in deference to the demands of His Lordship the Bishop and his clergy'.⁵⁵

The problem had been shelved, not solved, and in 1898 a new Order resurrected that of 1892, with few alterations. The *Gazette* proclaimed the civil power's right to legalize marriage and to allow divorce.⁵⁶ The Rajah told Hose that Dayaks wishing to separate sometimes argued they had not understood the binding nature of Christian marriage and that it was useless to say that they should stay together as they would then say that they would follow the customs of their ancestors. Under the new regulations they would have to prove adultery or ill-treatment. The Rajah restated the arguments for civil marriage he had used in 1892 and clearly believed that a magistrate would be better than a missionary at ascertaining whether the parties desiring marriage were sincere or not. His only concession was to waive the \$2 fee, although he believed it would have made the transaction more binding in the eyes of the Dayaks themselves.⁵⁷

Thus were Hose's objections swept aside. This time, moreover, the Order extended the term 'Native Christians' to Christian Asiatics and Eurasians. The Order regulating Christian marriage was, in fact, only part of a broader assertion of the Government's right to regulate marriage. In March 1898, the Supreme Council approved a new law regulating Muslim marriages and divorces, which was aimed at deterring bigamous marriages and too frequent divorce.⁵⁸ Given the increasing complexity of social relations as Christianity and modernization made inroads into traditional society, the civil power saw a need to make general regulations independent of established religion and custom.

Further evidence of official disenchantment with the Mission, verging on outright hostility, is a leader in the *Gazette* in July 1888. Repeating arguments expressed in 1871 and views almost identical with those of the American, Hornaday, in 1878,⁵⁹ the writer in a somewhat muddled way saw benefits from education if it improved 'methods of agriculture and craft', but expressed disquiet about its deleterious effects upon the Dayaks.⁵⁹ When 'a Missionary' defended the Mission's role, the accompanying leading article was categorical. 'We do not attack the way the work is done', it said, 'but the work itself. We think that Christianity has a deleterious effect upon the Dayaks whatever effect it may have on other wild races. Hence, from our point of view, the failure in the past and the impossibility of success in the future.'⁶⁰ That the leader appeared at this time indicates that the editor of the *Gazette* must have felt he was reflecting the Rajah's disenchantment with the Mission; and the problem of Dayak education and its effects was one that troubled the Rajah. However, the debate was brusquely ended. Perhaps the writer had overstepped the mark. Perhaps it is also significant that at the same time the Rajah left for eight months' leave in England.⁶¹

Whatever the Rajah's views on the indiscriminate propagation of Christianity, he continued to support St Thomas's School, which he praised highly in October 1899.⁶² The amount the Government contributed to education was not great, its expenditure under the head of Church and education being only 0.8 per cent of its total expenditure at the turn of the century, and this was divided amongst the Anglican and Roman Catholic Mission schools and the Malay schools.⁶³ Nevertheless, it was welcome,

⁵⁸ See note 98 to Chapter 8, pp 201-2 above.

and the Anglicans, like Oliver Twist, were inclined to ask for more. In the words of the Revd G. H. K. Clarke, seeking to acquire more staff for St Thomas's, they looked 'confidently to his Highness the Rajah, who has done, and is doing so much for the school'.⁶⁴ The Rajah, however, while maintaining existing support for the school, was more inclined to put his money into a new enterprise. In 1902 he decided to establish a Government Lay School in Kuching. It was aimed primarily at the Chinese, but Malays would also be accepted and, later, Dayaks. The Dayaks would be taught in English, the Chinese and Malays in their own language and in English.⁶⁵ The school was to be secular, to be, in the Rajah's words, 'free in every sense, entirely untrammelled by any Sectarian Fetters'.⁶⁶ Perceiving no enthusiasm for the project from the Anglican Mission,⁶⁷ he called on Father Van Meus of the Roman Catholic Mission to act as examiner.⁶⁸ The Anglicans saw the new school as a threat, cutting off any hope of increased help for their own schools from the Government.⁶⁹

Indeed, the Government did not think highly of the Mission at this time. Approached by Sharp in 1902 for permission to build a school and chapel at Sibü on the Rejang River to cater for the Anglican Chinese who had moved there, the Rajah threw the Mission's failure in the Archdeacon's face, pointing out that the Rejang had been reserved for the Roman Catholic Mission to keep it clear of the SPG. 'If this rule is broken', he told Sharp, 'I shall *in justice* have to open the Batang Lupar, Saribas Kalaka rivers to the R. C. Mission—and I fear this would not be advisable nor a good thing for your Mission which has so few missionaries. The R. C. number about 16 who would soon spread all over these rivers and probably deprive you of almost—if not quite all of your Christians—knowing how very easy it is to turn a Dayak from one persuasion to another.'⁷⁰ By 1904 Methodist settlers from China had established a thriving settlement on the Lower Rejang under the supervision of an American missionary, James M. Hoover. Hoover was effectively the Government's agent in charge of the settlement and his practicality impressed the Rajah.⁷¹ Like the Roman Catholics and the Anglicans, the Methodists were confined to their allotted area. In June 1904, the *Gazette* remarked on the Mission schools in the outstations, giving high praise to the Roman Catholic schools and to Hoover's newly established school at Sibü. The comment on the Anglican Mission was scathing; only Howell's school at Undup remained, the school and church at Lundu had been abandoned and the Mission as a

whole had been 'making backward movement for many years past'.⁷² Although praise for individual missionaries and their efforts could still be found in the *Gazette*,⁷³ adverse comment was more common.⁷⁴ The Mission was failing to maintain even what it once had and to this criticism there was really no answer. In March 1905, Hose admitted to Montgomery his own despair regarding the Dayak missions and the 'unfriendly comments in the Press'.⁷⁵

The difficulties of the Mission were intensified by Hose's reluctance to resign. As he aged, he became less capable of the extended tours required if he were to manage effectively his sprawling diocese. At the same time, Hose's delay affected recruiting, for men liked to know who would be in charge.⁷⁶ A further complication was the move started in 1905 once more to divide the diocese.⁷⁷ In the circumstances, responsibility for the Mission in Sarawak devolved more and more upon Archdeacon Sharp, an energetic and capable man who became the effective head of the Mission.

When Sharp had first arrived in Kuching in 1897, he was not fully fit.⁷⁸ Nevertheless, he threw himself into his work with characteristic enthusiasm and accepted any responsibility given him. His idealism and zeal ruffled the near-stagnant waters of the Church and the Mission. In his last years as Archdeacon, Mesney had been unable to do much outside his routine duties. Sharp reformed the administration of the Mission headquarters, began an active mission to the Sea Dayaks at Merdang, revitalized the Mission's work among the Chinese, and reformed the order of service at St Thomas's Church on Tractarian lines, thus making it more ritualistic. Under his guidance the Church came to serve primarily the Asian Christians, developing an Asian Christian ministry. He was fortunate in that the Rajah had abolished the office of government chaplain on the retirement of Mesney, allocating instead \$250 a month to the Mission towards education and Mesney's pension. Sharp was thus independent of any Government restraint, having no official position.⁷⁹

Although Sharp's presence was felt immediately, it was interrupted by his having to take sick leave from July 1899 to August 1900. In England, however, he travelled widely, speaking about Borneo and the needs of the Mission, arousing an interest which was to lead eventually to the formation of the Borneo Mission Association. Sharp was particularly interested in female education, believing that as the Mission was educating Christian boys, it

should educate Christian girls as suitable wives for them.⁸⁰ Bishop Hose had revived the girls' school but it had had a fitful existence. In 1897, there had been twenty-seven pupils, but while Sharp was on leave, Miss Dunmall, who had been running it, returned to Australia. Sharp persuaded the Church Missionary Society to release from its service his two sisters, Mary and Caroline, who had been training at the Mildmay Institute, Mary as a nurse and Caroline as a teacher. They returned with him to Sarawak, by which time the girls' school had only twelve pupils. By the end of 1901, it had thirty-five. The Sharp sisters showed the same dedication and zeal as their brother. They wore a kind of ecclesiastical uniform and were known in Kuching as Sister Mary and Sister Caroline.⁸¹

Sharp was deeply influenced by the later expression of the Tractarian Movement. Other priests of High Church tendency had conformed to the more evangelistic tradition of Sarawak, but Sharp introduced Anglo-Catholic forms of service which were to become the established tradition thereafter in the Sarawak Church. The changes were not entirely welcomed by his European flock.⁸² More importantly, he saw the Church in Sarawak as an Asian Church, and began choosing Asians for positions of responsibility and leadership. As Taylor has pointed out, two of Sarawak's 'outstanding priests, Kong Kuin En and Thomas Buda, began their main service for the Church as Sharp's catechists'.⁸³ Asian catechists had been left in charge of mission stations and congregations before, but that had been by default, when no European had been available, and they had received little guidance and support. When Sharp appointed Buda to Merdang, however, he visited him monthly, and Kong Kuin En was closely supported by Sharp. As a consequence of Sharp's views on the nature of the Church, new emphasis was given to evangelism within the Chinese community in Kuching. This appeared to the European community to indicate a lack of interest in them and was a cause of the rift that developed between them and the Sharps. Sharp did not go out of his way to cultivate the Europeans: he did cultivate the Asians.

Not that the Sharps kept themselves aloof from the European community. There were amateur theatricals at the Vicarage, with Mrs Sharp participating,⁸⁴ and the Sharps were regularly invited to the Rajah's dinner parties, and, apparently, enjoyed them.⁸⁵ However, Sharp's recollections indicate a *social* contact with non-Europeans which was a new development. Writing of his parochial work, he regarded it as resembling that of a small parish in

England in some respects. 'There were the usual daily Services, the visiting and the oversight of the schools, and social visiting in a wider area, amongst cultured English of the Rajah's service or the Borneo Company. Then there were those of mixed race, and a steadily growing population of Christian Chinese.'⁸⁶ This involvement with the Christian Asians reflected Sharp's belief in the brotherhood of those who had accepted Christ as having a spiritual dimension which went beyond other relationships. He had an idealistic belief in the perfectability of man within the fellowship and communion of the Church. Men and women could be transformed, and nowhere else could such transformation be so clearly seen as when the new Christian was a convert from another race and culture. To others, including the Rajah, this belief appeared naïve.⁸⁷

On his return from England in 1900, Sharp and his sisters threw themselves into their work with an enthusiasm which the Rajah felt obliged to restrain. Sharp established a Dayak Rest House at the Mission at which Dayaks visiting the town could stay. Sister Mary began dispensing medicines for minor ailments and she and Sister Caroline began visiting native Christians in Kuching. Amongst the latter were some Sarawak Rangers, members of the Rajah's military force. Sharp had been visiting Christians in the Ranger quarters and his sisters began visiting families in the married quarters. After a few weeks they were stopped on the Rajah's orders. The ban, as Sharp half admitted, may have been caused by the Rajah's doubt as to the propriety of ladies visiting the Rangers' lines rather than by any opposition to Christian teaching, but the Rajah may also have been protecting the Rangers from what he saw as an excess of zeal. As he told Sharp, 'The Rangers are always free to attend church when they are disposed to do so, or to send their children to be taught in the Mission schools. I object to any interference with them in the Barracks or the fort surrounding it.'⁸⁸

However, it was Sharp's activities among the Chinese which aroused the Rajah's mistrust in the Archdeacon's judgement. Although the Mission had worked among the Chinese since its inception, the effort had been desultory until Sharp's arrival. At the same time, fresh Chinese immigration, encouraged by the Rajah, opened up new opportunities which Sharp quickly seized.

Charles Brooke's attitude to the Chinese was one of wary encouragement. He recognized their economic importance and believed that Sarawak's prosperity depended on the growth of a thriving Chinese community.⁸⁹ On the other hand, memories of

the Bau rising still lingered and the Government watched them with suspicion. Where a secret society was uncovered, it was ruthlessly suppressed. Society leaders were arrested, flogged, imprisoned, banished, or executed.⁹⁰ Overseas Chinese communities were affected by events in China, where rebellion was being fomented against the Manchus, and the Sarawak Government was prepared to take no chances.

Nevertheless, Charles Brooke encouraged the immigration of Chinese Christians from China.⁹¹ Between 1898 and 1911 he sponsored four large Chinese colonies: Hakka Christians near Kuching, Foochows in the Lower Rejang, Cantonese upriver from the Foochows, and Henghuas who settled on the Rejang and at Marudi on the Baram. Those on the Rejang and the Baram came under the Methodist and Roman Catholic Missions. The Hakkas, who settled near Kuching in 1899, had been converted in China by the Basel Mission, which was not represented in Sarawak. They immediately became the target of attention from the Anglican and Roman Catholic Missions in Kuching. The Rajah warned both Missions to avoid sectarian conflict, but allowed both to work among them.⁹² Most of this group became Anglican and Kong Kuin En, the Christian teacher among them, became a prominent Anglican leader in the Kuching Chinese community.⁹³

In 1905, Sharp decided to make a concerted effort among the Chinese in Kuching, where, apart from the recent immigrants, the relatively few Christians were the products of the schools. His thoughts ran back to his own experience of the London Mission as a choirboy in the 1880s and the deep effect it had had on him. He thus proposed to his Asian workers a similar Mission to Kuching, with three nights of procession through the principal streets of the town.

On the third the procession to be divided into two, each to make a circuit in such a way as to gather the people from both ends of the town, and lead them to the little, steep hill beside the main road on which the Church stood. On the slope a great sheet would be erected, and scenes illustrating the Life, Death and Resurrection of our Lord would be thrown on the sheet by the magic lantern, and the Story told by a Chinese Catechist. The Church to be open and lighted where any could enter who should desire to ask questions. Afterwards a simple Service of thanksgiving would close the Mission.

And so it was, with, at the close, 'a huge concourse' filling the road opposite the hill on which the Church stood to hear Kong

Kuin En tell the Gospel story as illustrated on the large screen.⁹⁴

Sharp was, and remained, gratified by the response. The Rajah Muda, in charge of the Government in his father's absence, and other European officers were not, and wrote to the Rajah in England. He, in his turn, wrote a strong letter to Bishop Hose 'to complain of the proceedings of Archdeacon Sharp in allowing a night procession with all kinds of absurdities to be performed . . . the prevailing opinion seems to be that the Archdeacon is not quite in his right mind'. He hoped that 'such a scene will not again be brought about—subject to ridicule by all parties throughout the country'.⁹⁵ Sharp professed to be perplexed at the Rajah's disapproval, although he admitted that some might have feared the open-air Mission to have been a provocative challenge.⁹⁶ At the time, however, he eagerly responded to overtures from some leading Chinese that the Mission should become more active in the town. His Chinese workers suggested a bookshop selling Christian literature in Chinese, a catechist or other qualified teacher to be in charge, and lectures to be given on Moral Philosophy, Hygiene, and the British way of life.⁹⁷ The bookshop expanded, moved to larger quarters and became the Chinese Institute, formally on 19 January 1907, for the promotion of education in the widest sense among Chinese of all classes. On 20 March 1907, the Rajah Muda, who had assented to be the Institute's Patron, opened its new premises in Khoo Hun Yeang Street. They consisted of a meeting room, a library, a kindergarten, class, lecture, and tea rooms, and lodging for visiting members. Sharp was its President, acknowledging the anomaly but justifying it by his not belonging to a particular clan and thereby being unbiased. The meeting was crowded, with some dozen Europeans, including ladies, also present.⁹⁸ It appeared that Sharp's vision of a centre 'where East and West might meet and learn to understand one another' was being realized.⁹⁹

Unfortunately, Sharp went on leave for nine months. The Secretary of the Institute was Ging Meng, the master of the Government Lay School. Ging Meng was ambitious and wished to build up membership of the Institute quickly, thus giving him prestige and status in the community. Membership was not confined to Christians, despite Sharp's role in it, but Sharp had wished for slower growth and had hoped that the rest of the Committee, who were respectable, wealthier Chinese, would restrain Ging Meng. Instead, when Ging Meng quarrelled with them, they resigned. On his return, Sharp withdrew the Institute

from the premises controlled by Ging Meng and re-established it in smaller premises, neglecting to inform the Rajah Muda, who as Patron believed he should have been consulted and who heard Ging Meng's story first. Ging Meng charged that the Institute was a front for a revolutionary secret society. The Rajah Muda had the Institute's books and papers investigated and ordered the catechist Kong Kuin En out of the country as one who encouraged revolutionary ideas.¹⁰⁰

