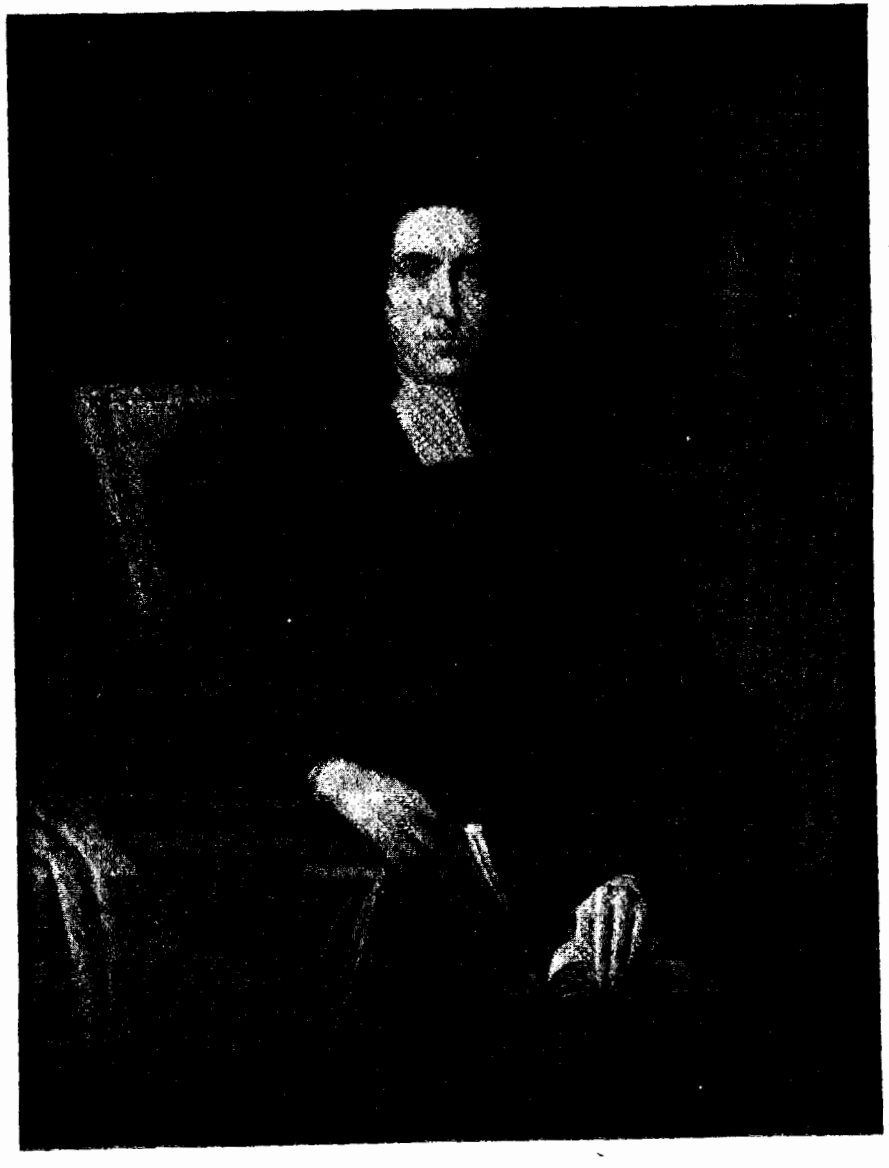

THE REV. THOMAS BRAY, D.D.
From the portrait presented to the Society by His Honour Judge Kenelm Digby in 1892.

INTO ALL LANDS

The History of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts 1701—1950

By the
REV. H. P. THOMPSON
Sometime Editorial Secretary of the S.P.G.

With a Foreword by
HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY
President of the S.P.G.

