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Bishop F. T. McDougall

(Bishop of Labuan & Sarawak 1855—1868;

Vicar of Milford 1881—1885.)

by

Rev. R. J. HITCHCOCK, M.A.

BISHOP F. T. McDOUGALL,
(Bishop of Labuan & Sarawak 1855—1868 ;
Vicar of Milford 1881—1885.)

I HAVE been asked to read you a Paper on Bishop McDougall, a former Vicar of Milford; and I do so gladly, as there should most certainly be, on the records of this Society, some account of this great man, an outstanding figure in the History of the Church during last century, and I do not hesitate to say incomparably the greatest name in the long list of the Vicars of Milford.

And I undertake the task all the more gladly for two other reasons. (1) Because Bishop McDougall came to Milford after the greatest part of his life's work was accomplished. He came here as an old man, rather broken in health, and I find there is a danger that he may be remembered here chiefly as a peculiar old gentleman, of very strong will and determination, rather than one who had come through labours truly Apostolic as a pioneer missionary Bishop amongst primitive people.

For instance, the only references to him, in former Papers of this Society, concern certain eccentricities of his behaviour and speech and controversies he engaged in here, concerning the seating of the Church and points of ritual.

(2) My other reason for gladly undertaking this task is, that it has enabled me to study afresh, and more carefully, the Life of the first Bishop of the Diocese, to which I was allocated, when I first offered myself for service abroad. To those of you who have not already read it, I recommend the Memoirs of Bishop McDougall and his wife, written by her brother. It is from that book that most of the facts here recorded have been collected.

Milford-on-Sea Record Society.

Francis Thomas McDougall was born in 1817. His father was a captain in the Army, and the boyhood of the future Bishop was spent following his father about with his regiment. When he was 8 years old, they were stationed at Corfu, and during the 3 years they remained there, he learned modern Greek. Already he had in him the makings of a linguist. When he was 12 the regiment was ordered to Malta, where they were quartered till 1835. He there became an excellent Italian scholar, and even picked up Maltese, a corrupt form of Arabic, of some use to him afterwards, in his Oriental studies, amongst Malayan peoples, whose language is mostly derived from Arabic.

There also he had his first taste of naval life. The Captain of a line-of-battleship took a fancy to the boy, and sent him into the gunroom, to learn navigation, and made a midshipman of him. Nursed in the services, McDougall remained at heart a sailor, and during his adventurous life, was never more happy than when navigating his mission ship in the China seas, or passing from one part of his distant diocese to another, as guest in one of Her Majesty's cruisers. It was while he was at Malta that an event occurred which determined the course of his future life. While running races barefoot with his school-fellows, he cut his foot badly on a broken bottle in the grass. The wound didn't heal properly and he had to have it re-opened. The Surgeon took an interest in him and offered to teach him Surgery. His mother consented readily enough as she wanted to get him away from the regiment where he was running wild and getting spoilt. His father didn't much like the plan, for he wished him to be a soldier. But when the boy got better, he decided the question for himself by declaring that he would be a Doctor. He entered as a medical student at the University of Malta and walked the hospitals at Valetta, aged 15-18, and in 1838, aged 21, he received the diploma of surgeon by a deed, executed at Valetta Civil Hospital, and by a certificate, under the seal of the University, where he had continued his studies up to June, 1835. The hospitals in Malta must

Bishop F. T. McDougall.

have been sufficient for a considerable medical school, for in addition to the Civil Hospital, capable of accommodating 350 patients, the Naval and Military Hospitals, separate institutions, were on a scale sufficient for a large garrison and a naval arsenal. In the autumn of 1835, he returned to England, to complete his medical education and in September in that year became a student of King's College, London, in the medical department. In the session of 1836, aged 19, he received the Gold Medal of the College for general medical proficiency and in 1838, aged 21, was appointed Demonstrator of Anatomy, his coadjutor being Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Simon, and his successor Mr. (afterwards Sir William) Bowman. At that time there was an active medical school at King's College, but no hospital, and on the foundation in 1840 of King's College Hospital, these 2 gentlemen were appointed its first assistant-surgeons. Had Bishop McDougall continued his medical career, he, as their senior, would doubtless have received this distinction also. For Hospital work, McDougall attended Middlesex Hospital under Dr. (afterwards Sir Thomas) Watson and Mr. Arnott. He also received instruction from Professor Green at St. Thomas's, and at Charing Cross Hospital from Professor Partridge.

In 1839 he received the diploma of the College of Surgeons, of which he became a fellow in 1854. In 1840 he entered as an undergraduate on the books of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, while acting as travelling physician to someone who was keeping his terms at that University. He does not seem to have resided at the University continuously, for he returned for a time to King's College; but it was at Oxford that, under the influence of the spirit of the place, acting on his religious impressions, he first entertained the idea of abandoning the medical profession to take Holy Orders. Little record remains of his Oxford days, except that he was great on the river. He stroked a College Four which he took to Henley, and in 1842 he pulled bow in the Oxford boat which won the 'Varsity Boat Race. McDougall did not read for classical honours

Milford-on-Sea Record Society.

at Oxford. Science schools were unknown and there was no Theological school, in which honours might be sought, as a faculty separate from classics. He therefore passed the examination for the ordinary B.A. degree in 1842, proceeding to his M.A. in 1845, and receiving an honorary D.C.L. degree in 1854.

After taking his degree he went for a time to S. Wales, where he assisted in the superintendence of some iron works in which his future father-in-law was interested. While there he married Harriette Bunyon in July, 1843. The following year his wife's father died, and the works were discontinued. McDougall then determined to carry into effect his long-settled plan of taking Holy Orders. He was eventually ordained at Norwich by Bishop Stanley, receiving deacon's orders in January, 1845, and priest's orders a year later. His first curacy was at Framingham Pigot where his eldest child was born, and where he was left mostly in charge, as he was curate to the Bishop's chaplain, but he did not stay there long and from there he was licensed to the curacy of St. Mark's, Lakenham, one of the larger churches and parishes in the suburbs of Norwich. At the end of 1846 he moved to London, and became curate to his friend George Hamilton, incumbent of Christ Church, Woburn Square.

The first proposal to McDougall to go to Borneo was made in the spring of 1847 almost simultaneously with the offer of a permanent position in the British Museum which came through the principal librarian, the Rev. Henry Forshall. This latter post need not have interfered with his duty at Christ Church, and was sufficiently well paid to provide, with the curacy, for the needs of his household. After much hesitation, he accepted the situation at the Museum, for the sake, as he said, of his wife and family. But having done so, he fell into great distress of mind, thinking that he had chosen the lower and was giving up the higher path. No doubt he was also influenced by his

Bishop F. T. McDougall.

innate love of adventure, by the romance of the story of Sarawak, by the attraction of blue water, and possibly by his hatred of the desk. Anyhow, when his wife found how matters stood with him, she urged him to throw up the Museum job and accept the Borneo offer, but he refused, replying that he had gone too far and was pledged to the former. She then took the matter into her own hands, and without further consulting him or anyone else, went straight to Mr. Forshall, told him all the story and asked him to release her husband. He received her very kindly and at once acceded to her request. Her husband gladly took advantage of her action and at once accepted the appointment to Borneo. I mention this to show the kind of woman Mrs. McDougall was. Love of her husband and a repugnance to his giving up the career that he desired on her account, or even on that of the children, must have been her first motives, but she also felt that she dare not withdraw him from service to which he was called, even though it was to fill a post of danger, which, to many minds, might have appeared like a forlorn hope.