It was practically inevitable that the Chinese Institute should run into difficulties. Christian Chinese, many of them Hakkas, were in the forefront of the revolutionary movement because they and their kind had suffered persecution in China, they had often received some mission education, and they had been brought into contact with social and economic ideas not necessarily revolutionary in themselves but having revolutionary political implications in the context of China. Sharp did some investigations of his own and concluded that the attempt to discredit the Institute was the work of members of a revolutionary society in Sarawak which wanted no rival,¹⁰¹ but it is also likely that Ging Meng had personal disagreements with Kong Kuin En.¹⁰²

Kong was, however, soon able to return. Sharp had obtained from a Christian Chinese teacher the names of secret society members in Sarawak. The Archdeacon then encoded the names and presented the document to the Rajah Muda, telling him that the key to the document was in his study, if the Rajah Muda wished for it. In return, the Rajah Muda consented to the return of Kong to Sarawak, which supports Sharp's contention that there was no hard evidence against him. Sharp then sent through his informant a warning to the secret society that if it made any further attempt to injure the Institute, he would make available to the Government the information on it he possessed.¹⁰³ He then prevailed upon Chinese of good standing to support the construction of a building within the Mission grounds, bordering the bazaar, where the Institute could be housed and its members and their friends could meet 'for social intercourse, reading or lectures, or other social functions', under the supervision of the Mission. Reassured, the Government consented to the continuance of the Institute on this new site.¹⁰⁴

The affair of the Chinese Institute increased the Rajah's distrust of Sharp's judgement. It was unfortunate that Sharp had gone on leave so soon after its establishment, without making better

arrangements for supervising it. Perhaps he had trusted Kong Kuin En too completely and had failed to appreciate the tangled relationships—personal, social, political, and commercial—which extended clan and family ties made so complex in Chinese society. At any rate, the Rajah concluded that Sharp was a dangerous man who had made 'himself and the Mission a laughing stock'.¹⁰⁵

Meanwhile, Bishop Hose had finally left Sarawak, in December 1907, although he did not resign until November 1908, when he was seventy. When Sharp returned to Sarawak in April 1908 it was as Vicar-General in charge of the Mission until a successor was found. Sharp was an obvious candidate, familiar with Sarawak and the ways of the Rajah, as Bishop Montgomery pointed out.¹⁰⁶ But the Rajah did not want him, informing the Archbishop of Canterbury that Sharp lacked 'sufficient good judgement to be head of a Mission',¹⁰⁷ and was 'incapable of commanding the respect due to a man in that position'.¹⁰⁸ As Montgomery realized, the Rajah 'could make life unendurable to a man—stop rights of way, shut schools etc: and there is no redress'.¹⁰⁹ The old autocrat had his way and Sharp was passed over.

Hose's episcopate came to an end with Hose himself, as far as Sarawak was concerned, eclipsed by Sharp. In the course of it there had been a subtle shift in the relationship between the Government and the Anglican Mission, largely due to the arrival of the Roman Catholic and Methodist Missions, against which the Anglican Mission could be measured, and was found wanting. Hose was hardly to blame. He was ill-served by too many of the missionaries sent to him, and the extent of his diocese became too much for an ageing man to handle. He was conscientious, dedicated, and hard-working, but he lacked that zeal and 'fire' which might have accomplished more. After the first few years he was preoccupied with keeping going what had already been established and, being half the time out of Sarawak, was unable to make his mark as McDougall and Chambers had done.

The Sea Dayak missions, in particular, had suffered neglect. The Anglican Mission was still the premier mission by virtue of its having been the first, but the Rajah's policy of allocating districts to particular missions to avoid confusion and conflict had denied the Anglicans access to important regions of Sarawak. In Kuching itself it shared the field with the Catholics, and in education, with the Government as well. This was hardly the vision shared by

McDougall and James Brooke as they strode over the Mission ground in 1848 and talked of the future. It is evident from comments in the *Sarawak Gazette* and from the Rajah's letters that the Mission had declined in the estimation of the Government. Rajah Charles was no strong Christian, but he was sympathetic to the Mission and was prepared to assist its education work, while having his own doubts about the whole 'civilising' process associated with Christianity and Westernization. As the ruler of a multiracial state, he maintained the policy established by the first Rajah by which the Missions were not to work among the Muslim Malays, and he had no desire to see religion a source of division and contention—hence his opposition to Sharp's methods in taking the message to the Chinese. On the other hand, he was an English gentleman who regarded as a matter of course that the Anglican Church was part of the pattern of life and should be supported, where such support did not clash with his role as ruler of a largely non-Christian state. To him, however, the practical effects of the Christianizing process were more important than matters of ritual and dogma, so that he was equally prepared to support Roman Catholics and Methodists, and there is no doubt he was more impressed with their achievement than he was, on the whole, with that of the Anglican Mission. He can hardly be blamed for doing so. In 1909, when the new Bishop arrived, there were in Sarawak only four Anglican priests: Sharp at Kuching, Chung Ah Luk at Quop, Howell at Sabu, and Dexter-Allen at Banting. There were four lay missionaries: H. W. Gregg, the schoolmaster, Sister Caroline Sharp and Sister Agnes Olver, who were in charge of the girls' school, all in Kuching, and Mrs Dexter-Allen, who was a doctor, at Banting. The Dexter-Allens, who had arrived in 1904, were, in fact, on leave in 1909. There were numerous Asian catechists and lay readers, but, despite Sharp's efforts, they needed guidance still. In reality, the Anglican Church in Sarawak was barely viable.¹¹⁰ If Sharp had not been at Kuching, the situation would have been far worse. The one most hopeful sign for the future was Sharp's success in Kuching in lowering the barriers between the European missionary and the Asian Christians. This was made possible partly because a significant section of the Chinese population, whether Christian or not, had received an English education at St Thomas's School and were more at ease with Europeans than their forefathers had been, just as the missionary could be more at ease with them. Sharp's achievement was to reach out to the

Chinese community and establish close personal and social links with it. The transition would have come in time, but Sharp set the tone of the Sarawak Mission for the first half of the twentieth century.¹¹¹ The foundations of an Asian Church were being laid.

In 1907 the decision had been taken to divide the diocese and the new bishop in Kuching would have responsibility only for Borneo. The Rajah's opposition to Sharp delayed an appointment. After rejecting the Rajah's suggestion of Archdeacon H. C. Izard of Singapore,¹¹² the Archbishop of Canterbury settled on William Robert Mounsey towards the end of 1908.¹¹³ With a new diocese and a new bishop, the stage was set for a revival of the Anglican Mission in Sarawak. In England in 1907, Sharp had stirred up interest which led to the creation of the Borneo Mission Association in May 1909 to provide support for the diocese. The Church and the SPG were together anxious to repair the neglect of the past years. As Bishop Montgomery wrote to Izard in Singapore in December 1907, 'We want to *pour* new men and new schemes into Borneo at once.'¹¹⁴ After the lassitude of Hose's last years, they were greatly needed: even the Rajah would have admitted to that.¹¹⁵

1. Abandoning with reluctance 'my loved work & people': W. Chambers to H. W. Tucker, 5 November 1879, USPG Archives, OLR, D49c.

2. H. W. Tucker to C. Brooke, 2 November 1880, USPG Archives, CLS 54, p. 274.

3. G. F. Hose to H. W. Tucker, 8 December 1880, and C. Brooke to H. W. Tucker, 16 April 1880, USPG Archives, OLR, D52.

4. H. W. Tucker to G. F. Hose, 2 November 1880, USPG Archives, CLS 54, p. 272.

5. G. F. Hose to H. W. Tucker, 8 December 1880, USPG Archives, OLR, D52.

6. G. F. Hose to H. W. Tucker, 30 May 1882, USPG Archives, OLR, D60.

7. Brian Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, p. 150.

8. C. Brooke to the Right Revd Herbert Vaughan, Lord Bishop of Salford, 13 August 1880, SM/RL/11, p. 94.

9. See John Rooney, *Khabar Gembira*, for a history of the Roman Catholic Church in Borneo.

10. Otto C. Doering III, 'Government in Sarawak under Charles Brooke', p. 98.

11. The three Kuching Malay Datus were members of the Supreme Council, created by James Brooke in 1855, and of the Council Negri, created in 1865 by Charles Brooke. During the Rajah's absence from the State, they were members of the Committee of Administration which governed until his return. The Datu Bandar was the leading citizen of Kuching and his duties were much like those of a

Mayor. The Datu Imam was the religious leader of the Muslim Malays and the Datu Hakim, the judge in religious cases. They were 'symbols of Malay trust and participation in Brooke rule': *ibid.*, pp. 99-100.

12. Robert Pringle, 'The Brookes of Sarawak: Reformers in spite of Themselves', p. 63.

13. Robert Pringle, *Rajahs and Rebels*, Chapter 9, discusses communal relations under Charles Brooke. For the removal of the Malay population from Banting Hill to below the fort, see *ibid.*, pp. 90-1. See also W. Chambers to F. T. McDougall, 22 July 1853, USPG Archives, OLR, D66, where he says that the move would leave him a freer hand among the Dayaks.

14. Doering, *op. cit.*, p. 102, fn. 22.

15. Pringle, *Rajahs and Rebels*, pp. 144-9, discusses the recruitment of government officers and the qualities the Rajah looked for in them. A. B. Ward, *Rajah's Servant*, p. 13, describes Ward's own recruitment. There are many examples of correspondence in which the Rajah expresses his views on the sort of men he wished to recruit, for example, C. Brooke to Revd W. W. Mastyn, 26 October 1883, SM/RL/12, p. 9; to Revd S. Baring-Gould, 2 November 1896, SM/RL/4, p. 26; and to Revd Canon Prothero, 11 October 1879 and 26 June 1880, SM/RL/11, pp. 58 and 86.

16. C. Brooke to W. R. B. Gifford, 4 January 1910, quoted in Pringle, *Rajahs and Rebels*, p. 145.

For a discussion of what constituted a 'gentleman' in late Victorian times see Philip Mason, *The English Gentleman: The Rise and Fall of an Ideal*, in particular, pp. 214-26.

17. See his defence of them to Bishop Mounsey, p. 237 below.

18. G. F. Hose to H. W. Tucker, 30 May 1882, USPG Archives, OLR, D60.

19. W. Chambers to H. W. Tucker, 28 January 1881, USPG Archives, CLR 73, p. 329. Mesney and Zehnder had both written to Chambers about Shepherd's intemperance.

20. *Ibid.*, postscript dated 14 February.

21. G. F. Hose to Secretary, SPG, 5 August 1882, USPG Archives, OLR, D60. See also Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, p. 107.

22. G. F. Hose to Secretary, SPG, 23 January 1883, USPG Archives, OLR, D64.

23. G. F. Hose to H. W. Tucker, 21 May 1883, *ibid.*

24. G. F. Hose to H. W. Tucker, 11 March 1884, USPG Archives, OLR, D68.

25. G. F. Hose to Secretary, SPG, 30 December 1884, *ibid.*

26. C. Brooke to H. W. Tucker, 20 December 1880, USPG Archives, CLR 73, p. 314, is an early example.

27. G. F. Hose to Secretary, SPG, 2 March 1886, *ibid.*, pp. 401-2. See also H. W. Tucker to M. J. Bywater, 10 July and 1 October 1886, CLS 54, pp. 328 and 331. Hose had begun to doubt Bywater's stability as early as December 1884: G. F. Hose to H. W. Tucker, 30 December 1884, USPG Archives, CLR 73, p. 379.

28. Gomes had been at St John's College, Cambridge, but had left before obtaining a degree. He had done so on medical advice, being unable to stand the cold. Now a lay reader in Sarawak, and his health restored, he offered his services to Sarawak: G. F. Hose to Secretary, SPG, 15 May 1886, USPG Archives, CLR 73, pp. 404-5.

29. Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, p. 115.

30. *Ibid.*, pp. 127-8. Perham was not lost to the diocese, for he recovered his health in Singapore and in 1891 was appointed Archdeacon of Singapore. Later still, he served at intervals in Sarawak.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 126.

32. Archdeacon Sumner of Winchester presided at the meeting, hence the allusion to Winchester.

33. *Sarawak Gazette*, 1 November 1888.

34. *Ibid.*, 1 December 1888.

35. Hose remarked that Sargent had been 'unfairly treated by the young men whom he was with', presumably men in the Rajah's service, but it had been the young missionary who had been taken away by Dayak policemen and Malay servants and locked up for the night: G. F. Hose to H. W. Tucker, 15 June 1891, marked 'Private and Confidential', USPG Archives, CLR 73, pp. 484-8.

36. *Loc. cit.*

37. Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, pp. 361 and 147.

38. G. F. Hose to H. W. Tucker, 15 June 1891, marked 'Private and Confidential', USPG Archives, CLR 73, p. 484-5.

39. G. F. Hose to Secretary, SPG, 15 June 1891, *ibid.*, pp. 493-5. In December 1890, in acknowledging the arrival of James, Sargent, and Nichols, Hose had mentioned the desirability of missionaries having enough knowledge of carpentry to be able to build a wooden house: G. F. Hose to Secretary, SPG, 10 December 1890, *ibid.*, pp. 471-3.

40. G. F. Hose to H. W. Tucker, 10 March 1896, *ibid.*, pp. 75-8.

41. 'The Rajah had made 'a handsome contribution' to the cost of his passage: G. F. Hose to Secretary, SPG, 24 September 1897, *ibid.*, pp. 57-8.

42. Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, p. 130. As he had with Mesney, the Rajah had awarded Zehnder a small pension in recognition of his long service.

43. In later life Sharp wrote his reminiscences, drawing heavily on his correspondence at the time: A. F. Sharp, *The Wings of the Morning*.

44. Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, p. 131.

45. H. W. Tucker to G. F. Hose, 26 April 1900, USPG Archives, CLS 54, p. 487.

46. H. W. Tucker to G. F. Hose, 26 October 1900, *ibid.*, p. 492.

47. G. F. Hose to Secretary, SPG, 19 June 1901, *ibid.*, p. 219. Hose was agreeing with Leggatt, whose letter he was forwarding, that his dwelling house at Lundu was 'in a most deplorable condition': F. W. Leggatt to G. F. Hose, 8 June 1901, *ibid.*, pp. 216-17.

48. G. F. Hose to Secretary, SPG, 2 November 1901, *ibid.*, pp. 233-8.

49. G. F. Hose to Secretary, SPG, 31 January 1902, *ibid.*, pp. 246-8. Hose had first remarked on the Englishmen in Borneo being few and scattered and not rich in the letter accompanying his report of the previous year: G. F. Hose to Secretary, SPG, 30 January 1901, *ibid.*, pp. 250A-250C.

50. E. H. Gomes to H. H. Montgomery, 14 May 1902, *ibid.*, pp. 270-1.

51. C. Brooke to G. F. Hose, 8 July 1902, SM/RL/9, p. 65.

52. *Sarawak Gazette*, 10 October 1892.

53. C. Brooke to G. F. Hose, 9 October 1892, SM/RL/2, p. 344.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 356, and *Sarawak Gazette*, 1 December 1892.

55. *Sarawak Gazette*, 1 December 1892.

56. *Ibid.*, 1 March 1898.

57. C. Brooke to G. F. Hose, 4 June 1898, SM/RL/4, pp. 269-71.

58. *Sarawak Gazette*, 1 April 1898. It was published as Order No. XIII, *ibid.*, 1 June 1898. For its intent see *ibid.*, 1 March 1898.

59. *Ibid.*, 1 July 1898.

60. *Loc. cit.*

61. *Ibid.*, 1 May 1899, reports the Rajah's return after an absence of eight months.

It may be that the Government's attitude to the Mission owed something to the absence of the Raneé. She had left Sarawak to live in England in 1882 because of ill health. She returned for several months in 1887 with her three sons, but not again thereafter until 1895. By this time, the Rajah was making annual trips to England where he lived the life of a country gentleman and enjoyed the hunting. He had little to do with the Raneé: she had provided heirs to the throne and he welcomed a return to the bachelor existence he had enjoyed before marriage. He did not welcome her visits to Sarawak, and a few weeks after her arrival with their second son, Bertram, in 1895, betook himself off to England for the hunting, leaving them to tour Sarawak without him. The Raneé had been active in supporting the Mission in Kuching when she lived there and there is no doubt that her absence removed one line of informal contact between the Rajah and the Anglican Mission: C. N. Crisswell, *Rajah Charles Brooke*, pp. 110-11; Margaret Brooke, *Good Morning and Good Night*, pp. 261-6. The Raneé arrived on 8 June (*Sarawak Gazette*, 1 July 1895); the Rajah left for Europe on 24 July (*ibid.*, 1 August 1895); the Raneé and Bertram left on 12 November (*ibid.*, 2 December 1895).