LONDON
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frontispiece

CORRIGENDA

p. 56, l. 10. For *1698* read *1701*.

p. 63, l. 14. For *1695* read *1698*.

p. 197, l. 17. The first L.M.S. missionary was Dr. J. T. Vanderkemp, 1799.

p. 323, l. 10. For *David Livingstone* read *Robert Moffat*.

p. 399, l. 11. For *Fong Hau Kong* read *Foo Ngyen Khoon*.

p. 487, l. 21. Read: The S.P.G. for long refused to be officially represented, but finally gave way. (Archbishop Davidson's memory, quoted below, was for once at fault.)

p. 562, l. 10. For *Lawrence* read *Lawrance*.

p. 623, l. 39. Philip Loyd was not appointed archdeacon.

p. 703, l. 12. For *1920* read *1910*.

p. 716, l. 12. The S.P.G. made grants to King's College (p. 73) but was not its founder.

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BORNEO

IT was James Brooke, the "White Rajah," whose call brought the first mission out to Borneo. On a voyage to China that great island had caught his deep interest: its beauty and fertility held such high promise; the brutalities of its pirates and headhunting tribes so challenged his humanity. After careful preparation he sailed in 1838 in his own ship, the *Royalist*, determined upon "adding to knowledge, increasing trade, and spreading Christianity." Arriving in Sarawak, he was called in aid by the Sultan of Brunei to suppress rebel tribes, and to crush the hordes of Malay and Dyak pirates who terrorized the coasts and rivers; and this he did with such success that in 1842 the Sultan conferred on him the title of Rajah with rule over the territory of Sarawak.

Aided by ships of the Royal Navy, Brooke carried on his difficult task: with the cession of the small island of Labuan to the British in 1846, he became also the British Resident. And now he appealed to the home Church for a mission: the conversion of the people must be the foundation of their welfare. But both the S.P.G. and the C.M.S. were too fully committed elsewhere, and it fell to the Rev. C. D. Brereton to organize a committee and raise funds, to which the S.P.G. voted £50 for five years. Brooke himself, returning to England, pleaded the cause, and in November, 1847, two missionaries, with their wives and children sailed from London: the Rev. Francis Thomas McDougall, a skilled surgeon as well as priest, and the Rev. W. B. Wright. In June the next year they landed at Kuching.

Handicapped by language, McDougall at first concentrated on a dispensary and a small hospital, where his medical skill soon won admiration and confidence, while his gifted wife Harriette gave herself to the care of a house full of Asiatic orphans. Wright and his wife opened a school, but six months later resigned, and the McDougalls carried on alone. Piracy was by no means dead yet, and in 1849 a great pirate fleet had to be intercepted and destroyed in the Saribas river. McDougall began to explore around Kuching, and soon realized that while the Malays, as Moslems, would be very difficult to convert, there was great promise among the Dyak tribes, and among the immigrant Chinese.

But two people, even Francis and Harriette McDougall, could do little.

Better hopes dawned in 1851, when Bishop Daniel Wilson came all the way from Calcutta, at the age of seventy-three, to consecrate St Thomas's Church, a fine building of wood which Brooke had erected, and brought with him Mr Fox, a student from Bishop's College, to take charge of the school; Mr F. W. Nicholls, another student, followed; and the Rev. William Chambers arrived from England. On Sunday, September 7, he was posted to a mission on the Sakarran,[1] up the Batang Lupar river: that day also McDougall admitted five Chinese converts to communion, and preached on missionary work, taking a collection of $57 for the S.P.G. Jubilee Fund.

The S.P.G. had so far taken but a minor part. But it realized the importance of this new field. Bishop Wilson, after his visit, had declared that "there is no mission field on the face of the earth to be compared with Borneo". True to its principles, the Society held that the first step must be to put a bishop in command—hitherto it was under the jurisdiction of London!—and set aside £5,000 from its Jubilee Fund towards the necessary endowment: the S.P.C.K. added another £2,000. All was in train for a great development.

[1] Now more accurately spelt Skrang.

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BURMA

BURMA, though lying close alongside India, is separated from it not only by lofty mountain ranges, but by a marked racial difference. The indigenous Burmese, various as they are, come of Mongolian stock derived from Tibet and China. Broadly they may be divided into the Burmans,[1] living in the valley and delta of the River Irrawaddy, and the Hill tribes, driven back by them into the forested ranges which enclose that valley on west and north and east. The Burmans, far the more numerous, are united by their national language, by pride in their history and civilization, and by their religion, Buddhism, which India gave them but herself rejected. Living with comparative ease upon their rice crops, they are a light-hearted and pleasure-loving people, but quick-tempered and capable of great cruelty.