The story of Sarawak had at this time seized on the imagination of the British public. The English Rajah was the hero of the hour. James Brooke was invited to Windsor Castle as the guest of Her Majesty and Prince Albert. He was appointed by the Queen, Governor of the new Crown Settlement of Labuan, and Her Majesty's Commissioner for N. Borneo. Some time after he was made a civil K.C.B., an honour then much more rarely bestowed than now. The freedom of the City was conferred upon him with the acclamations of the mercantile community, and society opened its doors to him. No wonder that McDougall desired to throw in his lot with the hero, who, by suppressing piracy and head-hunting amongst the Dyaks, was rendering possible the reception of the Gospel message, by a people brave and simple, who lived in dread of the spirits with which they believed their jungles haunted. Here was the opportunity for laying the foundations of a Church, which, commencing in Sarawak,

Milford-on-Sea Record Society.

might spread from tribe to tribe, until it embraced the whole Island of Borneo. The first teacher might not accomplish much. His work might be long and disappointing, in weariness and sickness, and through many perils. But if, as a wise master-builder, he could lay a sure foundation, how great would be the ultimate reward! That was the task to which the Apostle of Borneo set his hand.

On December 30th, 1847, Mr. and Mrs. McDougall sailed from London. Their vessel, the "Mary Louisa," was a miserable barque of 400 tons, laden with coal and gunpowder for Singapore. No such party in these days would sail in such a vessel, starting in mid-winter, on a 4 months voyage round the Cape of Storms, Mrs. McDougall leaving behind her eldest child, a boy of 2 years old. The party consisted of themselves and their second child, Harry, an infant in arms, with one servant their faithful Elizabeth Richardson, who was still with them here in Milford, and the Rev. W. Wright then in deacon's orders, and his wife, and they were also accompanied by one servant. They encountered rough weather in the Channel, were run down and lost their bowsprit. The ship had to put in to Deal to refit, and the party returned home to wait till the repairs could be made good. This was speedily done, a fresh start was made, and they arrived at Singapore on May 23rd, 1848. During the voyage they were not idle. They busied themselves in studying Malay and its Arabic characters, with the help of a dictionary and a Malay Bible translated from Dutch. The two padres took service on board, and as there was no surgeon, McDougall looked after their bodily ailments also. It was not till June 29th, six months after they started, that they reached Sarawak, having to wait for a trading schooner which was sent to Singapore to fetch them over. On reaching Kuching, the Rajah was absent, on an expedition, but they were hospitably received by the Resident, Mr. Crookshank. Immediately after their arrival, a young Government officer named Brereton, son of the Vicar of Massingham (Norfolk), who had had much to do in

Bishop F. T. McDougall.

persuading them to go out to Borneo, came in from a shooting excursion and went down with jungle fever. There was no other medical man in the place, and for a time McDougall had little hopes of his life, but, with the medical skill and nursing bestowed upon him he recovered. But in order to leave the bungalow quiet for the invalid, a temporary home was made for the Mission party in the Court House. The Rajah arrived back on September 5th and immediately ground was chosen on which to build a church and permanent mission buildings including schools, dispensary and dwelling houses. McDougall opened a temporary dispensary at once, using it for part of the day as an adult school. He was not in a hurry to start a children's school, until he and Wright had got to know the language better.

Mr. McDougall was not long in learning a little more about the climate for on October 26th, he wrote "I am sorry to say that I have been laid up with a sharp attack of fever, and now, though convalescent I can scarcely hold my pen, owing to large abscesses forming, one under each arm." He had been busy about levelling the top of the hill on which his house was to be built. To carry this out he procured shovels and made wheelbarrows, and when the Chinese workmen refused to use anything but their wretched little baskets and hoes, he called in a gang of Malays, who completed the work in a month, instead of three months as the Chinese coolies said it would take. It was amusing to see the interest the wheelbarrows and shovels occasioned, which, as well as the idea of levelling for a foundation, were quite new to people who always drive piles, or rather set up posts, on which to build their own houses. Similar interest has been aroused on more than one occasion on the introduction of the wheelbarrows among people not used to them. Perhaps you have heard of the labourers who objected that it didn't make the work any lighter, because they insisted on carrying the loaded wheelbarrows on their heads.

Of his medical work he wrote at this time "You

Milford-on-Sea Record Society.

must not be under any misapprehension that my medical employment here, even if it were not temporary, will be of the smallest hindrance to my other missionary duties. Indeed if I had not had the excuse of my medical capacity, I should certainly never have been able to have got into the peoples houses, and to have gained their confidence as I have done." It seems strange to us that the Home Committee should have been doubtful of the value of the medical work, but it must be remembered that this enterprise of Mr. McDougall's was in effect the first Medical Mission of the Church of England.

In founding a new Mission upon an enduring basis, one of the first things to be provided for is the establishment of schools. To the importance of this Mr. McDougall was very much alive. In addition to day-schools open to all comers, the mission house was built of sufficient size to contain a boarding-school in which children could be educated apart from Malay or native influence. This school became a great feature in the history of the Mission, and its numbers were continually increased as the opportunity offered. During his report on his first year's work, Mr. McDougall showed the plan of operations which he had then formed. In it he pointed out that single-handed he could do nothing; that, however willingly his visits might be received by the Dyaks, they would only excite the jealousy of the Mahomedan Malays, by whom, in the absence of European influence, the Dyaks were completely managed. For that reason, as well as on account of the language difficulty--for the different tribes spoke different dialects, they required at once several devoted young men to be placed at selected stations, and to co-operate with the District officers in their common task of civilization.

In November 1848, Mrs. McDougall, who had been in very delicate health gave birth to a son. He was a fine boy but he did not live more than a day or two. Her husband was unhappily at the time a day's journey up river, and she

Bishop F. T. McDougall.

had no assistance except that of the native women and her English servant. But it does not appear that, if he had been present, he could have saved the child.

Mr. McDougall's hopes and plans were rudely checked when he found himself left alone by the departure of Mr. Wright. He seems to have become dissatisfied, or found the work unsuitable, and left with Mrs. Wright for Singapore, where he ultimately became principal of a large boys' school. It was never intended that the mission should be carried on single-handed. At the beginning it had consisted of three clergy. But one of those chosen was a non-starter, for he died very suddenly of fever, caught while ministering to the poor in his parish, and there had been no time to replace him. And now Mr. Wright had quitted. But the loss of the Wrights did not close the schools. The boys' school was undertaken on a temporary engagement by a young chap named Steel, who afterwards entered the Government service, and, while in charge of the fort at Kandowit, lost his life in an engagement with the pirates. The want of a mistress for the girls' school was supplied, as soon as her services for her mistress could be dispensed with, by Mrs. McDougall's excellent nurse, Elizabeth Richardson. She subsequently married Stahl, the carpenter of the barque "Mary Louisa," who followed them to Sarawak, after the ship was wrecked on the voyage home from Singapore. He took charge of the building of the Church and Mission buildings. Mrs. Stahl afterwards returned to England, and, on becoming a widow, rejoined her mistress to whom she was devoted, and lived with her until her death. The rest of the work Mr. McDougall was obliged to carry on single-handed, and what with preaching, building, teaching in school, and doctoring, he had scope enough for all his energies.