62. *Sarawak Gazette*, 1 November 1899.

63. *Ibid.*, 1 May 1890 (\$5,738.45 out of a total expenditure of \$543, 503.56); 1 May 1900 (\$6,194.63 out of \$843, 230.17); 1 May 1901 (\$7,176.37 out of \$901, 472.08); 1 April 1902 (\$8,101.80 out of \$953, 818.53). Figures are for the year previous to the date of the *Gazette* reference.

64. *Ibid.*, 2 December 1901.

65. *Ibid.*, 1 November 1902.

66. *Ibid.*, 2 July 1903.

67. In writing to Father Van Meus of the Roman Catholic Mission, the Rajah remarked that he could get little assistance from others, whereas he had been encouraged by Van Meus's 'kind letter': C. Brooke to Fr. Van Meus, 28 May 1904, SM/RL/9, p. 156.

68. *Loc. cit.*

69. A. F. Sharp to [? H. H. Montgomery], 19 January 1904 (extract only), USPG Archives, CLR 74, pp. 330-1. Sharp added that eleven day scholars had left St Thomas's and that no Malays now attended.

70. C. Brooke to A. F. Sharp, 21 November 1902, SM/RL/9, p. 81.

71. For an admirer's view of Hoover see Frank T. Cartwright, *Tuan Hoover of Borneo*.

72. *Sarawak Gazette*, 4 June 1904.

73. In October 1904 there was an appreciation of St John's School, Merdang, which Sharp had started the previous year and which had a farm attached. There had been praise for E. H. Gomes on his departure in January, and Mrs Hose's death in July had united the European community in mourning: *ibid.*, 3 October, 3 February, and 2 August 1904.

74. For example, when a government school was established at Lundu in September 1904, it was described as having filled the gap left by the failure of the Mission there: *ibid.*, 1 July 1905.

75. G. F. Hose to H. H. Montgomery, 20 March 1905, USPG Archives, CLR 74, pp. 363-4.

76. A. F. Sharp to [? H. H. Montgomery], 20 August 1907, from Oxford, *ibid.*, pp. 471-2.

77. Hose told the SPG in July 1905 that it was becoming impossible for one man to do justice to both parts of the diocese: G. F. Hose to SPG, 14 July 1905 (extract only), *ibid.*, p. 376. On 14 December the same year, a meeting was held at Government House, Singapore, at which the division of the diocese was approved. A second meeting in January 1906 set up a committee and authorized a pamphlet setting out the case for division and calling for contributions towards creating a separate Bishopric for the Straits Settlements and Malaya. No part of the original endowment could be used as that had been raised for Borneo: G. F. Hose to Secretary, SPG, 21 December 1905, *ibid.*, pp. 400-2; G. F. Hose to H. H. Montgomery, 25 January 1906, *ibid.*, p. 404. A copy of the pamphlet, *Proposed Division of the Diocese of Singapore, Labuan and Sarawak*, published Singapore, 18 January 1906, is pasted in *ibid.*, p. 404; G. F. Hose to H. H. Montgomery, 12 February 1906, *ibid.*, p. 410.

78. He had been on a convalescent cruise to Hong Kong and Japan just before moving to Kuching: Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, p. 132; Sharp, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-9.

79. Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, pp. 132 ff., comments on Sharp's early impact.

80. Sharp, *op. cit.*, pp. 77 and 79.

81. *Ibid.*, pp. 79-80; Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, p. 135.

82. Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, p. 133. Practices associated with High Church rites had crept into services in Sarawak. Taylor points out that in the 1880s, even remote Skrang had a surpliced choir: *ibid.*, p. 155. Sharp's changes went deeper than mere externals and were more complete and consistent.

83. *Ibid.*, p. 133.

84. *Sarawak Gazette*, 1 March 1902. In July 1905, Mrs Sharp appeared in two plays at the Town Hall and the 'Misses Sharp', presumably Sisters Mary and Caroline, were present at the Borneo Company dance attended also by the Rajah Muda, Mrs Sharp being 'unavoidably prevented from being present'—all this in *Race Week: ibid.*, 2 August 1905. In December 1906, Mrs Sharp appeared in two farces, this time in the Government School: *ibid.*, 4 January 1907.

85. Sharp, *op. cit.*, p. 69. The Rajah's daughter-in-law had completely opposite views, and regarded the Rajah's dinners a bore and the Rajah a most unpleasant and uncomfortable host: Sylvia Brooke, *Queen of the Head-Hunters*, pp. 79-80, and *The Three White Rajahs*, pp. 110-11. Ward, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-3, also found the Rajah's dinners uncomfortable.

86. Sharp, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

87. *Ibid.*, pp. 113-14.

88. Sharp, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-3. Also C. Brooke to A. F. Sharp, 10 July 1901, SM/RL/9, p. 18.

89. See Craig A. Lockard, 'Charles Brooke and the Foundations of the Modern Chinese Community in Sarawak, 1863-1917', for a discussion of Brooke policy towards the Chinese under Rajah Charles.

90. S. Baring-Gould and C. A. Bampfylde, *A History of Sarawak under Its Two White Rajahs*, pp. 203-6.

91. Chinese Christians were suffering persecution from their xenophobic fellow countrymen and presented an opportunity to establish self-supporting communities which would be amenable to Brooke rule.

92. C. Brooke to Roman Catholic Mission, 15 November 1899, SM/RL/4, p. 249, and C. Brooke to G. F. Hose, 2 December 1899, SM/RL/5, p. 155.

93. Sharp, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-3.

94. *Ibid.*, pp. 158-9. Sharp dates this as 1906. There is an account of this mission in A. F. Sharp to G. F. Hose, n.d., USPG Archives, CLR 74, pp. 353-4. It is filed with correspondence for 1905. Moreover, the Rajah's complaint to Hose about Sharp's activities is dated 5 December 1905: C. Brooke to G. F. Hose, 5 December 1905, SM/RL/9, p. 181.

95. C. Brooke to G. F. Hose, 5 December 1905, *loc. cit.*

96. Sharp, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

97. *Loc. cit.*

98. *Sarawak Gazette*, 4 April 1907.

99. Sharp, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

100. *Ibid.*, pp. 161-2; C. V. Brooke to A. F. Sharp, 24 October 1908, SM/RL/7, pp. 97-8. Sharp gives the former secretary of the Institute the fictitious name 'Cheng'.

101. Sharp, *op. cit.*, pp. 164-6.

102. C. V. Brooke to A. F. Sharp, 24 October 1908, SM/RL/7, pp. 97-8.

103. Sharp, *op. cit.*, pp. 165-6.

104. *Ibid.*, p. 167.

105. C. Brooke to C. V. Brooke, 22 November 1908, MSS Pac. s 83, Vol. 3, f. 1.

106. H. H. Montgomery to R. T. Davidson, quoted in Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, pp. 157-8.

107. C. Brooke to R. T. Davidson, 2 March 1908, SM/RL/6, pp. 54-5. See also C. Brooke to R. T. Davidson, 20 February 1908, *ibid.*, p. 52.

108. C. Brooke to H. H. Montgomery, 9 February 1908, *ibid.*, pp. 53-4.

109. H. H. Montgomery to R. T. Davidson, quoted in SM/RL/6, p. 159.

110. Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, p. 161.

111. When Sharp left in 1910, the Kuching Anglican community, with its active Asian, mainly Chinese, component, resembled closely that which the writer encountered in the early 1960s, a resemblance that is not so apparent from the documentation before.

112. C. Brooke to R. T. Davidson, 13 April 1908, SM/RL/6, pp. 57-8.

113. Charles Brooke readily accepted Mounsey and promised to do anything that was required to prepare for his arrival: C. Brooke to R. T. Davidson, 27 January 1909, *ibid.*, p. 100, and C. Brooke to R. T. Davidson, 23 April 1909, *ibid.*, p. 112.

114. H. H. Montgomery to H. C. Izard, 19 December 1907, USPG Archives, CLS 55, p. 121.

115. The official Sarawak Government view was summed up in Baring-Gould and Bampfylde's semi-official history of Sarawak published in 1909:

'That the Church in Borneo has done, and is still doing good, no one will dispute. It has not, however, extended its sphere of influence beyond its original limits, and

within those limits, from Lundu to Kalaka, there is not only room, but the necessity for more missionaries to labour than the Church is at present provided with. Missionary enterprise has not kept pace with the advance of civilisation. The large districts that since 1861 have reverted to the Raj have been totally neglected by the S.P.G., and these districts, both in respect to area and population, constitute by far the greater part of Sarawak. But the Church in Sarawak is entirely dependent upon extraneous support, and when funds appear to be wanting, even to maintain the former efficient state of the Mission, and indications of retrogression are only too evident, there can be little hope of progression. A bishop cannot find missionaries, they must be sent to him, and he must be provided with the means to support them and their missions, and unless he is so far assisted he cannot be blamed for any shortcomings. To succeed, a mission, like other undertakings, must be based upon sound business principles. The isolated efforts of even the best men, men like Gomes, Chambers, Chalmers, and Perham, who have left their personal stamp upon the Mission, can be of little avail without continuity of effort and purpose, and to ensure this a system is necessary, a system of trained missionaries, training others to take their place in due time, and for want of such a system the S.P.G. is now left with but two English missionaries in Sarawak.'

(Baring-Gould and Bampfylde, *op. cit.*, pp. 447-8.)

A New Broom Worn Down: The Mounsey Years, 1909-1916

If ever a man epitomized the proverbial 'new broom', it was Bishop William Robert Mounsey. He swept into Sarawak determined to set his diocese to rights, confident of the approval of the SPG and supported by the newly created Borneo Mission Association (BMA), which was dedicated to developing Church and lay interest in the Mission and its work. Archdeacon R. J. Small, successor to Sharp, noted of him that 'without any loss of time' he 'proceeded to reorganise the whole work of the Diocese'.¹ In the hagiography of the Mission he is represented in the words of Bishop Cornwall (1949-62) as one who achieved much:

He found a staff so small as to be almost invisible; he left it larger than it had ever been in its history before. . . . When in 1917 [*sic*] he was ordered by the doctors to leave the tropics, men looked back amazed to see how much had been achieved through one man in a bare seven years. These were indeed "the seven fat years".²

They were also troubled years. Mounsey was a difficult man to deal with and was temperamentally unsuited to managing his peculiar diocese, particularly the Sarawak part of it. He antagonized the Europeans and crossed swords with the Rajah, whose autocratic ways he could not accept. He caused grave misgivings in London and resentment and near rebellion amongst his staff. By the time he left, he had been worn down by the problems he faced, many of his own making, and by his reaction to them. He lacked the saving grace of a sense of humour, carried too much of his burden within himself, and was heading for a mental breakdown when physical debility, itself partly the consequence of emotional and spiritual stress, caused him to return home. To carry our analogy forward, he was a broom worn and frayed and short of bristle when his episcopate ended.

Mounsey's career appeared to fit him well for his new role. Trained at Lichfield Theological College, he had been ordained deacon in 1890 and priest in 1891. After six years in the Midlands,

he went out as Curate of St James's, Sydney, New South Wales. From 1901 to 1904 he was Organising Secretary of the New Guinea Mission, travelling on its behalf in New Zealand, Australia, and New Guinea. In 1904 he returned to England as Secretary of the New Guinea Mission. He joined the Mission staff of All Hallows, Barking-by-the-Tower, where he maintained his interest in New Guinea and Foreign Mission work while involving himself in the Home Mission. In 1906 the Bishop of London appointed him Honorary Secretary of his Evangelistic Council and he was active in the formation of the City of London Branch of the Church of England Men's Society. With his experience of home and foreign mission work, he appeared an ideal choice.³ However, he had not worked as an actual missionary in the field, and was totally unprepared for what faced him when he reached Sarawak.

Mounsey was consecrated in Lambeth Palace Chapel on 25 March 1909 and left for Sarawak on 22 May. Before his departure he spoke at the first meeting of the BMA held at Sion College on 13 May. He had had little success in his search for missionaries to accompany him and deplored the fact that he was going out single-handed, although he had hopes of others soon following him. He particularly urged the BMA to raise funds. 'It was wicked', he said, 'to send men to the mission field without the proper means of providing for their necessary requirements.'⁴ The BMA published his appeal in the first issue of its quarterly report, the *Chronicle*, calling upon the Brooke legend by imputation if not by name.

The Mission deserves support because of the traditions of its bright beginning, because of the inadequate response to its claim in the past, and because of its glorious possibilities. It is a land governed entirely for the good of the native, a land where law and order are wonderfully maintained, not by might, but by the love and confidence which the white man has planted in the breasts of those yellow races; and the one thing lacking is that the Church of God should set her stamp upon these people.⁵

Thus the Brooke legend could be called upon to serve the Church; and the Church helped to propagate that legend.

Mounsey reached Kuching on 1 July 1909 and was enthroned by Sharp at St Thomas's, now the Pro-Cathedral, three days later. 'He wore cope and mitre, signs of the churchmanship that was to prevail.'⁶ Beforehand, the Letters Patent of the Rajah, investing Mounsey with authority in the territories of Sarawak, were read.

Mounsey had known that his diocese was run down but 'The half was not told me', he informed Davidson.⁷ In a jumbled 'stream of consciousness' letter to the SPG in which he spilled out his first, largely unfavourable, impressions, he expressed his 'absolute bewilderment', and recommended that 'the Church of England had better abandon a Mission like this if she is not going to keep it in an efficient state'.⁸

Mounsey was equally horrified by what he saw in the outstations. It was so harrowing an experience that he became ill and was bedridden for six of the seventeen days of his visitation. He found that the work was in 'an appalling condition'. Five stations were in the charge of native catechists, who received only occasional visits from a priest. As a result of this neglect, discipline broke down and people relapsed, schools were closed, and property went to ruin. Married men, Mounsey argued, could not be sent to such places.⁹ For Sarawak alone, he told Bishop Montgomery, he needed £10,000 and 16 men for the Dayak missions.¹⁰ He suffered a set-back almost immediately when Gregg, the schoolmaster, died suddenly at the beginning of August.¹¹

The Rajah wasted little time in letting the new Bishop know where he stood on certain specific matters. Thus he had written to Sharp, while Mounsey was making his first visitation up-country, in August 1909, complaining of the presence of twelve Sea Dayak girls at the girls' school in Kuching, and recommending strongly that they be sent back to their relations. The Rajah feared for their future after leaving school, 'separated from their relatives in most cases—& without friends—where can they find husbands or work to provide for their future livelihood'. Sharp hoped they would find husbands among their fellow Christians educated at the boys' school, but the Rajah held the gloomy view that they would enter prostitution, although he did not use that word: 'it is very evident in my mind what their future will be—too many of them have gone that way already from having paid visits to Kuching'.¹² The girls apparently remained, for the Rajah was to return to this later, in 1913, but the letter no doubt contributed to Mounsey's feeling that he and the Mission were under the Rajah's eye. As he remarked to Montgomery in November, when pointing out to him that if the Mission did not develop its land the Rajah would make them do so or resume it, 'The Committee does not know what life is like under a Rajah'.¹³

A month later the Rajah, now in England, replied to the

Bishop's request that he be permitted to send a catechist to serve Anglican Foochoos at Sibü. These had been baptized by the CMS in China and had, despite being surrounded by Roman Catholics and Methodists, 'refused to listen to the cajoling of Rome and wont be taken by the blandishments of Geneva', as Mounsey reported to the SPG.¹⁴ As in 1902 when writing to Sharp, the Rajah's long and rambling reply left Mounsey in no doubt that if a catechist were placed in Sibü, the Anglican areas would be opened to the other Missions and that the Rajah doubted if the Anglicans could compete. The Rajah made clear that in his opinion most Anglican missionaries were 'a useless lot'. He mentioned particularly the Mission's failure to maintain Lingga and Lundu, the two areas where the Mission was first established among the Dayaks. He attached no blame to Hose or Mounsey, for nothing could be done without men or money, but his Christmas and New Year wishes must have rung very hollow to Mounsey as he absorbed this abrasive missive.¹⁵