In August 1849 they took possession of the mission-house. About that time the Rajah and Captain Harry Keppel fell in with a pirate fleet and completely smashed

Milford-on-Sea Record Society.

it. They took and burned 100 prahus (war-canoes) and killed at least 500 pirates. But while that was going on, a detachment of the pirate fleet, which had been plundering the Dutch coast westward, entered the Sarawak River, and at dead of night attacked the flourishing little fishing village at its mouth, and cut off the heads of every man, woman and child they could get hold of. One poor old fellow was brought up to Kuching to be doctored by Mr. McDougall. He had six spear wounds through him, besides a cleft skull. The McDougalls also had a sick midshipman, whom they were caring for, in the house with them. In the Singapore Free Press of that time, we read of an accident at Sarawak on board one of the ships, during the firing of a salute, in honour of Her Majesty's birthday, when a cartridge exploding shattered both arms of the poor fellow who was loading the gun. The amputation of both arms being found necessary, the operation was successfully performed by Mr. McDougall and Dr. Treacher from Labuan who happened to be on the spot, en route for Singapore. On the return of the Rajah from the pirate expedition, one of the patients brought in was a Malay, who had been wounded by a barbed spear, which had entered his back, and was in such dangerous proximity to the spine, that the naval surgeons were afraid to extract it, and contented themselves with cutting off the shaft. McDougall however undertook the operation, and to the astonishment of all, succeeded in abstracting the barbed spear-head, and so saved the man's life. At the end of August, the foundation of the Church, the present Kuching Cathedral, was publicly laid. Both Church and Bishop's house still remain, to attest the persevering ability of their architect, and the soundness of the materials he used, namely bilian, the iron wood of Borneo.

On November 5th that same year, Mrs. McDougall records in her journal the birth of another son. He seemed a healthy strong child but he only lived five days. On the fourth day after his birth, Mrs. McDougall herself

Bishop F. T. McDougall.

became dangerously ill with fever so that McDougall was at the same time threatened with the loss of both his wife and child. What made Mrs. McDougall's illness a special anxiety to her husband was the fact that there was no other medical man to whom he could refer, or who could take any of the responsibility from him. So when his wife was well enough to be moved, he accepted the very kind offer of Captain Troubridge, to take him and his wife and his son Harry over to Singapore, for a change and medical treatment. They started from Sarawak on January 2nd, 1850, but on their arrival at Singapore, the greatest trial of their lives awaited them, the death on January 31st, aged 3 years and 1 month of their child Harry. In this case, the medical responsibility was not thrown upon his father. He had all the care and skill and the best medical advice of Singapore, but without avail. So the McDougall's lost three children in fifteen months, and two other infant boys were born, baptised, and died, before their first return to England. They were all victims to the climate, for all these infants died from an imperfect action of the heart, arising probably, from the weakness of their mother, and which did not effect those children born to her afterwards.

After great sorrow, nothing is more soothing than change of scene, and the companionship of Nature in her beauty. Accordingly the Rajah, who found them at Singapore, when himself en route for the Government bungalow on Penang Hill, insisted on their accompanying him. They left Singapore on March 20th, in a little steamer, with the Rajah and his companions. On the way, they were very nearly sent to the bottom, by a large brig, which crashed into them on a dark night, smashing a boat and carrying away the flagstaff at the stern, the iron stanchions which held up the awning, and some spars. A moment sooner, and they would have been struck admidships, when they would all have gone down, without a chance of being saved.

Milford-on-Sea Record Society.

During their stay on Penang Hill, many consultations took place between Sir J. Brooke and McDougall as to the future of the Borneo Church Mission, and the necessity of obtaining further assistance from England. This resulted in a letter from the Rajah, to be communicated by McDougall to the authorities at home. In the course of it, he said: "Urge therefore, an efficient organisation, and a supply of labourers to till the field. Without dictating, I would suggest, that several young men should be sent out, who should learn the Dyak language, and would live at places chosen, and in the event of this increase being made, there should be powers vested in you, of controlling and arranging their duties." The scanty means of the Borneo Church Mission were insufficient for the work which had been undertaken, and both Mr. and Mrs. McDougall realised that nothing could be done, until S.P.G. took the mission into its hands. This therefore they urged strongly in their letters home. In the meantime Mr. McDougall reported having just completed a translation of the Church Catechism and some prayers into Malay, for the use of the school children, and hoped that he would be commissioned to translate the Prayer Book.

Greatly restored in mind and body, they left the Hill on May 3rd, and sailed from Penang on the 10th, in a Spanish merchant ship bound for Singapore. On arrival at Singapore, they were hurried off, by the Admiral's sudden resolution to visit Sarawak, and his kind offer to take them with him in H.M.S. "Fury." So they were his guests for three days, and for a day and a night he was their guest in Kuching. He was a brother of Jane Austen the novelist. In October, Mr. McDougall found it absolutely necessary to establish a hospital, in addition to his dispensary, and the result of that was the necessity to enlarge the school for through the hospital, the Chinese acquired sufficient confidence, to give their children to be brought up as Christians. He had to limit the number

Bishop F. T. McDougall.

of these, raising the number of boarders to 20, which was as many as they could deal with. In addition, he promised, as soon as he could get a Chinese assistant, to open a school for elder boys. This Christian Chinese assistant he obtained through the chaplain at Singapore. Thus this first Medical Mission of the Church of England proved its value for gaining the people's confidence. McDougall always realised the importance of this, and he never failed to seek to keep up his technical knowledge. When he visited Singapore, he attended constantly at the hospital, as he did in London in 1854. when he wrote to his then locum tenens at Singapore "I am now attending hospital practice and medical lectures, to rub up and learn all the new improvements in the healing art." The principal hospital surgeon in Calcutta has told an anecdote, showing McDougall's love for surgery. It was at the time of his visit to Calcutta, for consecration to the Bishopric of Sarawak. As the Dr. was driving to the Hospital, shortly after the ceremony to perform a very severe and dangerous operation he met the Bishop and told him of his errand. At once the Bishop got leave to accompany him, and in twenty minutes he was standing with his coat off, and his arms up to his elbows in blood, and the operation had been most successfully performed. And the Dr. added "He was the best assistant that I ever had in my life." In January 1851, the church was consecrated by the Bishop of Calcutta, Bishop Wilson, who described it as a building, than which there was not one more beautiful or suitable in the whole of India. The pillars of the arches were all of polished palm wood. The planking was of a kind of cedar and the mouldings all of bilian and mirabau, which polishes like mahogany. For the font a large clam shell was procured, large enough to immerse a child of three or four years old, and mounted on an ebony pedestal. The central light of the East window represents the Sarawak cross; a red and purple cross on a yellow ground. This is the national flag, and an appropriate Christian emblem.