Aware of this unflattering perception of the Mission, Mounsey desperately requested men and funds. The efforts of the SPG, the concern of Archbishop Davidson, and the prayers and entreaties of the BMA produced mixed results. Thus the Revd J. A. Townley arrived on 11 November 1909, developed melancholia because his parents disapproved of his becoming a missionary, and left after a couple of weeks.¹⁶ Other arrivals were of better quality and St Mary's School received its first qualified teacher when Miss Mary McNeill arrived in 1911, while the new headmaster of St Thomas's School in December 1909 was a graduate of the University of Durham.¹⁷ However, a lay missionary couple, Samuel and Agnes Lyon, sent to Merdang to introduce technical education, left in August 1910. Mrs Lyon was a trained nurse, but caring for the sick during an outbreak of bacillary dysentery at Merdang undermined her not very robust health. It transpired that she had heart trouble, was expecting a baby, and had not been medically examined before being sent out by the SPG.¹⁸ Mounsey and Sharp believed that the whole system of selecting missionaries needed to be reviewed.¹⁹

Mounsey's problems were compounded by the departure of Sharp in November 1910. Sharp had agreed to stay for only two years until the new Bishop was settled, but Mounsey had come to depend upon him. If the SPG could not get staff and ensure continuity, Mounsey wrote, it would almost be better to 'abandon Borneo to the Pope',²⁰ and he sought permission to begin

negotiations with the Roman Catholics and the Methodists with a view to 'handing over to them work which we cannot do in the absence of adequate support'.²¹ He was 'going grey with worry',²² anticipating a miserable Christmas: 'how can it be otherwise', he told Pascoe of the SPG, 'with so much left undone: and so many chances fading from me'.²³

The arrival of a boatload of missionaries in November 1910 had not cheered him. The Dexter-Allens and Leggatt he had allowed back reluctantly, having heard adverse reports of them.²⁴ The Dexter-Allens, who had originally come out in 1904, returned to Banting, accompanied by Miss Mavie Bailey, a trained nurse. A Miss Trueman was attached to St Mary's School and the one priest who arrived, the Revd William Edward Weighill, was destined for the Saribas.²⁵ One look was enough. After a brief visit in Howell's company, he left Sabu for Kuching on 15 January 1911 and sailed for England eight days later.²⁶

There was clearly need for Sharp's paper of the same month defining the conditions under which those who wished to join the Mission should be employed.²⁷ It offered no immediate consolation to Mounsey, who suffered a visitation from Bishop Montgomery, who was in Sarawak from 19 to 31 January and visited the mission stations at Sabu and Banting. The visit delayed his application for the Mission's annual grant, which contained a further statement of despair: 'I have done my best, and if the Society is obliged to leave me and the Diocese to Collapse I must be content.'²⁸

When Montgomery reported on his tour to the Society, he said of Mounsey that he had 'worked wonders'. He had tightened discipline so that Sarawak was no longer easy-going but was 'under rule'. However, he also reported that Mounsey was tactless and domineering: '... a good shepherd, but not a beautiful shepherd.' Archbishop Davidson suggested to Mounsey that he should visit England to discuss matters: 'It seems to be clear that as regards some of the administrative details you and those working under you do not see eye to eye.' Mounsey read this letter to such as the staff as were in Kuching and a letter was sent to the Archbishop signed by most of the missionaries in Sarawak and North Borneo, expressing their confidence in Mounsey as Bishop. Meadows, the headmaster of St Thomas's School, continued to be critical of the Bishop's unsympathetic and dictatorial manner, but Sharp felt that there had been no major divisions in the diocese, only irritations which the Archbishop's letter had put into perspective. The Archbishop suggested that Mounsey might therefore

delay his visit home. Mounsey, however, had already made his arrangements and departed from Sarawak on 7 November 1911.²⁹

Mounsey had several meetings with Archbishop Davidson, who gently rebuked him for his unreasonable demands upon the SPG and for his lack of tact when dealing with his staff.³⁰ Davidson's forbearance piqued Montgomery, who was tired of Mounsey's complaints, grievances, and demands,³¹ especially as they were suddenly given weight by the unfortunate case of Mr W. H. Jacques, who had arrived in Sarawak as a lay missionary soon after Mounsey's departure for England. Jacques had been accepted by the Society, but proved to have no missionary vocation whatever. He told the missionary Collis that he had accepted the job when on his beam-ends in England. Placed in charge of the Mission press, he embezzled. Asked to teach, he claimed a conscientious objection to teaching Christian doctrine to heathen boys and applied for the headship of 'a local Chinese heathen school'.³² Mounsey seized the opportunity to repeat his suggestion that all recruits be made to sign an enforceable agreement,³³ and in May submitted his proposed regulations for missionaries.³⁴ He returned to Sarawak in September 1912. Revised regulations issued by the SPG did not meet his requirements. Jacques, by his actions and his comments, had done the Mission much injury,³⁵ and Mounsey felt that so long as the regulations were vague and unjust, the Mission would be criticized by the Europeans in Sarawak.³⁶

Mounsey had not been refreshed or rendered more patient by his sojourn in England, and the situation he found on his return did not hearten him. The Mission in Kuching remained understaffed. Meadows was ill, and the Revd Charles Beamish, who had arrived in February 1911, had been sent to Sandakan, so that Mounsey and Collis had to do their work as well as their own. A Chinese priest was needed to exploit the new interest aroused in the Chinese community by the revolution then taking place in China. Mounsey himself spoke to the Chinese Institute on 'A Christian's thoughts about the Revolution'. Lack of staff meant that there was no continuity in teaching the Chinese or the Dayaks. 'I shall strive as I have ever done', he told Montgomery, 'but if failure overtakes us I will try to imitate the irresponsible aloofness of the majority of the Mission people I met in England.'³⁷ He had been back two weeks! A few days later he complained of fever and rheumatism, felt 'like a piece of chewed string', had too much to do, and felt he should be starting a holiday instead of resuming work.³⁸ It was not a good beginning to his second term.

As the revolution in China continued during 1912, it excited the Chinese overseas. Men like Sharp saw in this a great opportunity for the Christian Church. Chinese Institutes like that in Kuching would become not only 'feeders of the Church, but centres where anti-European prejudice dies, and ideals of progress and reform spring to life'.³⁹ Thus, the Kuching Institute would play an indirect part in the great dream of Christianizing China. Towards the end of 1912, Collis reported on the 'wonderful influence of the young China movement'. Membership of the Institute had trebled, debts had been paid off, the building redecorated, and lectures given and classes started. Heathen members of the committee had even asked for 'lantern lectures on Scriptural subjects'. There were immense opportunities for a Chinese-speaking priest, if one was available.⁴⁰

But where the Church saw an opportunity, the Rajah's Government sensed a threat, and Mounsey, on his return from England, too readily perhaps gave the Rajah a chance to intervene. Some of the members of the Chinese Institute desired to contact a certain 'Moo Mong Tang Society', and Mounsey, anxious to avoid difficulties, wrote to the Rajah seeking information about it. The Rajah consulted his Chinese Court and replied, in June 1913, that the Society in question was based in Penang and was considered dangerous. He warned that if he found that there were any secret dealings with such a society, the punishment imposed would include the abolition of the Institute.⁴¹ When those associated with the Institute wished to launch a Chinese newspaper, the Rajah asked Father Haidegger of the Roman Catholic Mission for his comment and that of the principal Chinese with whom his Mission was acquainted.⁴² As might have been expected, the Rajah found his informants were 'dead against having a paper' and refused permission, telling Mounsey in no uncertain terms that the Institute 'working under the patronage of the S.P.G.' was dangerous, that its members would be placed under police surveillance, and that Kong Kuin En would again be deported.⁴³

On 9 December 1913 an Order of the Rajah abolished Chinese societies having a political bias, but permitted occasional meetings to discuss 'every day concerns, business in trade, or any of the Industrial branches'. It was cumbrously worded and ambiguous, but its intention was plain enough.⁴⁴ The Institute suspended its meetings for the time being, although the Rajah did not follow up his threat to deport Kong Kuin En, who had been ordained deacon in February 1913 and was thus not so easily got rid of.

The Rajah had made his point, however. As he told Mounsey in February 1914, while societies for the welfare of the Chinese were desirable, they needed to be watched. Yet, in the Chinese context, any discussion of modernization and Westernization had political implications. He may have over-reacted with regard to the Institute, but he conveyed his feelings inescapably to Mounsey.⁴⁵

The year 1913 saw Mounsey and the Rajah crossing swords on other issues. In May, the Rajah again raised the question of Dayak girls in the Mission school at Kuching. Sharp had taken no action when the matter was first raised in 1909. This time the Rajah was more outspoken, saying clearly that such girls, unfitted by their education to return to their traditional way of life, would become prostitutes. The inhabitants of the brothels of Singapore and Labuan, he alleged, were mission-educated.⁴⁶ Whether in response to this or to some other provocation, the Bishop evidently wrote to the Rajah on 30 July to comment on the activities of certain unmarried Sarawak Government officers. No doubt he had a responsibility to point out the peditilloes of his errant flock, as had Chambers and Hose before him, but the Rajah, as before, saw no reason to interfere with the private affairs of unmarried European men employed in Sarawak. As he told the Bishop,

One thing I feel very positive about is that they are no worse than the world in general nor a quarter as bad as those of their class who live in the cities of Europe—Notwithstanding numerous Churches and jealous clergymen.

If there could be found any departure from Gentlemanly conduct I should be the first to find fault but I am proud of the men in the service and am sure it would be difficult to find their equals in any other service.⁴⁷

Mounsey could not regard the keeping of a woman as gentlemanly conduct, and wrote again to the Rajah on the subject at the end of January 1914. The Rajah replied that on questions of concubinage and morality, 'or properly speaking perhaps immorality', he 'would rather be excused from giving an opinion and should recommend all those who wish to examine and improve the human race to commence at the West and not at the East. I am afraid of saying too much', he concluded, 'if I write more on this topic.'⁴⁸

Meanwhile, Mounsey was having difficulties with his staff. He did not get on with Meadows, the headmaster of St Thomas's School, who left in December 1913, a year early, after he and Mounsey had not been on speaking terms for some time.⁴⁹ The

Revd T. C. Alexander, who had arrived in December 1912, believed there was fault on both sides and that Mounsey was a difficult man to work for. 'I have seen him in his most difficult moods,' he told Montgomery, 'when I have wondered what he would do next.' Mounsey would have been better if he had done more, but he sat in his room all day, worrying first himself and then other people, and had rows with his staff.⁵⁰ Nothing and nobody pleased him. Having brought Beamish back from Sandakan to replace Meadows, he was within six months dissatisfied with him and requesting a replacement: not a 'muddler like Meadows or a bungler like Beamish'.⁵¹

At Banting a missionary couple, the Dexter-Allens, had been running a medical centre since 1904. Mounsey had opposed their return from leave in 1910 and had little good to say of either of them, apart that Mrs Allen was a good doctor, who did not have as much medical work to do at Banting as she claimed.⁵² When their health broke down in September 1914, he ordered them to leave with evident relief. 'Extraordinary *difficult* folks in that always at cross purposes', he complained.⁵³ Yet their work at Banting had been impressive. The old temporary hospital had been replaced in 1913 with a three-storey building constructed of hardwood and with a tiled ground floor. It had cost £2,000, the money being raised by the BMA, the SPG, and the efforts of John Perham. Two Banting boys had been sent to Singapore to train as dressers.⁵⁴ The Rajah recognized its value, if Mounsey did not, writing to Dexter-Allen in 1913:

The great attention & zeal which you have shown towards the Dyaks during the past years I am quite aware of—and I only hope your successors will in any way be able to act as you have done in Medical treatment. I enclose another \$100. I am afraid the buildings will be only temporarily occupied after you leave. I wish it could be otherwise.⁵⁵

The Rajah's gloomy view of the future was realized. When the Dexter-Allens left, Banting was added to Howell's already heavy load. The schoolmaster at Banting carried on services, but with no resident priest the people fell away. The medical work ceased with the departure of the Dexter-Allens.

In September 1914, Mounsey held a successful Dayak Conference at the Bishop's House in Kuching. It was attended by 28 mission workers, including 22 Dayak catechists and readers. It discussed the usual problems of Christian marriage, education, and the

attitude to be taken towards native customs and religious practices. The Conference agreed that the Church in Sarawak should maintain the position it held as defined by Sir James Brooke: 'A free Church, divested of all temporal authority, but unfettered in matters spiritual.' Even so, Mounsey was happy to report the attendance of the Rajah Muda and the Resident at a garden party on the Bishop's lawn as evidence of their interest 'in us and our work'.⁵⁶

This Conference was followed by one at Banting nine months later, smaller in numbers and scope. Marriage, almsgiving, and the Church's attitude to indigenous custom were again discussed, with the Bishop warning the Dayak participants that 'he would never condone anything done by a Christian, in an un-Christian way, in interference with the liberties of others'. The Conference heard reports, a few hopeful, like that on the Saribas where several chapels had been built, a weekly collection begun, and where Dayak women were active evangelists. More typical were areas like the Krian, from where Howell reported requests for teachers and priests, which could not be supplied. Elsewhere, 'the Christian line had been broken', churches were in ruins, schools abandoned, and the people had lapsed. Even as the Conference sat in session on the Mission Hill at Banting, a Dayak head feast was taking place in one of the longhouses below.⁵⁷

In 1915, the Anglicans tried again to break into the Rejang to serve those of their persuasion who had moved there and had refused to compromise their Anglicanism by worshipping with either the Roman Catholics or the Methodists. In the absence of Mounsey from the state, the Revd R. J. Small, Vicar of Kuching since December 1912, bore the brunt of the Rajah's displeasure. The latter had ordered the Resident of the Rejang district not to allow the SPG Mission in. 'Seeing that the S.P.G. Mission has now abandoned their Dyak Stations along the Coast and their operations have proved a dead failure I don't feel disposed to allow them to extend their area to the Rejang or any other new district in Sarawak.'⁵⁸ When Small protested, he was firmly put in his place.⁵⁹ On the other hand, impressed by the work of the Methodists, the Rajah had already told them he would like them to extend their activities to the Baram.⁶⁰

Easily depressed at the best of times, it is little wonder that Mounsey sat in his room, giving in to worry and despair, or antagonized his staff with his irritation and fault-finding. He was

thus already despondent and under strain when on the evening of 4 February 1915 a lamp he was holding caught fire and exploded. He suffered burns to his right hand and severe shock.⁶¹ The burns and his subsequent illnesses left him in a bad state and in July he was advised to return home.⁶² He left Kuching on 20 July, having installed Small as Archdeacon on 17 July and appointed him his commissary.⁶³ He reached England in September and was prescribed absolute and prolonged rest.⁶⁴ Instead, Mounsey insisted on being informed of everything connected with his diocese. His health did not improve and finally, in June 1916, he resigned, the resignation to take effect from October.⁶⁵ The search for a successor began.

For all his worry, unhappiness, and depression, what had Mounsey in fact achieved? Borneo had not been flooded with men as Montgomery had hoped in 1907, and many of those who had arrived had proved unsuitable or did not last long. From August 1914, the war affected recruitment. In Sarawak itself, Lawrence Currey, a lay missionary who had arrived in early 1914, fretted until his term was up in 1917 and he could leave for the war.⁶⁶ Yet Borneo had been publicized and supported by the BMA and the SPG and there is little doubt that Mounsey's failure to get along with his staff caused some to leave—like Meadows and, in 1915, Collis, who went on leave to Australia and did not come back. His reputation may also have hindered recruitment. As it was, in 1917 the staff of the Mission in Sarawak consisted only of Archdeacon Small and Kong Kuin En, still a deacon, in Kuching; Chung Ah Luk, nearing the end of his life, and Elwell at Quop; and Howell at Undup. With Currey's departure, Ellis, the schoolmaster, was the only male lay missionary. There were four female lay missionaries in Kuching and Mrs Elwell at Quop. Eleven people was not an impressive number after so much worry, so many appeals. The one major gain was in quality, for the lay people were better qualified and steadier than many in the past. Currey, for example, had reorganized the Diocesan Office on efficient lines and had supervised the construction of a mission boat. St Mary's School was firmly established on proper educational lines and St Thomas's was acquiring financial support from grateful old boys. The non-European staff of the Mission were better advised and better organized. There were 35 Asian workers in Sarawak, comprising 19 catechists, 8 teachers, 6 readers, a clerk in the Diocesan Registry, and a caretaker at the hospital at Banting.⁶⁷ The Dayak Conferences had involved them more fully

in the life of the Church and improved their status, while the Chinese catechists were acknowledged figures in their community.