The Bishop of Calcutta brought three recruits with

Milford-on-Sea Record Society.

him from Bishop's College, Calcutta, one of whom was Mr. Chambers, who eventually became Bishop McDougall's successor. On April 17th, Mr. McDougall set off on a month's excursion in the Rajah's yacht, with several Government officials to visit the powerful tribes up the Kanòwit River, and to make a treaty with the Kayans, who wished to put themselves under Sarawak protection, and Mr. McDougall wished to see whether a missionary might safely be sent among the Kayans, and to visit the Dyaks of the Sakarran River, where Chambers was to be placed. Mr. McDougall was not really fit for such a journey. For a fortnight he had been suffering from acute inflammation of his knee, and had been completely laid up, but he put his leg into gutta-percha splints and had a crutch made. On his return, his knee became much worse, in consequence of many falls, incurred in crossing Dyak bridges and mounting hills, and climbing into Dyak houses. He made a rapid visit to Singapore for advice. But in October he was confined to bed again, and doubted whether it would ever get well in Borneo. At the same time his wife had lost yet another boy, and was very weakly, and he feared that she would never be herself again, until she had had a winter at home to set her up. In November, much against his will, but at the urgent entreaties of his friends, he found himself at Singapore, with Mrs. McDougall, for fresh medical advice. He was recommended to go at once to Java, to try the hot springs in the hills but the expense was too much for him. A relapse, however, following, he accepted an invitation from the Bishop, to visit Hong-Kong, again having the kind offer of a passage in H.M.S. "Amazon." But notwithstanding the voyage, and the climate of Hong-Kong in February, when it is cool and dry, on his return he was very far from well, while his wife was still ailing. He therefore accepted the proposal of the committee, that they should return home for a season, not only for the benefit of their health but because, in the preceding year, the proposal for a bishopric in Borneo had been put for-

Bishop F. T. McDougall.

ward, and it was felt that Mr. McDougall's presence would greatly assist in carrying it into effect. In 1851, with the consent of all parties interested, a great step forward was taken when the Borneo Church Mission became a branch of the S.P.G. During the visit of Mr. McDougall to Hong-Kong he obtained another recruit who proceeded at once to Borneo, to take charge at Sarawak of the work among the Chinese. Another new man Gomes, from Bishop's College, Calcutta, a man of Cingalese extraction, had instructions to proceed at once to Lundu. In the meanwhile, Mrs. McDougall had another sad disappointment, in the loss of yet another son, born at Singapore, while they were waiting for a ship home. During five years, they had lost five children, and after such trials, many people might ask, how she could ever think of returning again to the East, and whether she did not hate the country where she had suffered so much. But she herself stated that so far from hating it, the place seemed consecrated to her by sufferings. On September 25th, 1852, she had a serious accident in Singapore; while driving in a pony-carriage, the pony bolted down a hill, fell and rolled over and over down a steep pitch. The carriage was smashed. Mrs. McDougall escaped, but with both bones of the right arm fractured, and she was much bruised and shaken. But still, when the time came for leaving by the October mail, although the Doctors counselled delay, she would not consent to stay behind at Singapore, and she was rewarded for her courage by a rapid recovery.

In January 1853, Mr. McDougall made a long report to S.P.G., proposing, in addition to the establishment of a mission ship, the enlargement of the medical part of his work, and the gradual introduction of industrial and agricultural teaching in the Dyak mission schools.

June that year found them at the rectory of Fornsett St. Mary, in Norfolk, with her sister Mrs. Colenso, and

Milford-on-Sea Record Society.

the future Bishop of Natal. There her eldest daughter, Mab, was born, Mary Colenso McDougall. She is probably remembered by some here. But their sufferings, through bereavements of their children, were not all over, for in June 1854, they lost their eldest boy Charley, who died at the Grammar School, Ipswich, after a blow received from a cricket-ball, and a chill caught in the cricket-field. With Charley's death, their misfortunes with their children came to an end, for after Mab's birth, they were blessed with three other children, two girls and a boy, all of whom did well, and lived to survive their parents.

While Mr. McDougall was at home, the project of the bishopric was pushed forward. There were many technical difficulties. The erection of a missionary bishopric, beyond the dominions of the Crown, was then thought impossible, that is why the title of the new bishopric was taken from the Island of Labuan, a little island, no larger than the Isle of Wight, but the only spot of land in those seas then under the immediate control of the Colonial Office, for the S S., including Singapore, Penang and Malacca, were then under the Government of India. The McDougalls were anxious to return to Borneo, so, as soon as the question of the bishopric was settled, it was decided that his consecration should take place at Calcutta, that he should go there in October by sea, and that a commission should be sent out, to authorise the Bishop of Calcutta and his suffragans to consecrate, whenever three bishops could be assembled together for that purpose. Before he left England, he received the honorary degree of D.C.L. from the University of Oxford. The only other event to be noted as having occurred, while they were at home, was their visit, in the summer of 1854, to Kilgraston in Scotland, the home of the Grants; one of whom was already in the Sarawak Government service, and the youngest son Alan was now to go back with the McDougalls. Alan Grant boarded for some years at the Bishop's house. But this visit was most memorable, in their then making

Bishop F. T. McDougall.

the acquaintance of Mr. Grant's second daughter, Annie, who afterwards married Capt. Brooke. In the autumn of 1854, Dr. and Mrs. McDougall started back, with their child Mab, and an ayah, Alan Grant and several recruits. They arrived in the middle of January, 1855, at Calcutta. Owing to some difficulty and delay in sending out a commission for the consecration they did not wait on in Calcutta, but proceeded forthwith to Singapore, their party diminished by one of the lady recruits discovering that she had no inclination for a missionary's life, she therefore remained behind in Calcutta, where she married, and went up country, and was afterwards cruelly murdered in the Indian Mutiny. On April 25th, they reached the mouth of the Sarawak River, where they were met by the missionary who had been left in charge. During their absence, the news had been bad. Mr. Chambers had had to leave the Sakarran River, on account of the distracted state of the country. The resident at Lingga, was summoned by Mr. Brereton to the Sakarran, to resist an attack by a powerful chief, who was moving with a large force against the Sakarran Dyaks. In ascending the River to resist this force, the Sarawak Government met with a disaster. The enemy turned upon them, with a stronger fleet, and swamped the Government vessels. The resident was killed, gallantly fighting sword in hand, and Brereton only escaped, by being dragged out of the water and into the jungle by his natives, after refusing their entreaties to save himself, and declaring that the white man did not know how to run away. In September 1854, Mr. Brereton had died of dysentery. Before their return, also, the Rajah had been seized by a severe attack of smallpox. There was no European medical man in Kuching at the time. Capt. Brooke and Mr. Crookshank, assisted by faithful Malay servants did the nursing, and additional help was given by one of the missionaries, whom the Bishop had taught to explore the medical books in the library. As therefore the malady increased, the books were consulted, the treatment succeeded, and once improvement set in, recovery was rapid, but for three days

Milford-on-Sea Record Society.

the Rajah's life was utterly 'despaired of. One other bad bit of news also awaited them. One of the men who was brought over by Bishop Wilson at the time of the consecration of the church, and was only waiting for the return of the Bishop to receive Holy Orders, had left the Mission and entered the Government service. He fell at Kanòwit in 1859.

In September, in obedience to the summons for which he had been waiting, Dr. McDougall returned to Calcutta for his consecration. He was consecrated Bishop of Labuan on St. Luke's Day, October 18th, 1855. After his consecration, Bishop McDougall undertook a confirmation tour, for Bishop Wilson, at the mission stations round Calcutta, and consecrated a church at Midnapore in southern Bengal, and, after four months absence, returned to Sarawak in December. On his return, the Rajah appointed him Bishop of Sarawak also, "with power to exercise all ecclesiastical functions pertaining to the episcopal office, as recognised by the order of the Church of England."

During his absence things had again gone badly at Sarawak. The man he had left as chaplain there had had an attack of sunstroke, and met him at Singapore utterly broken down, and in piteous terms threw up his appointment. A lady worker also, who had undertaken the girls' school, found the climate too trying, the life too unexciting, and her work too monotonous, and left. However in March 1856, Mr. Gomez was ordained priest, and a new missionary arrived from Calcutta. In June the Rajah left Sarawak in the gunboat the "Jolly Bachelor" taking the Bishop to Labuan, where a site was chosen for the erection of a church and chaplaincy, in the island which gave the Bishop his original title. The church I used to minister in once a month, when I was chaplain of the west coast of British North Borneo, stationed at Jesselton. The chaplain's residence was fortunately never built at Labuan—I say fortunately, because it has ceased

Bishop F. T. McDougall.

to be a garrison post, and the coal mines, once open, are now closed and now there are scarcely a dozen Europeans on the island.

On his return from Labuan, the Bishop had to go to Singapore for medical advice, for he contracted fever at Labuan, and could not shake it off. In December, he received a letter from the Borneo Company's representative at Singapore, saying that the Directors in London had agreed to pay the Bishop £200 per annum for three years to establish a new mission station at Si-Munjen on the Sadong River. The year 1857 was marked by the Chinese Insurrection. On the night of February 18th, the Chinese gold-miners from Bauh came down the Sarawak River, and simultaneously fired the Rajah's and other European houses having first surrounded them, in order to prevent the escape of the inmates. The two forts were attacked at the same time and soon taken, when the insurgents possessed themselves of all the arms and ammunition in the magazines, and all the money in the treasury. While, however, the Bishop and his party were expecting the rebels to visit the Mission buildings, a message arrived from the rebel chief, saying that they would not harm the teachers, but they must be kept at home, and must not shelter the Rajah or any of his people. Upon this the Bishop hid all arms, and secreted some of the Europeans, who had fled to the mission compound. In the morning, he heard that the Rajah was safe, but that the resident at Lundu, and one of the Borneo Company's men and two children had been killed, that Mr. Crookshank had escaped badly wounded, and that Mrs. Crookshank was left dead on the grass near her own house. The Bishop was sent for, and was asked to look to the wounded rebels. After that, he was called to the Court-house, where the chief rebel, sitting in the Rajah's chair, said that the country was now their's, but as they did not wish to undertake the government of the town, they wished the Bishop and two sago manufacturers, who each employed

a large number of Chinese, and the head Malay chief, to take charge of it, and to promise that the Chinese should not be molested by the Malays on their way back to Bauh. This the Bishop was obliged to agree to. Then having heard that poor Mrs. Crookshank was not dead, he asked leave to remove her to his house, and after great difficulty obtained it. She was fearfully wounded, and the Bishop marvelled that she had not died of loss of blood. The next day was spent by the rebels plundering, and the day following they returned to Bauh. The Bishop at once sent off his wife and children to get to Singapore on a sago schooner, but it was so crammed with refugees, that they landed at a village near the mouth of the Sarawak River, Mrs. Stahl remained to help the Bishop with Mrs. Crookshank, who could not then be moved without endangering her life. The Bishop then sent to the Rajah, urging his return, as the Malays were panic-stricken. The day following, i.e. four days after the insurrection, the Bishop went to Quop, to find the Rajah, and he arranged to return the next morning. On his way back, the Bishop met numbers of people in flight from Kuching, who urged him to come too, as the Chinese were coming down again. But the Bishop went on to the town. Next morning he sent all helpless people from the Mission compound, in three boats, to join Mrs. McDougall, down at the river mouth. Hardly had they started, when the Chinese arrived, shouting and shooting, wanting to kill the Bishop, for getting in touch with the Rajah. The Bishop escaped, in a small Malay boat, from which he got on to the Rajah's boat, then coming up the river. From the river, they watched the burning of the town of Kuching, and then the Bishop's party went on to Lingga. In the meantime, a steamer had arrived in the Sarawak River and the Rajah joined her, rallied the Malays, and drove the rebels back. The strangest features of this insurrection were, the suddenness both of its outbreak and collapse. Kuching and the Rajah were taken completely by surprise, at midnight on February 18th, and

Bishop F. T. McDougall.

the country was lost. A steamer of the Borneo Company, armed with two 18 pounder guns and some light swivels, came boldly in, with the Rajah on board, on the 23rd, and with a few rounds of shot the town was retaken. At once the Malays recovered from their panic, the whole country was roused, thousands and thousands of Dyaks got on the track of the retreating rebels their leaders were killed, and their chief fort taken, and at least four to five hundred were killed, as they attempted to escape into the Dutch territory. The Bishop reported that his Christian Chinese remained staunch and true, and his school kept well together. All but five of his pupils returned, as soon as it was reopened, those five having been forced away, against their will, by relatives, who had joined the rebels. The conduct of the rebels, in sparing the Mission at first, and allowing the Bishop's house to be a general refuge for all who claimed its protection, proved the influence that the work of the Mission had acquired. It is true, that on the rebels return the good feeling had given way, and the Bishop was specially marked out for vengeance, because he had done what he could to bring back the Rajah, but that was as natural on their part as it was the plain path of duty on the Bishop's part. There was one great advantage, in the Bishop's absence from Kuching, at the end of the insurrection. Not only was no blow struck, or blood shed, by his hand, except by his surgical instruments, but he was relieved of all concurrence in the severe measures which followed the overthrow of the insurgents. The immediate cause of the outbreak was taxation. The Government rightly kept the opium trade in its own hands. At one time the consumption of opium at Bauh amounted to sixty balls a month. But as the population increased, the demand for government opium fell, to half, from smuggling. Whereupon the Government ordered that the Kongsis, or Chinese Union, should pay, as heretofore, for sixty balls, whether they took them or not. This decree seems arbitrary, but it was quite justified, for on the suppression of the rebellion, when smuggling was put an end to, notwithstanding the expulsion of so

Milford-on-Sea Record Society.

many Chinese and consequent loss of many consumers, the revenue from opium increased, rather than diminished. A further immediate cause seems to have been the punishment of some members of the Kongsí, for a breach of the law, and the forcible abduction of the chief offender. But it was the opinion both of the Rajah and the Bishop, that it was a political movement. The Chinese at Bauh were in touch with the secret society or Hué, at Singapore. All Chinese settlements in the East were in a great state of excitement, about the Chinese War and the troubles at Canton, in which the British were represented to have been worsted.

There was certainly no lack of sympathy shown to the Rajah. His neighbours, the Dutch, sent round a steamer and troops, as soon as they heard of his disaster, and the Governor came over from Singapore with H.M.S. "Spartan." There was, however, nothing for the man-of-war to do, but to show herself. Her presence was in itself a support and protection, just as the cessation of the visits of British cruisers, as the result of attacks from the Rajah's enemies at home, had done much to weaken his position. Much sympathy also was felt and expressed by the Bishop's friends, and by S.P.G., e.g. At Penang, a sum of £150 was collected, and presented to him, towards the restoration of the Church. Bishop Armstrong, first Bishop of Grahamstown (S. Africa) had died in the preceding autumn, and on hearing of the sack of the Church and mission house, at Kuching, his widow at once sent the late Bishop's robes, to replace those that had been lost. At the same time the fund to provide a Mission ship was completed.

In August that same year, we read of a day of prayer, and collections being made in the Church at Kuching, for the poor destitute people flocking into Calcutta as a result of the Indian Mutiny.

Bishop F. T. McDougall.