Much of the improvement noticeable by 1916 was due to Sharp, who had set the Church in Sarawak on a new course while he was in the country and watched over it once he returned to England. Sharp was the man to whom people turned when they needed information and advice about Sarawak, and in this new role Sharp exhibited a wisdom, restraint, and degree of level-headedness which counteracted the excessive despondency and pessimism of Bishop Mounsey. That the Mission was better organized and its workers selected with greater care owed much to Sharp, who in this matter saw eye to eye with Mounsey and as an active figure in the BMA kept the claims of Borneo before the Anglican public.

The outbreak of war caused funds and men to dry up and distracted people in England from the missionary effort in Borneo. It is remarkable how little the war impinged upon Mounsey's consciousness, wrapped up as he was in his own troubles and concerns. When he resigned, its end was not in sight, but peace would offer new opportunities for a new Bishop to grasp. It was clear in 1916 that Mounsey's successor would need to have steadier and more sociable qualities, along with the administrative skills and spiritual leadership expected of a bishop, if he were to improve relations between Church and State in Sarawak. Well into his eighties, the Rajah was a difficult man to deal with. He was determined, as he had ever been, that the succession to the Sarawak Bishopric would take place only with his full participation. Beyond him stood his own successor, the Rajah Muda, Vyner Brooke, an unknown quantity despite the experience he had already had in governing the State in his father's absence. Far-reaching change was in the offing, but, in 1916, the old Rajah still ruled with a firm hand and unfailing memory. Mounsey's legacy of dissension was to complicate matters before a new Bishop could be installed.

1. Archdeacon R. J. Small in the Diocesan Register, Kuching. Quoted in Brian Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, p. 157.

2. Quoted in Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, p. 157.

3. *Chronicle*, Vol. 1, No. 1, June 1909, p. 1.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

5. *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, No. 1, January 1911, p. 1.

6. Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, p. 161.

7. *Loc. cit.*

8. W. R. Mounsey to H. H. Montgomery, 11 July 1909, USPG Archives, CLR 75, p. 49.
9. W. R. Mounsey to H. H. Montgomery, 30 August 1909, *ibid.*, p. 49D.
10. A. F. Sharp to H. H. Montgomery, 8 August 1909, *ibid.*, p. 49B.
11. A. F. Sharp, *The Wings of the Morning*, p. 212.
12. C. Brooke to A. F. Sharp, 5 August 1909, SM/RL/6, p. 141.
13. W. R. Mounsey to H. H. Montgomery, 15 November 1909, USPG Archives, CLR 75, p. 66A.
14. W. R. Mounsey to Secretary, SPG, 23 May 1910, *ibid.*, p. 97A.
15. C. Brooke to [W. R. Mounsey], 20 December 1909, SM/RL/6, pp. 167-70.
16. W. R. Mounsey to H. H. Montgomery, 26 November 1909, USPG Archives, CLR 75, p. 69. The Principal Medical Officer had said that Townley 'will go off his head if he stays here': W. R. Mounsey to H. H. Montgomery, 30 November 1909, *ibid.*, p. 71a.
17. W. R. Mounsey to H. H. Montgomery, 25 January 1910, USPG Archives, CLR 75, p. 78.
18. Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, p. 164. For the epidemic and its effects see Sharp, *op. cit.*, pp. 200-3. Sharp calls the Lyons 'Mr & Mrs A'. See also A. F. Sharp to Secretary, SPG, 8 August 1910, USPG Archives, CLR 75, p. 108.
19. W. R. Mounsey to Secretary, SPG, 18 August 1910, USPG Archives, CLR 75, p. 110.
20. W. R. Mounsey to Secretary, SPG, 20 September 1910, *ibid.*, p. 118.
21. W. R. Mounsey to Secretary, SPG, 5 October [really November] 1910, *ibid.*, p. 124.
22. W. R. Mounsey to C. F. Pascoe, 4 November 1910, *ibid.*, p. 124.
23. W. R. Mounsey to C. F. Pascoe, 19 December 1910, *ibid.*, p. 130.
24. Montgomery had urged Mounsey's acceptance of the Dexter-Allens if the doctor passed them as fit, and expressed some impatience at Mounsey's refusal to give a definite 'yes' or 'no' to their return: H. H. Montgomery to W. R. Mounsey, 5 April 1910 and 28 April 1910, USPG Archives, CLS 56, pp. 10 and 14.
25. W. R. Mounsey to Secretary, SPG, 14 November 1910, USPG Archives, CLR 75, between pp. 124 and 125. See also Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, p. 163.
26. Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, p. 166.
27. A. F. Sharp to C. F. Pascoe, 11 January 1911, USPG Archives, CLR 75, p. 135.
28. *Sarawak Gazette*, 16 January 1911. In welcoming Montgomery's visit, the *Gazette* hoped he would be made aware of the needs of the Mission.
29. Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, pp. 170-3.
30. *Loc. cit.*
31. H. H. Montgomery, 'The Bishop of Labuan and Sarawak: etc.', 17 June 1912, USPG Archives, CLS 56, p. 191.
32. Extract from the Report of C. J. Collis, 31 March 1912, USPG Archives, CLR 75, p. 195d. See also C. J. Collis to Secretary, SPG, 10 November 1911, announcing Jacques' arrival as one 'duly accepted' by the SPG: *ibid.*, p. 181c.
33. W. R. Mounsey to Secretary, SPG, 18 March 1912, and to H. H. Montgomery, 3 April 1912, *ibid.*, pp. 195c and 199a. In the latter letter, as well as referring to Townley, he asks about Weighill's debt.

34. W. R. Mounsey to H. H. Montgomery, 7 May 1912, USPG Archives, CLR 76, pp. 1 and 1a.
35. W. R. Mounsey to Secretary, SPG, 16 September 1912, *ibid.*, p. 17. Jacques was to rise in the Rajah's service to become Director of Education.
36. W. R. Mounsey to C. F. Pascoe, 15 December 1912, *ibid.*, p. 35.
37. W. R. Mounsey to Secretary, SPG, 25 September 1912, *ibid.*, pp. 19-21.
38. W. R. Mounsey to H. H. Montgomery, 30 September 1912, *ibid.*, p. 22.
39. *Chronicle*, Vol. 3, No. 2, May 1912, pp. 9-10.
40. *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, No. 4, November 1912, p. 39.
41. C. Brooke to W. R. Mounsey, 30 June 1913, SM/RL/8, pp. 23-4.
42. C. Brooke to Fr. Haidegggar, 21 September 1913, *ibid.*, pp. 39-40. The spelling of 'Haidegggar' has been standardized following John Rooney, *Khabar Gembira*.
43. C. Brooke to W. R. Mounsey, 2 October 1913, SM/RL/8 pp. 49-51.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 60C.
45. C. Brooke to W. R. Mounsey, 15 February 1914, *ibid.*, p. 43.
46. C. Brooke to W. R. Mounsey, 8 May 1913, *ibid.*, pp. 6-8.
47. C. Brooke to W. R. Mounsey, 1 October 1913, *ibid.*, p. 43.
48. C. Brooke to W. R. Mounsey, 15 February 1914, *ibid.*, p. 80. When a Brooke officer did act contrary to the Rajah's standards, he was summarily dealt with. Thus Harry Day was removed as Resident of the First Division after being involved in a 'disreputable scandal' and was sent to an outstation for 'the good name of the service': C. Brooke to Harry Day, 5 May 1910, SM/RL/6, p. 191.
49. T. C. Alexander to H. H. Montgomery, n.d. [1913], USPG Archives, CLR 76, p. 65.
50. T. C. Alexander to H. H. Montgomery, n.d. [1913], *ibid.*, p. 65.
51. W. R. Mounsey to H. H. Montgomery, 7 June 1914, *ibid.*, p. 95a.
52. W. R. Mounsey to H. H. Montgomery, 27 June 1914, *ibid.*, p. 102.
53. W. R. Mounsey to H. H. Montgomery, 28 September 1914, *ibid.*, p. 109.
54. Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, p. 183. See the *Chronicle*, Vol. 5, No. 6, 30 May 1914, pp. 29-30, for a description of the hospital and the subscription list. Total expenditure was \$2,203.33, receipts were \$2,088.51. The balance of \$114.82 was made up by Dexter-Allen.
55. C. Brooke to G. Dexter-Allen, 27 May 1913, SM/RL/8, p. 14.
56. Report of Dayak Conference held on 17 September 1914, USPG Archives, CLR 76, p. 124; *Chronicle*, Vol. 6, No. 2, June 1915, pp. 21-8; *Sarawak Gazette*, 10 October 1914.
57. The head had been taken by a young man serving with the Rajah's levies during recent troubles in the Rejang. He presented it as a trophy to his father, who at one time, said Mounsey, had had a reputation as a good Christian: *Chronicle*, Vol. 6, No. 3, November 1915, pp. 54-7.
58. C. Brooke to R. J. Small, 17 September 1914, SM/RL/8, p. 219.
59. 'By your reply of yesterday's date, as you appear to know more about the affairs of the country than I do, I don't think there is much to be gained by keeping up a correspondence, but I will pass the following remarks for your information that since the entry of the Roman Catholic Mission I have always endeavoured and generally made it known that the S.P.G. operations are to be among the Dyaks of the Batang Lupar, Saribas and Kalaka, and the Rejang district would be reserved for the R.C. Mission—and later on the American. During

Bishop Hose's time I believe this rule held good and was not disregarded. The object of keeping the work separate was to prevent the clashing & jumble of two religions in the same area among the Dyaks. Now of late by hook or by crook the small end of the wedge is being introduced by the S.P.G. into the Rejang district. Only about 2 months ago while at Sibu I was told the Bishop had sent messages to some Chinese in the bazaar asking to divide or share some gardens of theirs.'

(C. Brooke to R. J. Small, 18 September 1915, *ibid.*, pp. 219-20.) The Bishop was seeking land from the Anglican Chinese on which to erect a chapel.

60. C. Brooke to W. H. Oldham, 4 February 1913, SM/RL/6, p. 392. Oldham was a Bishop of the American Methodist Mission. The Rajah informed him that he was arranging for the Government to pay £5,000 towards buildings etc., for the Mission's activities, thanked him for his labours in making the Rejang a prosperous country and said that the Government owed him a debt of gratitude it would not forget.

61. L. E. Currey to H. H. Montgomery, 7 February 1915, USPG Archives, CLR 76, p. 157a.

62. W. R. Mounsey to H. H. Montgomery, 11 July 1915, *ibid.*, inserted between pp. 227 and 228.

63. Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, p. 190.

64. E. F. Drake-Brockman to C. F. Pascoe, 3 September 1915, USPG Archives, CLR 76, p. 229B.

65. Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, p. 190.

66. L. E. Currey to H. H. Montgomery, 26 September 1915, USPG Archives, CLR 76, p. 233a.

67. *Chronicle*, Special Number 1917, pp. 1-2.

Consolidation and Co-operation, 1916-1941

MOUNSEY'S resignation in 1916 caused the usual factionalism over his successor. The Rajah, believing that he had adequately sounded out the European community in Sarawak, urged the Archbishop of Canterbury to nominate Beamish as soon as possible, although he recognized that the ultimate decision lay with the Archbishop.¹ Beamish was a candidate favoured by the Elwells and Chung Ah Luk at Quop, Turner at Banting, and Misses McNeill, Andrews, and Olver in Kuching on the grounds of his long experience in Borneo,² knowledge of Malay, and general humanity. They petitioned Bishop Montgomery in Beamish's support,³ although Beamish, who was currently on furlough, was probably unaware of their backing and certainly did not prompt it.⁴ Mounsey, as retiring Bishop, Small, Currey, and Miss Tildesley were not impressed by Beamish's popularity with the European community in Kuching, whom they regarded as 'open and notorious evil livers' in many cases and inclined to support the anticipated views of the Rajah.⁵ Mounsey was also perturbed by the Rajah's allusion to past precedent in claiming that previous bishops had been selected by the Rajah.⁶ Sharp thought it might be sufficient to repudiate the Rajah's alleged claim to determine the nomination but accept Beamish as a good candidate in practice.⁷ Bishop Montgomery felt the Rajah's claim could not be countenanced, but shared Sharp's belief that the issue would not become acute because Vyner Brooke would not show the same interest when he became Rajah.⁸

The Rajah did not wait for the niceties to be completed before announcing in the *Sarawak Gazette* his choice of Beamish for the Bishopric of Sarawak. This was reported in the *Singapore Straits Times* on 13 October 1916, provoking a letter from 'A Sarawak Churchman', who could only have been Small. Small denied the Rajah's right to make any such statement, claiming that it gave the impression that the Church in Sarawak was only a sort of state department and that the SPG connived in 'one of the greatest

curse of the Christian Church—Erastianism'.⁹ Eager to make his point, Small had omitted to quote the concluding words of the Rajah's statement, which had made the selection of Beamish 'subject to the approval of the Archbishop of Canterbury'. As the Revd C. Elwell of Quop pointed out, this omission detracted somewhat from his argument.¹⁰

Controversy could not help Beamish's candidature, and he effectively killed his chances when he was responsible for an announcement in the *Church Times* in November that he would be the new bishop, thus pre-empting the decision of the Archbishop of Canterbury.¹¹ Archbishop Davidson informed Rajah Charles that no immediate decision would be taken. Ill, weak, and preparing to return to England, the Rajah assented to the delay.¹² Small continued his campaign against Beamish, threatening to resign if he was appointed.¹³ More to the point, Small argued that the Rajah Muda would not favour Beamish.¹⁴

There was a surge of support for Sharp as a candidate, particularly from missionaries in North Borneo and from Asian Christians. Approached by Davidson, Sharp declined for health and family reasons, doubting moreover whether the Rajah would approve.¹⁵ Davidson still had before him the name of Ernest Denny Logie Danson, recommended by the Bishop of Singapore. Danson had worked in the Diocese of Singapore since 1911 and had served in Java and Negri Sembilan as well as in Singapore itself. When the appointment was offered, he was Chaplain of St Mark's, Seremban. To be Bishop of Labuan and Sarawak was a considerable advancement and he telegraphed his acceptance on 21 April 1917. Davidson informed Mr H. F. Deshon, the Rajah's adviser in England, recommending Danson as 'a gentleman, a man of culture, and a bachelor, already acclimatized to the East, and full of zeal for Missionary work'.¹⁶

Deshon had no personal authority to act and had to refer the matter to the Sarawak State Advisory Council, which, knowing the Rajah's intense personal interest in the question, wished to wait until the Rajah's condition improved or until the Rajah Muda, who was in Sarawak, could be consulted. When Davidson insisted that an immediate decision was required, the Council conceded that 'it would not be right to postpone the appointment of a Bishop any longer', and cabled the Rajah Muda to that effect. Before the Rajah Muda's reply was received, the old Rajah died, on 17 May 1917.¹⁷

It was a time for new starts. The Rajah Muda was proclaimed

Rajah on 24 May. Before returning to England for his consecration, Danson visited Sarawak in early June and impressed the new Rajah with his 'manliness and straightforwardness'. Moreover, the SPG had pleased the Rajah with the Resolution which it had passed expressing its appreciation of Rajah Charles, later published in the *Sarawak Gazette*. Rajah Vyner declared that he would do his best to further the interests of the Church in Sarawak and that under Bishop Danson 'a vigorous forward policy ought to be adopted'.¹⁸ For his part, Danson promised Montgomery that he would do his utmost to preserve friendly relations, for the good of the Church in Borneo. Unfortunately, this good feeling was soured momentarily by Hollis's refusal in Kuching to take into the Church the body of an employee of the Rajah who had committed suicide, although he said prayers at the graveside. Danson backed Hollis in 'his courageous stand' knowing that it would not please some of the government officers, but he thought that the new Rajah, who had common sense, would see the point.¹⁹ Danson's confidence was justified, and his episcopate was marked by good relations between the Church and the Rajah and his Government.

When Danson was returning to England for his consecration, his ship was torpedoed. On board the ship which rescued him, he met an Australian Red Cross Worker, Miss Ida Irene Hervey, to whom he became engaged. He arrived in England at the end of July and was consecrated in Lambeth Palace Chapel on 21 September, Mounsey and Hose taking part. He sailed again on 10 January 1918 and married Miss Hervey in Cairo. The couple reached Kuching on 29 April, some two years and nine months after Mounsey's departure.²⁰ Danson was enthroned at St Thomas's on 19 May after the Archbishop's Mandate and the Rajah's Letters Patent had been read. The Archbishop's Mandate was a suggestion of Mounsey, for it defined the area of the new Bishop's jurisdiction.²¹ One of Danson's first acts was to ordain Kong Kuin En as a priest on 26 May.²² As Rajah Muda, Vyner Brooke had not been as opposed as his father to Kong Kuin En. It was fitting that his ordination should occur at the beginning of the new reign.