In September 1857, an heir was born to the principality, with the arrival of a son born to Capt. and Mrs. Brooke, who had lately reached Kuching from home. Writing home soon after this, the Bishop mentioned another cause for apprehension, which, it afterwards proved, was not unfounded. While the Bishop was in England last, the Rajah had banished the principal Malay chief, the Datu Patinghi, for life. He was found out in a plot, to make himself supreme. He then went to Mecca, and became a bigoted Hadji. The Rajah allowed himself to be talked over, and permitted him to return, at the critical time, after the Chinese insurrection, and when there was much unrest throughout the East, after the Indian Mutiny. The Bishop feared it would lead to trouble amongst the Dyaks and Malays, but the Rajah would not listen to the Bishop's warnings. It was such things as that, that much diminished the value and importance of Kuching, as the position of a Bishop's see, not only for Borneo, but for the whole East Indies. Much as he preferred Sarawak as a place of residence, he now felt more and more, and opened the question with the authorities at home, as to whether Singapore ought or ought not to be the centre of the Church's missions in those parts, and the site of a missionary college and cathedral church. If the Straits Settlements were turned over to the Queen's Government from the East India Company, Singapore ought to be the Bishop's station, and the noble church, then being erected there, ought to be the cathedral. With the design of that church, now St. Andrew's Cathedral, Singapore, Bishop McDougall had had a great deal to do. The schools existing at Singapore, Penang and Malacca, would be excellent feeders for a missionary college, as they contained lads from all parts of the East Indies, as well as from Siam and Burmah. These plans were ultimately adopted, but, not till the transfer of the Straits Settlements to the Colonial Office, and not till after Bishop McDougall's resignation of the See of Labuan.

Just about this time, Mrs. McDougall was seriously

Milford-on-Sea Record Society.

ill, overdone by fatigue. The Gomez family had been down staying with them, and their child had given both the McDougall children whooping-cough, which they had badly for a month. This put a climax to her fatigues, and it was not surprising that she was bowled over. They went to convalesce at Santubong, a sea-side resort near the mouth of the Sarawak River. On their return to Kuching they found the place for the first time visited by cholera. It was bad amongst the Malays. This gave the Bishop much additional medical work. He speaks of it as a very anxious time but he added "I have scarcely lost any cases that were taken early."

In February 1858, he had purchased a cutter of about fifty tons, which would cost about £1000 when completed, and from which he hoped great things, as she would be a comfort and a safeguard in the unsettled times, prevailing.

Reviewing the past, at this time, in his report to S.P.G., he says "there is no doubt that the events of the last year have considerably dimmed the hopes of present visible fruit in our work, which, before the Chinese outbreak, seemed so promising. The late visitation of cholera, the want of confidence not yet restored, and above all the increasing jealousy and hostile attitude of the Mahomedan population are against us, for the pulsations of the Indian heart of Islam are now vibrating strongly through the Malay Peninsular." But, above all, he urged the necessity of assistance being given from home, to enable the Sarawak Government to support itself. For a whole year no British man-of-war had visited Kuching, and people naturally began to doubt whether England had not cast Sarawak off. When the Bishop was in the bazaar, he was often asked why an English naval ship never came now.

During the rest of 1858, the Rajah was in England,

Bishop F. T. McDougall.

and in October was struck down with paralysis. Capt. Brooke was in charge of the Government in Sarawak. The state of the country was very unsettled, and the Bishop continually wrote home urging the importance, or rather necessity, of the interference of the British Government for the protection of British subjects in those parts. On St. Andrews Day, November 30th, the Bishop baptised his little son Herbert Alan Hosier, who was born October 15th. He then relates a sad event, which was a real calamity to the whole community in Sarawak. Poor Annie Brooke, Capt. Brooke's young bride, died the previous week, less than a fortnight after her confinement. It was very hard on the Bishop, that the anxiety and responsibility should have been thrown upon him, and this Mrs. McDougall felt keenly, but the Rajah and Capt. Brooke and his wife's parents, the Grants were all satisfied that all had been done that could be done on her behalf.

It was not till December that the news of the illness of Sir J. Brooke reached Sarawak. At once Capt. Brooke, urged by the Bishop, left for England, and his brother Mr. C. Johnson took charge of the Government. During the year 1859 the political aspect of affairs was not satisfactory. The views of Capt. Brooke and those of his uncle the Rajah were not identical. They both wished for a protectorate—if possible, from Great Britain, but failing that, from Holland or even France. But in addition to that, the Rajah began to wish for the restoration, at least in part, of the private fortune which he had sunk in Sarawak, and he sought to make that a condition of any arrangement for protection. When he reached England, he was cordially received, and both Lord Palmerston, and Lord Clarendon, who was at the Foreign Office, offered a protectorate. But the Rajah delayed, to try and drive a bargain. So Lord Derby, who succeeded Lord Palmerston as Prime Minister, determined to have nothing to do with Sarawak, at least for the present, or to entertain the Rajah's proposals. In this state of affairs, with the Rajah

stricken with paralysis, and no political advance made. Capt. Brooke returned home. The case presented itself to the Bishop with a double aspect. He earnestly desired the prosperity of the state of Sarawak, and in common with Capt. Brooke and his friends, urged the acceptance of the protection of the British Government on whatever terms it could be fairly obtained. But in the absence of the protectorate or formal recognition which the Rajah demanded, he considered that the aegis of Great Britain should be extended over her subjects in Borneo, by occasional visits from vessels of war, in the same way that it was afforded to her subjects in other foreign countries. It was therefore a great blow to him to be told that this also was to be denied, and that if British subjects went to foreign countries they did so at their own risk. As he pointed out, he never came to live there as such an exile and outlaw, and such a declaration that England meant to cast Sarawak off from all protection was calculated to do great mischief in the minds of the Chinese and Malays. The position was ticklish enough before, but it was now doubly so, by the assurance that there would be no visits from men-of-war. That had been their chief security, and he felt that it was unfair and cruel to remove it, at a time when the Rajah's life was hanging by a thread. In July 1859, two Government officers, Fox and Steele were murdered by Dyaks in the fort at Kanòwit. A certain Malay who had been disgraced and banished by the Government but since then had been allowed to return to the Réjang River, was at the bottom of it, and was in league with the Datu Hadji, the old disgraced Patinghi, whom the Rajah allowed also to return, in a moment of weakness, after banishing him for life. These Malay discontents caused a report to be spread among the Dyaks, that all the Europeans at Kuching, at Labuan, and at Banjermassin, in Dutch Borneo, had been killed. This was thoroughly believed, and the Dyaks thought they could kill Fox and Steele, and possess themselves of arms and goods in the Fort with impunity. At Lundu also it was found that they had spread the same story, tampering

Bishop F. T. McDougall.

with the people, having already won over the Mérdang Dyaks from near Quop. The whole thing was a plot, to kill all the Europeans, and put the Datu and his friends in power. Shortly after this, the Bishop wrote to S.P.G., pointing out how recent events had proved that his views had not been far wrong. It was so in the case of the Chinese rebellion, when his warnings had been disregarded. Now they had had another shake, for which the Bishop was not unprepared, and was therefore less alarmed than others, who would not foresee the danger. Of course it meant that the Dyaks' minds were again disturbed, until the plot was stamped out, and the Datu Hadji's submission procured. Head-taking had received another impulse, as the punishment of the offenders entailed an expedition against the offending tribes, and it would be some time before the work could be pushed in fresh places. On December 5th, he wrote from Singapore that the Doctors had ordered him to return home at once, lest he should have another relapse of fever, and be rendered useless altogether. All this time Capt. Brooke, as well as the Rajah, were in England, and in spite of Lord Derby's refusal to take over the country, efforts were made to place the political relations of Sarawak on a more safe and permanent footing. What was required was more patience than the Rajah had in the matter, and fortunately he was too ill to deal with it. His nephew conducted the negotiations, though his uncle by no means left him a free hand. A steady claim was urged upon Great Britain, as the paramount power at sea, to enforce the Pax Britannica in the East Indian Islands, and to put down piracy. Recognition of the Sarawak Government was the first need, a formal protectorate was sure to follow. Such was in fact the course of events. The mistake the Rajah made was in refusing to ask for recognition. He wanted to bargain for a protectorate, and the return of, or security for his advances. On March 29th, 1860, the Bishop arrived home, and remained home till January 1862, recruiting his health, and doing a great deal of deputation work for S.P.G. During a visit to Ireland, their youngest child,

Muford-on-Sea Record Society.