Doubts as to Sarawak's viability after the death of Rajah Charles were unfounded. The succession took place smoothly, and the new Rajah was formally installed on 22 July 1918. However, Rajah Charles had had a higher opinion of his second son, Bertram, than he had had of Vyner, and in his will had written that no material developments or changes in the State or its

government 'shall be initiated by my Son Vyner without first consulting my Son Bertram'.²³ The old Rajah attempted to set up a kind of dual government, directing that Bertram, now known as the Tuan Muda, should carry out the duties of Rajah when Vyner was not in the country and preside over the Sarawak State Advisory Council in England when Vyner was in Sarawak, where he was to spend at least eight months of the year. Fortunately, the brothers were easygoing and able to work together. Vyner did not allow the situation to irritate him and Bertram did not assert himself over his brother. That they were rarely together helped matters. Generally, Vyner spent the summer months in England, when Bertram was in Sarawak.

Although there was a change of style, Brooke policy remained, in essence, the same. Partly because he was easygoing, the new Rajah was not inclined to make radical changes and continuity was maintained. The administrative, judicial, and other changes that occurred were in response to the growing complexity of twentieth-century society, the increasing demands upon the Rajah's Government, and to pressure from the British Government which felt that Sarawak lagged behind its colonial territories and was increasingly an anachronism. Although Sarawak remained an autocracy until 1941, Vyner was prepared to delegate more authority to his senior officers, and government regulations were standardized and procedures laid down so that government became more bureaucratic. The Rajah was a shy man, diffident in public and ill at ease on formal occasions. He showed at his best in personal visits and encounters when he was, in the words of one missionary, 'every inch the Rajah', wearing his authority lightly and displaying a personal interest in what was being done.²⁴ On the whole, he was prepared to let matters take their course. Improvements in communications strengthened government from Kuching, but outstation officers still exercised considerable power and initiative.

With regard to the Missions, Vyner retained the policies and practices of his father. Thus, when the Seventh-day Adventists attempted to enter Sarawak, they were at first discouraged and then geographically restricted to opening a school on the outskirts of Kuching and a mission station near Serian. When the Australian-based Borneo Evangelical Mission sought to enter Sarawak in 1928, the Rajah allocated to them the Limbang district, which Sarawak had acquired in 1890 and in which no Mission operated. The Rajah resisted their efforts to extend their work, wishing

them to concentrate on the immigrant Sea Dayaks in the Limbang, but in 1937 he visited the Mission for the first time and was impressed enough to allow them to work among the Muruts of the Trusan and Lawas districts, which were now reserved to them. When the BEM wished to extend into the Baram, he told them that the Lower Baram was reserved for the Roman Catholics. Eventually, they were permitted to enter the Upper Baram to work among the Kelabits.²⁵ The Government thus continued to control the Missions, but with some flexibility in that the Anglicans, for example, were able to conduct services for those of their persuasion who had moved to the Rejang. They were not permitted to establish a mission station, but priests could make occasional visits. There was no relaxation of the ban on mission work among the Malays, although Bishop Montgomery had speculated in 1918 that the new Rajah might be 'more liberal towards our work in this respect than his father'.²⁶

Within the limits of established policy, Rajah Vyner was reassuringly friendly to the Anglican Mission. Relations between Church and State in Sarawak itself returned to something like that which had prevailed from the 1870s into the 1890s, before Rajah Charles had become cantankerous and Bishop Hose aged and overburdened. Visits by the Rajah, the Rancee, and the Tuan Muda to the Mission schools, the distribution of prizes, and general Church activities were regularly reported in the *Sarawak Gazette*.²⁷ There was even correspondence in 1919 between one 'Senex' and the Bishop about the new hymnal.²⁸ In return for the Rajah's patronage, the Church was prepared to remind its members that the duty of a good Christian was to be a good citizen.²⁹ There is evident in the *Gazette* a renewed respect for the Church and its missionaries; perhaps, too, an acceptance of their limitations and a truer appreciation of their problems. No one was expecting the Church in Sarawak to perform miracles.

The Government's main interest in the Anglican Mission continued to be in education. In 1924 an Education Department was established, part of that general bureaucratization of the administration already mentioned. Its function was to co-ordinate the Government's involvement in education. The main change in policy had in fact occurred in 1919, when the Government Lay School became exclusively Malay, thus abandoning Rajah Charles's dream of a government secular school providing an education for boys of all races. The Government thus accepted a particular responsibility for Malay education, in keeping with the generally

pro-Malay bias of Vyner's administration. Dayak education was left entirely in Mission hands, with continued doubts about its relevance. The Chinese had been establishing their own schools in greater numbers, but Chinese also attended the Mission schools in the towns. The Government had long been contributing financially towards the establishment and maintenance of Mission schools. This financial assistance became more systematic from 1924. In particular, capitation grants made it possible for Mission schools to improve and expand their buildings.³⁰ Danson applauded the Government's new educational policy.³¹ New buildings were erected at St Thomas's School, the Government capitation grant matching the funds raised from affluent Chinese.³²

Danson had recognized from the outset that the work in Kuching was 'the best thing we have in Sarawak'. He had found on his first visits to the outstations that, except for Elwell at Quop and Howell at Sabu, there were untrained catechists in charge of uninformed congregations,³³ and in August 1918 he lost the Elwells who were ordered home after repeated bouts of malaria.³⁴ The end of the First World War brought no immediate relief and increased financial hardship, but Bishop King, who had replaced Montgomery as Secretary of the SPG in 1913, could offer no additional assistance: indeed, wanted retrenchment.³⁵ The Government assisted, allowing \$250 a month for both the Mission's Kuching schools to meet part of the extra cost of rice,³⁶ but also allowed the Kuching Municipal Assessment Committee to assess the Mission's houses at \$525.35, which Danson thought 'both ungracious and unfair'.³⁷ When approached, the Rajah did not think it unreasonable that the Mission should contribute to the upkeep of the town in which it enjoyed many privileges.³⁸ Danson began to consider using the Mission land to raise revenue.³⁹ At least, in April 1922, the Government provided a capitation grant to enable the employment of another European teacher at St Thomas's School.

Staffing remained a problem with too many missionaries leaving because of illness, causing Danson to question the SPG's medical examination.⁴⁰ There were two possible solutions, given that the recruitment of missionaries on the normal basis would not increase markedly and that money would not become more readily available. One was to take a leaf from the Roman Catholic book and establish an order or brotherhood dedicated to service in Sarawak, bound by vows and free of the trammels of family and worldly goods. The other was to encourage the development of an Asian clergy, able to live amongst the local Christians without

home leave and with lower living standards and salaries. Both were tried, the latter being more successful and, in the long run, the more necessary.

In 1919 the Revd Wilfred Linton arrived in Sarawak and this made it possible to ease Howell's burden and divide the work among the Sea Dayaks. Howell remained responsible for the Batang Lupar, Undup, and Skrang, while Linton was moved to Betong in 1920 to take charge of the Saribas and Krian.

The development of Betong as a centre for the Mission's work among the Sea Dayaks was one of the most important developments of Danson's episcopate. Betong was chosen largely because the Government favoured it. It was to be the centre of government for the Saribas and the Government approved the Mission's plans for an Industrial School and promised 'a fine piece of land'. The Saribas Dayaks had shown a willingness to contribute to the Church and were regarded by Danson, as by the Government, as the most progressive of the Dayaks. Linton was to be the priest in charge, to be assisted eventually by Currey, returned from his war service, and by other staff, including a dresser. Danson believed that the Rajah would support the scheme financially.⁴¹

Although the plan for an Industrial School was eventually given up, progress at Betong was encouraging. The Saribas people welcomed Linton and raised £100 towards the cost of Mission buildings. By May 1921, when Danson blessed the buildings and dedicated the Mission to St Augustine, there was already a school with twenty boarders and seven day boys. A girls' school opened the following year with five pupils under Dorothy Nadeh, who had been educated at St Mary's School and was licensed as an evangelist in May 1922.⁴² The gradual entry of women into the Church and their acquisition of education was an important development, for only when the women accepted Christianity would it be possible to establish firmly Christian families and place the Church in the Iban districts on a sound footing.⁴³ Linton began training some men for the priesthood in what he called the College of the Holy Spirit.

The establishment of the Mission at Betong illustrates once again the close co-operation that occurred between the Government and the Church when their interests coincided. It also marked a long overdue change in the Mission's policy, for in Dayak areas it had tended to place its stations away from the government offices and the bazaars. This had not proved satisfactory because after a period of time the people, who were

shifting cultivators of hill rice, moved on. By establishing the new mission station at the Government centre of Betong, the Mission could hope for greater continuity. There were still inevitable problems with staffing. Linton was on leave from February to December 1923, leaving the catechists Angking and Lewat in charge, with occasional visits from Danson and Hollis. On his return, Linton fell ill with enteric fever and was away again for several months. The Revd William George Illingworth, who joined him at Betong in October 1924, was forced to resign because of ill health in February 1926.⁴⁴ By then, however, the training of priests was bearing fruit, the Bishop ordaining Senang and Thomas Buda in September 1926.⁴⁵ Betong's success confirmed Danson in his new policy. In 1926 the Krian Mission was moved from Temudok to a new site given by the Government about half a mile from Saratok bazaar.⁴⁶ In 1930, two years after Howell's retirement, his replacement, the Revd Arthur William Stonton, moved the headquarters of the Skrang Mission from Sabu to the Government centre and bazaar at Simanggang. The official opening of the new headquarters took place on 21 January 1931.⁴⁷

This process of concentrating the Mission's work in the Government centres had several advantages. It ended the isolation of the Mission staff, gave them access to a larger resident population, and provided them with the amenities which the small towns of Sarawak were beginning to acquire. Importantly, it brought European missionaries into social contact with European government officers, making easier their co-operation on matters of mutual interest. The improvement in communications, primitive as they still were, made visits to outlying longhouses easier than in the past; while life in the longhouses was eased by improvements slowly seeping in with increased cash from crops like rubber, and from small improvements in standards of hygiene and health that education encouraged. One gains the impression from the pages of the *Chronicle*, for example, that the living was not as rough for missionaries in the outstations by the 1920s as it once had been. There was also for any new missionary the comfort of some seventy years of shared experience to fall back on—new arrivals were at least going to something known, where white men had been and worked before.

Improved communications and the training of a native clergy also had their effects elsewhere. At Lundu, still without a resident priest, Hope Hugh obtained a licence to preach after training at Betong and held the congregation together between the three

visits made each year by priests from Kuching.⁴⁸ At Tai-i, among the Bukar Land Dayaks, Thomas Buda began to produce results. Ordained deacon in Kuching in January 1924 and priest at Betong on 21 September 1926, Buda had by the latter date a congregation of about sixty converts and a school of fifteen boys.⁴⁹ By 1930 there were 160 Christians at Tai-i and construction of the main road from Kuching to Simanggang was reducing the village's isolation.⁵⁰ Nearer Kuching, the opening of a railway to the tenth mile from Kuching, in 1910, had made Quop and neighbouring Land Dayak villages more accessible, and the new road, extending beyond the tenth mile, improved accessibility further. Improved communications and the consequent greater ease of travel caused the Anglican community at Sibü to grow. Rajah Charles's strictures against Anglican encroachment were quietly forgotten and by 1930 Sibü was receiving quarterly visits and there were hopes of building a chapel.⁵¹ By 1930 the Church was still short of funds and men, but the local effort had been greatly augmented and the training of a native ministry on a systematic basis was bearing fruit. No doubt conditions had changed since Mounsey's time, but Danson's patient building upon the foundations that already existed, his willingness to liaise with the Government and to concentrate the missionary effort upon the Government centres, and his realistic appraisal of what was indeed possible with the resources available placed the Dayak missions on a securer basis than they had ever been.

Danson's realistic appreciation of the situation in Sarawak caused him to side with the Government against the SPG Committee in London in the case of the Kuching opium divan.* While Danson was in England in 1927, the Sarawak Government approached Archdeacon Champion with a proposal to lease land from the Mission in order to establish an opium divan as the first stage of a plan to eradicate the habit of opium smoking in twenty to twenty-five years. All smokers of opium were to be registered and supplies of the drug would be restricted to their use. The land required, adjacent to the bazaar, would be fenced off and have a separate entrance. The Government would purchase a catechist's house, which overlapped the land, at a price sufficient for the Mission to build a new one, and a wall 6 feet in height would be built between the Mission land and the divan. Champion urged acceptance, advising Danson that the scheme accorded with the

*A place for smoking opium, less pejorative than 'den'.

views of the League of Nations regarding eradication of the opium habit.⁵²

To the members of the Committee of the SPG, however, the idea that they should lease land to the Sarawak Government so that it might build an opium divan was too much to stomach. Like many high-minded people faced with a difficult decision regarding the apparent toleration of vice, they dithered, to the impatience of the Sarawak Government which in mid-July pressed for a decision.⁵³ Danson attempted to put the matter into perspective, writing to Murray of the SPG Standing Committee to suggest that he discuss the matter with the Sarawak State Advisory Council in London.⁵⁴

The SPG took its time. At the end of September, E. J. Dukes, Secretary of the Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, while admitting the awkward aspect of surrendering an ecclesiastical site for opium smoking, pointed out that the opium divan would eliminate other opium dens, allow for greater government control and mark the habit as disreputable, all leading in time to its outright suppression.⁵⁵ E. H. Hose, a member of the Far East Standing Committee of the SPG with a knowledge of the problem, hoped that the Society would associate itself with the Government's action 'instead of standing aside as from an accursed thing with which it is better to have nothing to do'.⁵⁶ Champion wrote again from Kuching in November wishing that more credit might be given to those who knew the true conditions—the missionaries, the Bishop, Hose, whom he declared to be 'a sterling, level-headed proved Christian', and the Tuan Muda, Bertram Brooke, who was then in Sarawak.⁵⁷ The Government tired of waiting, as those who opposed the scheme surely hoped it would, and established the opium divan in the old cinema hall in Kuching. The SPG, wrote Champion bitterly to Danson, would have the satisfaction of having it 'not on Mission grounds but as near as can possibly be. . . . And the puritanically minded can salve their tender consciences with the thought they have lost us at least \$12,000, not to mention all the other advantages of the scheme.'⁵⁸

The SPG, however, 'felt much relieved' when it heard of the Government's decision.⁵⁹ Contrary to Danson's view that association with the divan would have added to the prestige of the Church, the SPG's Standing and Far East Committees had expressed 'grave repugnance' to a scheme which was open to 'grave misunderstanding and would lose support and money at

home'. They had not wished to antagonize the Sarawak Government, however, and breathed a collective sigh of relief when the Tuan Muda had proved, in their view, so accommodating and understanding.⁶⁰ The affair, however, highlighted the differences that could arise between the missionaries in Sarawak and the SPG at home. The missionaries, familiar with the social consequences of opium addiction, approved of what they clearly saw as a realistic and common sense approach to the problem of its eradication. In this they were in full accord with the Government.

In May 1930 Danson left Borneo to attend the Lambeth Conference. While in England, he accepted the offer of a canonry of Carlisle. Between May and August 1931 he visited Borneo for the last time, his resignation taking effect on 30 September. His successor was the Revd Noel Baring Hudson, who accepted the See in August 1931, thus sparing the diocese a long interregnum. Hudson was another excellent choice. Born in 1893, he had been educated at St Edward's School, Oxford, and Christ's College, Cambridge, taking his BA in 1915 and his MA in 1919. During the First World War he had commanded the 8th Battalion Royal Berkshire Regiment and was awarded the DSO and Bar and the MC and Bar. He was a sportsman, having played rugby for Headingley and Yorkshire and captained the Harlequins in 1920. He had joined the Church after the war, being ordained deacon in 1920 and priest in 1921. From 1920 to 1926 he had served in the parish of Christ Church in Leeds as curate and then as vicar, and since then had been vicar of St John's, Newcastle.⁶¹ Although he had no missionary background, he was clearly the sort of 'manly Christian' which the European community in Sarawak preferred. The Rajah accepted him without demur, probably as much evidence of indifference as of enthusiasm, but the *Sarawak Gazette* greeted the appointment warmly, headlining his war record,⁶² and listing those attributes which recommended him to Sarawak: that he was a gentleman and a soldier to the laity and an 'English Catholic' to the clergy to whom this was the Sarawak tradition.⁶³ Consecrated by Archbishop Lang on 28 October 1931, with Danson and Mounsey participating in the laying on of hands, Hudson sailed for Borneo in January 1932.

The *Gazette* also devoted almost an entire page to an appreciation of Bishop Danson, who had been popular with Europeans and Asians, agreeing with him that the creation of an Asian ministry was 'his best testimonial'. During his episcopate he had ordained twelve priests within the diocese: seven Chinese, four

Dayak, and one Indian.⁶⁴ In Kuching, St Thomas's School had doubled in size since 1917 and St Mary's had grown from 100 to 300 pupils. The well-established Chinese community was becoming increasingly generous in its support for the Mission. A new church had been built at Miri to serve the population attracted to the oil field. In the Dayak areas, the Land Dayak centres of Quop and Tai-i were under Dayak priests. There had been a revival in the long-established Sea Dayak centres of Lundu, Merdang, and Banting, while at Betong a new centre of activity was developing.⁶⁵ Danson left to his successor a far more thriving mission than he had inherited from Mounsey.

This had been achieved with no increase in European missionaries and lay workers. In particular, the development of Betong had been delayed because of the difficulty of recruiting European priests. Linton had been sent there originally in the hope that a community would be established and in 1928 he announced that two recruits, Maurice W. Bradshaw and Jack Sparrow, were prepared to join him. However, by the time they were ready to depart from England—Bradshaw in January 1931 and Sparrow a year later—the Depression had caused the SPG to reduce its block grant. The BMA responded, the *Chronicle* arguing for the scheme in terms Spenser St John would have applauded, stressing the advantages of communal living compared to the life of the solitary priest.⁶⁶ The money was found and Bradshaw arrived in Kuching at the beginning of 1931. He was detained in Kuching in order to stand in for Archdeacon Champion who was going on leave, but when the Revd G. T. Shetliffe arrived from England as *locum tenens*, Bradshaw joined Linton at Betong on 15 April 1931. Sparrow accompanied Bishop Hudson out from England, arriving with him in Kuching on 8 February 1932. After Hudson was enthroned, he and Sparrow proceeded to Betong.⁶⁷

Linton and Bradshaw had built a chapel dedicated to the Holy Cross, but the Community of that name was never formally established. The three priests lived a communal life only briefly, for Linton left for England on leave in April 1932. Although Linton, while on leave, induced the Community of the Resurrection at Mirfield to send Fathers W. P. B. Shelley and B. P. Thomas to Sarawak in July 1933, Linton himself was kept in England by ill health. Shelley and Thomas became directed to other duties in the diocese, spending only a few months at Betong before being recalled to Kuching in February 1934. The Revd G. C. C. Nightingale, the young priest who took their places

at Betong, was not prepared to lead a communal life, and the experiment ended. Sparrow decided that his vocation was as a secular priest. Bradshaw went on leave in July 1934, joined the Community of the Resurrection at Mirfield, and did not return to Borneo. Nightingale did not settle to outstation life and resigned soon after. Only Sparrow remained, the sole priest in the Saribas.

The turn of events might have provided a certain grim satisfaction to the shade of Bishop McDougall, but to Bishop Hudson it was a bitter disappointment. With Sparrow due to go on leave in 1936, Hudson was reduced to appealing for a priest for Betong through the *Chronicle*. In the meantime, he would have to withdraw the Revd Lawrence Angking from Banting, where he had been the first resident priest for twenty years.⁶⁸ Betong, which had received such publicity and where the Mission's effort had run parallel with that of the Government, could not be neglected, even if Banting had to be sacrificed. This was particularly so after the Rajah had visited Betong in May 1934, had inspected the schools, church, and hospital and had 'expressed his satisfaction with all he saw'.⁶⁹ Fortunately, in Lawrence Angking, Hudson had a Dayak priest he could put in charge. The Betong experiment proved one thing: that the Asian clergy were indispensable to the continued work of the Church in Sarawak.

This disappointment was offset to some extent by the decision of the Community of the Resurrection at Mirfield, advised by Fathers Shelley and Thomas, to work in Sarawak for a trial period of three years. Father E. O. Phillips arrived to join Shelley and Thomas in September 1934. The Fathers decided that they could best contribute to the Mission by training Asian clergy, and on 21 September 1934 they opened the Ordination Test School in Kuching with six students.⁷⁰ They had manifold duties beyond this, however, for, as Hudson pointed out to the BMA, the pastoral work alone was enough to occupy fully their time and energies.⁷¹ Most important in Hudson's eyes, however, was the training of an Asian clergy, for 'ultimately it was Chinese who must win Chinese and Dyak who must win Dyak' for the Church.⁷² On 26 July 1936, four of the students at the Ordination Test School were ordained deacons.⁷³ Shortly afterwards, the Community of the Resurrection informed Hudson of its decision to withdraw from Sarawak because of its lack of 'resources of youth and vigour'.⁷⁴ Hudson was disappointed, but thankful for the training of the four priests.⁷⁵ The Fathers left during 1937.

Bishop Hudson himself departed unexpectedly in January 1938.

P. Stacy Waddy, the Secretary of the SPG, died suddenly and Hudson was appointed in his place. In appointing Hollis as the new Bishop, the Church broke with precedent in choosing a man whose experience had been almost exclusively in Sarawak. He had made, since his arrival in 1916, only two short trips to North Borneo, although, as headmaster of St Thomas's School for the past ten years, he knew well a number of Chinese who had gone to North Borneo.⁷⁶ Hollis provided continuity, was familiar with local conditions, and had the confidence of the Asian clergy.⁷⁷ Given the suddenness of Hudson's departure, the choice may have been dictated largely by the desire to avoid the interregnum which a search for a successor in England would have necessitated; but it was also an indication that the Church in Borneo was becoming more autonomous and that a man with local experience was seen as being capable of maintaining the progress towards greater local participation. The Rajah's Government approved the appointment without demur. Hollis left Sarawak on 13 March 1938 and his consecration took place in England on 7 June, Mounsey, Danson, and Hudson taking part. He returned to Kuching in August and was enthroned on 28 August after the reading of the Archbishop's Mandate and the Rajah's Letters Patent.⁷⁸

Hollis was replaced as headmaster of St Thomas's School by the Revd A. J. M. Saint, who had arrived in November 1937. A few months earlier, in July, the Revd P. H. H. Howes had arrived and had joined Sparrow and the ageing Senang at Betong. In the little over three years of Hollis's episcopate before the Japanese Occupation, only three more missionaries arrived for the whole diocese.⁷⁹ The outbreak of war in Europe in September 1939 threatened the supply of missionaries and money from that source, although in fact the BMA and the SPG continued their monetary support.⁸⁰ Over this same period, Hollis performed only one ordination, that of Barnabas Jaman as deacon in September 1938. In addition, Basil Temenggong, who from St Thomas's School had gone to Betong as a teacher for a year, was sent to Bishop's College, Calcutta, in 1939 to train for the priesthood.⁸¹

The staffing situation was viewed with a certain amount of equanimity. In his annual review for 1937, Bishop Hudson had admitted that the likelihood of an increase in the European staff of the Mission seemed remote, but he regarded this as of little concern if the numbers remained as they were. There were sufficient

Europeans to supervise the growth in the Asian ministry, which would have to meet any new pastoral demands. 'The ideal for the future (as, indeed, the only practical possibility)', he wrote, 'is a well-trained Asiatic ministry under the guiding oversight of an adequate, though smaller, number of European priests.'⁸² In time the Asian ministry would increase in number and their responsibilities grow until there was an indigenous Church. In 1940 the staffing situation in the whole diocese was, in addition to the Bishop, seven European priests (one of whom was on furlough), five Chinese and five Dayak priests (one Chinese priest had recently died), one Dayak deacon, one European evangelist, two European women religious and four European women lay workers, five Asian catechists, about sixty Asian lay readers (honorary) and two European readers, two European priests in charge of schools and about 100 Asian schoolteachers, and three office staff.⁸³ The large proportion of Asians, particularly in teaching, indicates the progress towards developing a self-perpetuating indigenous Church.

Financially, too, there had been progress towards self-sufficiency, although assistance from the SPG and BMA was still vital. Hollis published a statement of accounts for the diocese for the first time in 1940. It showed that the local sources contributed \$3,390 towards the total cost of some \$9,000 for the Asian ministry; the remainder came from the SPG. Taking the accounts as a whole, the diocese was indebted to England for over \$55,000 (which did not include the Bishop's salary, which also came from English sources), while from local sources it obtained over \$11,000. Grants were received also from the Governments of Sarawak, Brunei, and North Borneo and from the Sarawak Oilfields Ltd. towards education. Some \$21,000 had been put into an Asian Ministry Capital Account to provide an income for the Asian ministry, although much more was needed before the SPG contribution could be dispensed with.⁸⁴ Particular examples of self-help were the licensed readers and the erection of chapels with materials and money contributed by the local community. The congregation of the Cathedral at Kuching was responsible for most of the work at Lundu and supported the priest there. They also paid part of the stipends of the two Chinese priests attached to the Cathedral and all the expenses of the work at Merdang Gayam. St Mary's School was taking responsibility for a new Land Dayak mission at Anah, and in Sibiu the congregation bore

most of the travelling expenses which had previously been the Cathedral's charge.⁸⁵ The Church was a long way from self-sufficiency, but it was an acknowledged goal accepted by the Christian community itself. Danson and Hudson had worked towards this aim—indeed it had been the long-term objective from the beginning of the Mission—but Hollis, perhaps responding to the worsening international scene, gave self-sufficiency a new emphasis.

Although the official relationship between the Mission and the Government was cordial and co-operative throughout the inter-war years, some government officers believed the Government should play a larger role, particularly in education, and resented the Mission's involvement. Occasionally this attitude surfaced in the *Sarawak Gazette*.⁸⁶ In 1930 the Government began construction of a Malay College to provide higher education and courses in agriculture, hygiene, elementary engineering, and surveying. This was to be the first step in establishing a system of Malay education throughout the State. No English was to be taught, the Government being concerned about producing a disgruntled and unemployable class of semi-educated people with ambitions above their station.⁸⁷ Yet the proposal ignored the fact that some young Malays recognized that in the modern world, English was a necessary prerequisite for entry into occupations not available to a purely Malay speaker.⁸⁸ In the ensuing discussion over the virtues of English and Malay as media of instruction, Wilfred Linton at Betong defended the position of English in Dayak education, stressing also the practical nature of the education given in rural Mission schools.⁸⁹ The editor of the *Gazette* at the time was N. E. Hughes, who combined the traditional Brooke attachment to the unspoiled Dayak with an intense disillusionment with Western civilization and a barely concealed hostility to the Mission's influence.⁹⁰

Linton was vindicated in 1935 when the *Blue Report* on education in Sarawak, drawn up by Mr C. D. Le Gros Clark, the Secretary for Chinese Affairs, recommended that English be added to the curriculum of the Malay College (*Madrrasah Melayu*). Clark had great respect for Bishop Hudson⁹¹ and Fr. Shelley and consulted the latter when writing his report.⁹² Clark rejected the view of some administrative officers that the Government should create its own system of education 'parallel to, and separate from, the Mission Schools'. Not only would it be wasteful duplication, but the education of the pagan tribes would

have no moral or spiritual basis in secular government schools. His own approach was pragmatic: he did not think it mattered whether the religious basis of education was Christian or Muslim, but as the Missions were already established in the Dayak areas, they would provide a Christian foundation. He believed that any criticisms of the Missions could be met and that the Missions would co-operate with the Government in return for government grants where necessary. The Government itself, he admitted, had no educational policy.⁹³ In practice, this was still largely the case in 1941. The most effective education, limited as it was, was provided by the Missions, the Anglican Mission being still in the forefront.

In 1937 the *Sarawak Gazette* commemorated its 1,000th edition. The Missions contributed accounts of their histories. Archdeacon Hollis wrote a straightforward factual survey of the Anglican Mission, concluding with a tribute to the Rajah's Government for all that had been accorded to the Church: the first Rajah's invitation to establish a Mission, the welcome and hospitality extended to missionaries by officers in the various stations, the Government's grants of land, its assistance towards the building of schools and, in recent years, its annual grant towards education.⁹⁴ On the occasion of the centenary of the Raj in September 1941, Hollis, now Bishop, repeated the exercise, giving fitting prominence to the career of Sir James Brooke and the Anglican Mission's early association with the Brooke regime. Hollis perhaps overdid it, writing of Sir James Brooke in 1847 that he believed 'that the Church should be the soul of the State and so was determined to find a missionary to accompany him on his return to establish his kingdom . . .'. Hollis reminded his readers that the Rajah had laid the foundation stone* for the Church of St Thomas and that the bell had the names of both the Rajah and the Bishop upon it. He concluded with reference to the grant of land for the Mission in Kuching and to the 'hospitality and welcome' that missionaries had always received from the Rajahs and their officers.⁹⁵ In the same *Gazette* the Roman Catholic Mission also identified itself with the Raj, but neither it nor the Methodist Mission could boast of the long and intimate association with the Brookes, going back to the heroic beginnings of the Raj, which Hollis so clearly exploited.

*In reality a 'timber'.

Was there, in fact, a special relationship? By 1941 the answer is probably no. There were lingering traces because of the Anglican Church's long association with Sarawak, emphasized by its dominant site in the town of Kuching, and because the Brookes and most of their officers were at least nominally Anglican. If they worshipped, they attended the Anglican services. But Rajahs Charles and Vyner had great respect for the Roman Catholics and the Methodists, and the official policy was to be even-handed with regard to the Missions and with regard to Christians and those of other faiths. All Christian missionaries received 'hospitality and welcome'. Where individuals received less or more it was due to personalities rather than to faith. In any district a government officer had no cause to show favouritism for, except in the largest centres, there was only one Mission.

The Anglican effort in 1941 was still concentrated in its traditional areas—Kuching and its environs, Lundu, the Land Dayak areas, particularly Quop and Tai-i, and the Iban or Sea Dayak areas of the Batang Lupar (Simanggang), Saribas (Betong), and Krian (Saratok). There were also visits allowed to Anglican communicants in the Lower Rejang (Sibu and Sarikei) and a church and school at Miri on the oilfield. The Government no longer interpreted the policy of reserved areas as strictly as Charles Brooke had done, the Court House at Sarikei, for example, being made available for Anglican services when required.⁹⁶ On the other hand, the Anglicans necessarily curbed their ambitions in the Lower Rejang to ministering to their communicants who had migrated there from the traditional Anglican areas. In return they were protected from competition in their own preserves, where they were inevitably associated in the native mind with the Government.

The symbiotic relationship between the Mission and the Government was apparent in education, where government grants helped maintain mission schools, and in medical care, where the Government provided medicines. From the Church's point of view, it was pointless forbidding Christians the administration of the *manang*, associated as they were with the old religion, and then denying them effective Western medicine when it was needed.⁹⁷ In education and medical care the missionary and the government officer could be seen working together.⁹⁸ The District Officer at Betong, when hearing cases which involved Christians, invited the missionary to sit with him in court as an unofficial assessor.⁹⁹ Missionaries gained importantly in authority because of this type

of association. By the 1930s it was an established pattern of life.

That this was so was no doubt facilitated by the mutual respect in which missionaries and government officers held each other.¹⁰⁰ There was a marked improvement in the quality of missionary in Sarawak by the 1930s. The failures and embarrassments of earlier years were largely unknown. Clergy came out as ordained priests, not, as frequently before, inexperienced young men not yet ordained. Lay workers were better qualified and more stringently selected. There was more emphasis on quality than numbers, made possible by the larger number of Asian workers available as well as by higher standards of education and training available in England. Bishops Danson and Hudson with their realistic sense of the possible were content to maintain a core of European missionaries who could direct and inspire the growing number of Asian workers. There was still hardship and isolation in the outstations, there was still much arduous travelling; but compared to conditions before the turn of the century, the missionaries were much better cared for, had shorter terms of service, and more frequent leave. Moreover, while their numbers remained few, they had increased sufficiently to provide a sense of mutual support, and as the community of Asian Christians grew there was a greater sense of achievement, despite all that remained to be done. It was something to have around one Chinese and Dayak Christians who, whatever their occasional failings, provided friendship and spiritual encouragement and who, by speaking English and by their acceptance of Western values to at least some extent, rendered the environment of a mission station less alien. The development of an Asian clergy was a particularly heartening sign that the Church was becoming firmly established and that the effort of the Mission was not wasted. Given the lack of resources which still plagued the SPG effort, Brooke policy was in many ways a blessing. Unable to expand territorially, the Church could consolidate its position in the areas reserved to it. Brooke policy prevented a diversification of effort and made necessary that concentration upon particular communities which produced in time a viable native church.