Mildred Hope McDougall was born. The Rajah was recovering from his paralysis. In July 1860, he came up to Town and dined with the Bishop. Some time after, a handsome present of plate was made to the Bishop, by the European community of Sarawak, headed by the Rajah, who wrote "the Bishop deserves more than we can afford to give, for his kindness in sickness to each and all of us." The Bishop's medical services were also acknowledged by the Borneo Company. in a letter accompanying a cheque for £500. No official resident medical man had been appointed up to that time to Kuching, and the Bishop had gradually drifted into becoming the Doctor of the place, though he had not intended to do that, neither did he practise for gain. He started back January 1862, leaving behind three children, and taking with them the youngest, an infant of ten months. They found Capt. Brooke in command on their arrival, and a new friend in the person of his second wife. During the Bishop's absence he had lost the three men whom he had ordained in 1858. One had accepted the post of Government chaplain at Malacca, and the other two had obtained benefices in Australia. To take their place, four new probationers had arrived, whom he hoped to ordain soon. In addition, his native schoolmaster and catechist was seeking for ordination, and four of his elder pupils were ready to be appointed as native catechists. On May 9th, the whole place was again involved in gloom, when Julia Brooke, Capt. Brooke's second wife died—another victim to Sarawak's depressing influences. What with damp sticky heat, the wildness and loneliness of the place, and the oppression of the history of its past, it was too much for her. In an interval of consciousness, she gave her poor little baby to Mrs. McDougall to take care of with her own. On May 20th, Capt. Brooke left on the Rajah's steam yacht—the "Rainbow" for a three months' cruise on the coast, taking the Bishop with him, for the first ten days, as far as Bintulu. The steamer returned five days later, decked with Illanun flags, which she had taken from a fleet of six pirate vessels. They met them three at a time, returning home to their islands,

Bishop F. T. McDougall.

crammed full of captives and booty. They ran over them one by one, sustaining and giving a heavy fire all the time. The Bishop fought, until he had his hands full of wounded to dress. There were at least forty pirates in each boat, and from sixty to seventy captives in each, picked up in a seven months cruise. The Bishop sent a full account of this to the "Times," and it was published in London on July 16th. It was written at the request of Capt. Brooke, and was read by him, and therefore carried his authority for the accuracy of the narrative. It described in animated language their encounter with the pirates. The Bishop never doubted the righteousness of the part he bore in it, but in his eagerness to enlist the sympathies of his fellow-countrymen and to persuade the Government to put a stop to a system far worse than the African slave-trade, he forgot to take fully into account the feelings of the religious public at home. In his excess of honesty, he made no concealment of his own action, and committed the imprudence of commending the name of the manufacturer of his rifle. The letter created a widespread interest. On July 26th, it was referred to in kindly terms in Parliament, but it found severe critics in the Church. There were some who thought, that nothing could justify a bishop in being anything but a passive witness in a mortal combat, people who thought like that were those whose lives and surroundings had been so different, that they could not realise either the position in which the Bishop was placed or the duties that it entailed. Others were honestly pained and offended at the militant spirit called forth in him. Again others thought little of the right or wrong of what had been done, but did not like the Bishop's manner of telling it, and lastly there were those, ever ready for the fray, who rushed at the opportunity to attack the religious body and party to which the Bishop belonged. A regular storm raged. Bishop Baring, then at Durham, wrote in severe terms to S.P.G. on what he termed the extraordinary proceedings of the Bishop of Labuan, with regard to his shooting the poor heathen, instead of converting them.

Milford-on-Sea Record Society.

A correspondence then ensued, which was eventually laid before the Archbishop of Canterbury, together with the original letter in the Times, and an explanatory statement, which I now give, as it contains the case made by the Bishop's friends, and it explains the grounds on which the Archbishop came to his conclusions.

“ On May 9th, Capt. Brooke, Rajah Muda, and Acting Governor of Sarawak had the misfortune to lose his wife very suddenly, and after a few days, it was thought by his friends, that he might find some mental relief, in change of scene and work. Accordingly he was persuaded to undertake a voyage to Bintulu, on the N.W. coast of Sarawak, and the Bishop accompanied him, solely with the view of comforting and supporting him, as one friend might another, in a time of severe affliction. Mr. Helms, of the Borneo Company, joined the party, and was dropped at Muka, where, the second day after his arrival, a fleet of Illanun pirates appeared, and blockaded the place. For two days they remained off Muka, and took thirty-two captives from the neighbourhood. Meanwhile Mr. Helms had persuaded a party of natives to start in a fast boat for the steamer, which they reached at the mouth of the river off Bintulu. The “ Rainbow ” at once returned towards Muka, and soon dispersed the first detachment of pirates, three prahus, two of which were sunk. Learning from the captives the direction taken by the remainder of the fleet, the steamer stood out to sea, and engaged them. The pirates opened a very heavy fire on the steamer, and were quite sure they could take her. But after a desperate contest, they were run down and sunk. Some 190 Illanuns were killed, some drowned with the sinking boats, 31 were taken prisoners, and the rest escaped. 250 captives were liberated, but many were killed, for the pirates, when they saw that they were worsted, fell upon them, and even young girls were cut to pieces by those to whose brutality they had been subjected. From one boat one Spanish and six Dutch flags were taken.

Bishop F. T. McDougall.

How many more in the other five boats is unknown. The captives were from almost every part of Borneo, Celébes,, Java, Singapore and Trengànnu. In six days, these six boats captured eleven smaller boats. They had been out seven months, and were part of a fleet of twenty-one boats that left Sulu. The appearance of the captives was most distressing. Many looked mere skeletons. They had only seawater to drink and unwashed sago for food. Their limbs were systematically beaten, to disable them from mutiny or flight. However iniquitous negro slavery may be, the negro serves men much above him in intellect, and of a higher race. But the captives of these Illanun pirates are mostly gentle, very much above the pirates, than whom the Bishop had never seen more ferocious, brutal men.

The Bishop openly avowed the part he took. He remained on deck, and took part in the fight, until the sinking of the first of the three pirate vessels gave a moral assurance of victory to his friends. He then cared for the wounded. It must be remembered, that when he embarked on the "Rainbow," he never expected what afterwards happened. His mission was wholly a peaceful one. But once on board, he had no option but to return with her. He could not have left her. And even if he had been able to, he would not have been justified in leaving his friends, to go into action without the assistance of an experienced surgeon, which he alone of the party was competent to give. The conflict in the second engagement was between eight Europeans and fifteen natives against three prahus, each carrying three long brass lelahs or swivel cannon, and each containing forty to fifty fighters, well armed with rifles and muskets, and each had sixty to seventy captives, whose release and rescue was a duty, incumbent upon the crew of the ship in which the Bishop was a passenger. The Bishop had no choice, but either to go below, and so diminish the chance of victory, or join the other passengers against the common

Milford-on-Sea Record Society.

foe. When he chose the latter course, it must be left to the impartial judgement of all men, whether he was justified in shedding blood in self-defence. The letter to the "Times" was dated May 26th. The engagement took place on the 23rd. It was written at the request of the Rajah Muda and in his stead, in haste to save the mail. It was intended to induce the Government of this country to make some effort to put down piracy on the coasts of Borneo, and in that it was successful."