In the late 1930s, the Government still allocated few resources to education and welfare, partly because of the economic effects of the Depression, partly from doubts as to the wisdom of introducing change in a hurry, partly because of a conservative and self-seeking desire to maintain a budget surplus.¹⁰¹ The Government was prepared to work through the Mission and the

missionaries, who by the 1930s placed as much importance on improving the material circumstances of people's lives as on the spiritual, and were ready to educate and heal and to dispense advice on agriculture as part of the missionary labour.

The close relationship between the Anglican Mission and the Brooke regime was demonstrated in the dark years of the Japanese Occupation. The Anglican missionaries could have been interned separately with the Roman Catholic priests and brothers. Instead they chose to be interned with the officials of the government.¹⁰² This was no doubt largely a matter of British solidarity, but it reflected also a sense that they had been partners in a common cause in a way that the Roman Catholics and the Government had not been.

The immediate post-war period saw the relationship end. Rajah Vyner, in proceedings which produced much bitterness, ceded Sarawak to the British Crown and the Mission had to deal with a British Colonial administration which in practice maintained the same benevolent neutrality as the Brookes. The Anglican Church picked up the pieces left by the war, found that its Asian Christians—Dayak and Chinese—had held firm and had maintained the service and corporate life of the Church,¹⁰³ and proceeded to build upon this secure and tested base as the State of Sarawak passed from colonial rule to independence within Malaysia. A century's intimate and at times stormy relations between the Anglican Mission and the Brooke Raj had come to an end.

1. C. Brooke to R. T. Davidson, 5 July 1916, USPG Archives, CLR 77, p. 30.

2. He had been longer in Borneo than any missionary except Howell and one or two of the lady missionaries: C. N. B. Beamish to H. H. Montgomery, 3 July 1916, from Myburgfontein, *ibid.*, p. 24. Beamish's comments on his experience had no connection with the bishopric question, of which he knew nothing at the time. He was expressing a wish to talk to Montgomery about the Diocesan Fund when he eventually returned to England.

3. Missionaries in Sarawak to H. H. Montgomery, June 1916, packet entitled 'Labuan & Sarawak Bishopric, 1856-1916', *ibid.*, p. 50. See also Brian Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, pp. 191-6, for an account of the appointment of the new bishop.

4. He had left Sarawak before news of Mounsey's resignation arrived. He might have had some idea that in the event of Mounsey's resignation there would

be a move to have him selected, but there is no evidence that he had canvassed support.

5. Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, p. 193, lists those opposing Beamish. The reference to 'open and notorious evil livers' and their deference to the views of the Rajah is from R. J. Small to H. H. Montgomery, 1 July 1916, USPG Archives, CLR 77, p. 25.

6. The Rajah had pointed out to the Archbishop of Canterbury that the Rajahs of Sarawak had chosen Bishops McDougall, Chambers, and Hose, although he made no claim to have chosen Mounsey: C. Brooke to R. T. Davidson, 6 July 1916, *ibid.*, p. 30.

7. A. F. Sharp to H. H. Montgomery, 5 September 1916, *ibid.*, packet at p. 50.

8. 'Bishop Montgomery's first impressions in respect of the letter of the Rajah of Sarawak of July 6, 1916', *loc. cit.*

9. *Straits Times*, 27 October 1916. Copy in USPG Archives, CLR 77, packet at p. 50.

10. *Sarawak Gazette*, 16 November 1916. Copy in USPG Archives, CLR 77, packet at p. 50. Elwell did not refer to Small by name, but pointedly scorned to use a pseudonym himself.

11. C. F. Pascoe to A. Shepherd, 18 November 1916, USPG Archives, CLR 77, packet at p. 50. Shepherd was the Archbishop's Secretary.

12. C. Brooke to R. T. Davidson, 23 November 1916, *ibid.*, p. 55. The Rajah was eighty-six. In August 1916 he went riding out from Kuching, covering about 42 miles on horseback between 20 and 22 August. As he was returning, he collapsed outside the house of Ong Tiang Swee in Kuching, but after a brief rest insisted on riding on. He was never the same again and became seriously ill. He recovered sufficiently to leave in early December for England, where he died on 17 May 1917.

13. R. J. Small to H. H. Montgomery, 25 November 1916, *ibid.*, p. 52.

14. R. J. Small to H. H. Montgomery, 15 January 1917, *ibid.*, p. 64.

15. Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, p. 194.

16. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 195.

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 195-6.

18. C. V. Brooke to H. H. Montgomery, 9 August 1917, USPG Archives, CLR 77, p. 91.

19. E. D. L. Danson to H. H. Montgomery, 17 October 1917, *ibid.*, p. 99.

20. Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, pp. 196 and 199. E. D. L. Danson to H. H. Montgomery, 1 May 1918, USPG Archives, CLR 77, p. 115, announces Danson's arrival in Kuching and his marriage to Miss Hervey in Cairo.

21. Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, p. 199. See *Sarawak Gazette*, 1 May 1918, p. 100, for Danson's arrival and that for 4 June 1918 describes the enthronement.

22. *Sarawak Gazette*, 1 July 1918, p. 157.

23. Anthony Brooke, *The Facts about Sarawak*, p. 26.

24. Interview with Bishop P. H. H. Howes, 13 August 1987.

25. For the SDA see H. C. Sormin, 'A History of the Seventh Day Adventist Church', especially Chapter III, pp. 24-41. For a discussion of the BEM see Lily Chan Lean Choi, 'Christian Missions and the Iban of Sarawak', pp. 23-6.

26. H. H. Montgomery to E. D. L. Danson, 9 July 1918, USPG Archives, CLS 58, p. 57.

27. See, for example, *Sarawak Gazette*, 2 December 1918, p. 304, for the Rance's visit to St Mary's School: 2 June 1918, p. 128, prize-giving by the Tuan Muda at St Thomas's: 3 January 1922, p. 8, Rance at St Thomas's prize-giving: 1 May 1919, p. 108; 1 July 1919, p. 173; 2 January 1920, p. 1, and 1 May 1920, p. 104, for reports of Mission activity.
28. *Ibid.*, 16 December 1919, p. 325, and 2 January 1920, p. 4.
29. *Ibid.*, 1 May 1919, p. 108. The Resident had distributed prizes at St Thomas's School and had reminded the boys of their duty to God, the Rajah, and their country. The Bishop replied that it was the duty of a good Christian to be a good citizen.
30. Brooke policy with regard to education is discussed in Robert Pringle, *Rajahs and Rebels*, p. 399, and in the same writer's 'The Brookes of Sarawak: Reformers in spite of Themselves', pp. 71-2. See also J. M. Seymour, 'Education in Sarawak under Brooke Rule 1841-1941'. Steven Runciman, *The White Rajahs*, pp. 236-7, briefly mentions changes in the administration.
31. *Sarawak Gazette*, 2 January 1926, p. 5, and 1 February 1926, p. 29.
32. *Ibid.*, 1 December 1926, p. 313. The building fund, launched in February that year, had reached \$19,260. Two early contributors of \$1,000 each were Ong Tiang Swee and Tee Choon Hien: *ibid.*, 1 May 1926, p. 116.
33. E. D. L. Danson to C. F. Pascoe, 27 June 1918, USPG Archives, CLR 77, p. 118.
34. R. J. Small to H. H. Montgomery, 10 August 1918, and C. Elwell to H. H. Montgomery, 12 August 1918, *ibid.*, pp. 122 and 123.
35. G. L. King to E. D. L. Danson, 8 January 1920, USPG Archives, CLS 58, pp. 106-7.
36. R. J. Small to G. L. King, 2 July 1920, USPG Archives, CLR 77, p. 174.
37. E. D. L. Danson to C. F. Pascoe, 2 December 1920, *ibid.*, p. 192.
38. J. F. Rowlatt, Secretary of the Sarawak State Advisory Council, to Secretary, SPG, 9 March 1921, USPG Archives, CLR 77, p. 203.
39. J. F. Rowlatt to Secretary, SPG, 21 July 1921, *ibid.*, p. 222. Rowlatt refers to a proposal by King of 5 July.
40. E. D. L. Danson to P. S. Waddy, 24 August 1926, USPG Archives, CLR 78, p. 156.
41. E. D. L. Danson to C. F. Pascoe, 30 November 1919, *ibid.*, p. 153.
42. Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, pp. 207-8.
43. Linton reported difficulties in his district because there were too few Christian women (*ibid.*, pp. 234-5) and there was a similar problem among the Land Dayaks at Tai-i (*ibid.*, p. 221).
44. *Ibid.*, pp. 222-3.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 224.
46. *Loc. cit.*
47. *Ibid.*, pp. 233-4. Howell received a pension from the Rajah as well as from the SPG.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 231.
49. *Ibid.*, pp. 220-1.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 232.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 231.
52. A. B. Champion to E. D. L. Danson, 1 June 1927, USPG Archives, CLR 78, p. 179a.

53. Copy of a cable from A. B. Champion dated 18 July 1927, *ibid.*, p. 182.
54. E. D. L. Danson to Murray, 21 July 1927, *ibid.*, p. 183.
55. E. J. Dukes to Dawson, 29 September 1927, *ibid.*, p. 187a.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 190.
57. A. B. Champion to Murray, 18 November 1927, *ibid.*, p. 193.
58. A. B. Champion to E. D. L. Danson, 25 November 1927, *ibid.*, p. 195.
59. P. S. Waddy to Archbishop of Canterbury, 29 November 1927, USPG Archives, CLS 59, p. 171.
60. P. S. Waddy to Archbishop of Canterbury, 24 October 1927, *ibid.*, pp. 191-2, and 29 November 1927, *ibid.*, p. 193.
61. *Chronicle*, Vol. 21, No. 4, November 1931, p. 12.
62. *Sarawak Gazette*, 1 September 1931, p. 182.
63. *Ibid.*, 2 November 1931, p. 234.
64. *Ibid.*, 1 September 1931, p. 181. For Danson's views on the Asian ministry see the *Chronicle*, Vol. 21, No. 4, November 1931, pp. 2-3.
65. *Chronicle*, Vol. 21, No. 3, August 1931, pp. 1-3.
66. *Ibid.*, Vol. 20, No. 8, November 1930, pp. 1-2.
67. Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, pp. 240-6, covers the story of the attempt to establish a community at Betong. See also the *Chronicle* and the BMA *Annual Reports* for 1931-4.
68. *Chronicle*, Vol. 23, No. 6, November 1935, p. 93. Hudson was on leave in England at this time.
69. *Ibid.*, Vol. 23, No. 3, November 1934, p. 41. The report was written by Bradshaw. The Rajah also visited the mission at Saratok.
70. One of these, although he did not complete the course, was Tawi Sli, who later became Sarawak's second Chief Minister after independence within Malaysia: Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, p. 243.
71. *Chronicle*, Vol. 23, No. 3, November 1934, pp. 37-8.
72. *Ibid.*, Vol. 23, No. 5, November 1935, pp. 97-8.
73. *Ibid.*, Vol. 24, No. 2, August 1936, pp. 33-4. See also Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, pp. 250-1.
74. *Chronicle*, Vol. 24, No. 3, November 1936, p. 38.
75. *Ibid.*, pp. 40-2, quoting the *Church Times*. The Community had worked in Kuching rather than at Betong because younger men had not been available and it had been thought that the men who had been sent could not have worked in outstation conditions: *ibid.*, p. 41.
76. *Borneo Mission Association Annual Report for 1937*, p. 14—Hollis made this point in his remarks as Bishop Designate.
77. There were 23 priests in the diocese, 11 Europeans and 12 Asians.
78. Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, p. 257.
79. One went to British North Borneo and two remained in Kuching.
80. Sparrow, on leave in England, reported that he was impressed by the way people continued to support the Missions: *Chronicle*, Vol. 26, No. 5, September 1941, p. 51.
81. Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, p. 258. Originally from Betong, Basil Temenggong was to become the first Dayak Bishop.
82. *Borneo Mission Association Annual Report for 1937*, pp. 1-2.
83. *Borneo Mission Association Annual Report for 1940*, p. 1.
84. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

85. *Borneo Mission Association Annual Report for 1939*, p. 1.
86. *Sarawak Gazette*, 1 March 1923, p. 64, and *ibid.*, 3 April 1923.
87. *Ibid.*, 2 March 1931, pp. 47-8.
88. *Ibid.*, 1 June 1931, p. 136. Letter signed 'Nahar Effendi'.
89. *Ibid.*, 1 April 1931, pp. 88-9.
90. *Ibid.*, 1 May 1931, pp. 91-2. *Supplement to the Sarawak Gazette*, 4 January 1937, p. x, lists past editors of the *Gazette* where known. K. H. Digby says of Nigel Hughes that he had joined the Sarawak Civil Service in 1929 at the age of twenty-two after having been a midshipman in the navy, a clerk in London, a planter in Malaya, and a reporter on Fleet Street. He was much more a man of the world than many more senior officers. He possessed outstanding administrative abilities, and when Digby first met him in 1937 had been, in effect, running the Government for a number of years. His title was 'Assistant Government Secretary', but he was also Editor of the *Sarawak Gazette* and ADC to the Rajah. He lived extravagantly and was constantly in debt. 'He was, in short, a very sophisticated, alive, witty, able, popular and charming young man.' He returned to England in December 1939 to join the navy. One can see that he and the missionaries may have had little in common: K. H. Digby, *Lawyer in the Wilderness*, p. 24. Digby edited the *Sarawak Gazette* briefly in Hughes's absence in 1937. He remarked that the editor was allowed much latitude and had 'no need to serve as a mouth-piece of official policy further than he was inclined'. Thus we may assume that the remarks made by the editor during the controversy regarding education in 1931 represented Hughes's views and not necessarily those of other members of the Government: *ibid.*, p. 26.
91. Personal communication from Revd A. J. M. Saint, 14 August 1984.
92. Government of Sarawak, *Blue Report*, 1935, p. 11.
93. *Ibid.*, pp. 7-9.
94. *Supplement to the Sarawak Gazette*, 4 January 1937, p. xv.
95. *Sarawak Gazette Centenary Number*, 20 October 1941, pp. xv-xvi.
96. *Borneo Mission Association Annual Report for 1940*, p. 6.
97. See, for example, Howes's report for 1939 in *Borneo Mission Association Annual Report for 1939*, p. 9.
98. For example, in his report for 1940, Howes, who had been moved to Quop, mentioned the generosity of the Government in providing free medicines. Supplies were kept at the Mission house and administered by the missionary: *Borneo Mission Association Annual Report for 1940*, p. 15.
99. Interview with Bishop P. H. H. Howes, 13 August 1987.
100. Personal communications from Mr Edward Banks, pre-war Curator of the Sarawak Museum, 3 March 1985; from Bishop P. H. H. Howes, 29 August 1984; and from the Revd A. J. M. Saint, 14 August 1984.
101. For brief but penetrating comment on the Brooke regime and its policies see R. H. W. Reece, *The Name of Brooke*, particularly pp. 11-12, discussing the 'Brooke tradition', and pp. 51-3. See also his introduction pp. xxv-xxvi.
102. Taylor, *The Anglican Church in Borneo*, p. 282.
103. *Ibid.*, pp. 274-80, describes the experiences of the Asian Christians during the Occupation.

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- CLR Series — Copies of Letters Received
- CLS Series — Copies of Letters Sent
- CWW Series — Committee on Women's Work Papers, 1866-1930
- E Series — Missionary Reports

Contains archives of the Borneo Church Mission Institution, 1848-1852: Borneo Box 1 and Borneo Box 2.

The Brunei Museum Library possesses nine microfilms labelled USPG Borneo and consisting of Borneo Church Mission Minutes, 1846-1852; CLS 1846-1927; CLR 1848-1928; Correspondence 1850-1859 (OLR D6b sometimes referred to as Borneo Book 1); McDougall correspondence, 1848-1858; Missionaries' correspondence, 1848-1859; Miscellaneous, 1846-1902. These microfilms contain the substantial part of the USPG Archives relating to Borneo.

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