In January 1863 the Archbishop (Dr. Longley) acknowledged receipt of the documents, and wrote. "In reviewing the conduct of the Bishop of Labuan, it must be granted that the position in which he found himself on board the "Rainbow," when news reached him that Illanun pirates were blockading Muka, was one in which a Bishop of the Church of England would never voluntarily place himself. But it appears that when he embarked, he never anticipated the possibility of being brought into so painful a situation. He undertook the voyage solely with a desire to console and cheer a friend in deep sorrow. When the urgent demand came from the Borneo Company's agent, that the "Rainbow" should return, and drive the pirates from the mouth of the river, it was impossible for the Bishop to leave the ship. Nor ought he to have done so, even if he could, seeing that the surgical aid, which he alone of the party was able to give, would soon be needed. Besides, the engagement was likely to be a very critical one. The number of vessels, of men, and of guns, being vastly in favour of the pirates, who reckoned on an easy victory. Some may urge that self-defence is unlawful for a Christian. But in the Bishop of Labuan's case; it was not merely a question of self-defence, but of succouring those who would have been exposed to cruelties worse than death, and of delivering 250 captives from brutal treatment at the pirates' hands. I cannot bring myself to condemn the Bishop for his active interference under such very trying circumstances, nor do I think that upon

Bishop F. T. McDougall.

calm reflection and acquaintance with all the details, any impartial person would be inclined to do so."

After the events just recorded, life in Sarawak appears to have become irksome. But the Bishop had no intention of abandoning his work. He consoled himself by turning to it with increased energy. Mr. Charles Johnson took the name of Brooke at the Rajah's desire, and he governed the country under the title of Tuan Muda, during the life of his brother. On the death of Capt. Brooke and Sir James, the Rajah bequeathed all his rights in Sarawak to C. J. Brooke, and he succeeded to the full sovereignty. The long desired recognition by Great Britain took place in 1864, when a consul was accredited to Sarawak, and this was followed by periodical visits from one of H.M.'s ships on the China Station. This gave greater stability to the struggling Government until a complete protectorate was conceded. From the beginning of 1862 the proposal for separation of the Straits Settlements from the Government of India, and making them a Crown Colony, was under discussion, but it was not till late in 1866 on the eve of Bishop McDougall's departure from Borneo that the royal assent was given to the Act for transfer of the Straits Settlements.

During the Bishop's previous residence in Borneo, the mission ship, the "Sarawak Cross" had been afloat up to the time of his leaving for home. She had done good service both for the Church and for the State, but just before he left, he found that she was in such a bad condition that, being a wooden vessel, it would have been useless to lay her up, and he was obliged to leave her with his agents to be sold, and the purchase money to be invested as a fund to accumulate to replace her. When he returned, she was replaced by a small yawl which he called the "Fanny." This vessel was constructed of iron at Liverpool, sent out in pieces and put together at Singapore. We have already mentioned that he was quite competent

Milford-on-Sea Record Society.

to navigate a boat, and was said in his day to have been the best pilot on the Sarawak River. There is quite a good story in this connection, told of him after the episode with the Illanun pirates, when he became known among the profane as the b.....Bishop. On one occasion, one of the British gunboats, engaged in suppressing piracy, was ordered to rendezvous at the mouth of the river, and the navigating lieut. was steering into what he thought was the channel, when he saw a portly figure in straw hat and cotton suit standing up in a boat, gesticulating wildly for the ship to stop. "Are you the b.....pilot?" cried the officer "No" came the answer, "But I am the b.....Bishop, and if you don't port your helm, and go full speed astern, you will be aground in a minute." The Bishop was right, his advice was followed and the vessel was saved.

At the beginning of 1865, he was attacked by a derangement of the heart's action, from which he never entirely recovered, resulting mainly from remittent fever, caused by malaria. Doctors prescribed change as the remedy. In December 1866 they left Sarawak in H.M.S. "Rifleman" for Labuan, where he consecrated the Church he had built there, and held a confirmation. From Labuan they went to Manilla, where Mrs. McDougall went down with the dreaded Labuan fever. She was seriously ill, and had a relapse at Hong-Kong. There the Bishop also caught a chill, and when they arrived back at Singapore, the Doctors ordered them away at once. On April 17th, 1867, the Bishop and his wife, with their youngest child, arrived home at Kensington. The Bishop's health caused great anxiety to his friends, and the truth gradually dawned upon him that he ought to relinquish his intention of returning to the East; but he did not actually resign the bishopric, till the spring of 1868, when he was offered, by the Dean of Westminster, the Vicarage of Godmanchester, in the county of Huntingdon, and in the Diocese of Ely. On June 8th, 1868, Sir J. Brooke had another stroke, and passed away on June 11th. On December 1st, Capt.

Bishop F. T. McDougall.

Brooke, the Rajah Muda, followed him, and Charles Johnson Brooke became the second Rajah. On June 29th, that year Bishop McDougall had the pleasure of assisting in the consecration of his successor, Bishop Chambers, who was, in the first instance, consecrated Bishop of Labuan, and in September following, the long talked-of transfer of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Straits Settlements took place and he became Bishop of Singapore also. It was not till 1910, that the Diocese of Labuan and Sarawak was again separated from that of Singapore, when the development of the newer state of British North Borneo, belonging to the Chartered Company, made the supervision of British North Borneo, Sarawak, Brunei, and Labuan as much as one Bishop could conveniently look after. Amongst other important functions of the Church, at which Bishop McDougall assisted, after his return to England, was the consecration, in Westminster Abbey, of Dr. Christopher Wordsworth as Bishop of Lincoln in February 1869. In May 1868, he undertook a confirmation tour in Portugal, on behalf of the Bishop of London. In June and July 1871, he visited North Europe, confirming at Hamburg, Dresden, Berlin, Copenhagen, Christiania, Gothenburg, Stockholm, and Riga.

In 1870 he was appointed to the Archdeaconry of Huntingdon, and in the following year to a canon's stall in Ely Cathedral. He never held the position of suffragan to Bishop Harold Browne of Ely, but held a commission from him, authorising him to perform episcopal duties in the Diocese of Ely. In 1873 Bishop H. Browne was translated from Ely to Winchester, and as, just at that time, a canonry in Winchester fell vacant, together with the Archdeaconry of the Isle of Wight, Bishop McDougall was translated from Ely Diocese also with the Bishop of the Diocese. It was not however till November 1881, that he undertook any parochial work in this Diocese, when he accepted the living of Milford-on-Sea. And there this paper will close because his work here is better known to

Milford-on-Sea Record Society.

you than his work in Borneo, and his controversies about Church ornaments, ritual etc., have already been recorded in the annals of this Society. All I would say about that is, that a man who had laboured as he had done, had a right to have opinions of his own, and if he was somewhat autocratic it was hardly to be wondered at.