The Hill tribes, of whom Chins, Kachins and Karens are the chief groups, are hardier and less civilized people, with many sub-divisions and many languages. Animists, though some have a veneer of Buddhism, they have as a whole been readier to listen to Christianity; but it has gained far the strongest hold upon the Karens, tribes of the Siamese frontier hills, who, after the British brought protection from the attacks of the Burmans, began to descend into the plains, and now have their villages in many parts of the Delta. The largest of the tribal groups, in character serious and hard-working, and good fighters, they are likely to hold an important part in the future of Burma, and a leading place in the Burmese Church.[2]

Besides these people of the land, there are small but interesting tribes of the sea and islands. Far south along the Tenasserim coast are the Mawken, "sea gipsies" living almost wholly in their boats, perhaps of Malay blood, but animists. And out in the Bay of Bengal lie the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, belonging politically to India, but until recently part of the diocese of Rangoon. In the Andamans are remnants of an aboriginal pygmy tribe, primitive creatures for whom the Church has been able to do practically nothing; but in the Nicobars is a more virile race, whose missionary story is one of the most romantic in the world.

[1] For convenience we use the name *Burmans* for this section of the inhabitants, *Burmese* for the whole, including Hill tribes, Eurasians, Tamils, etc.

[2] Purser: *Christian Missions in Burma*, chapter ii.

To these indigenous peoples must be added those who have come to settle among them, mainly in the towns; large numbers of Indians, mostly Tamils and Telugus from the south; smaller numbers of Chinese; the Europeans; and a considerable community of Eurasians—for to Burman girls it was an honour rather than a shame to become the wife of a European, even though they knew it might be but temporary.

The first to trade with Burma were the Portuguese: their chaplains baptized the Burmese wives taken by their countrymen and the children of such marriages, but did little evangelistic work. But the fierce opposition of the Burmese kings led to a succession of heroic martyrdoms. The East India Company, by contrast, though it had "factories" in Burma from the early 1700s, provided chaplains for their staffs, but opposed any missionary efforts. It was their hostility that expelled the eager American Baptist Adoniram Judson from India; landing at Rangoon in 1813, he found one of the Careys starting work there, and threw himself into it. So began the courageous and successful work of the American Baptist Mission, whose followers are now by far the largest Christian body in Burma.

Clashes between the Company and the Burmese kings led to the first Burmese war in 1824, through which the Arakan and Tenasserim coasts were ceded to the Company, and Akyab and Moulmein became its garrisoned headquarters. During this Judson and Price, the Baptists, suffered terribly from imprisonment, and the Roman Catholic centre at Rangoon was almost wiped out. In 1853 the second Burmese war ended by bringing under British rule all Lower Burma, with its frontier at Thayetmyo and Toungoo. Now at last our Church began missionary work, thanks to the interest of some of the British residents and the leadership of their chaplains, who raised a Burma fund of £750, and turned to the S.P.G. for help.

So in 1859 the Society placed at Moulmein, still the leading town, two men: T. A. Cockey, a young student of Bishop's College, Calcutta, had spent two years there learning the language: now, after ordination, he came back to work under the Rev. A. Shears, sent out from England. Burmese lads were eager for teaching, and they opened a school which soon had over a hundred pupils.

To the charge of this school the Society sent in 1860 John Ebenezer Marks, a young schoolmaster from Hackney, where his devotion to boys had already overflowed into "Ragged School" work. He sailed in a Cornish brigantine of 235 tons, which took five months on the voyage, and was "tossed about most unmercifully" after rounding the Cape: such were conditions of travel in those days.[1] Marks developed the school,

[1] Marks, *Forty Years in Burma*, p. 50 foll.

opening it to European as well as Asiatic boys, and soon had 300 pupils. Bishop Cotton, paying a first visit to Burma—still in the diocese of Calcutta—declared that he had "never seen in India a more promising school or one containing better elements of success."

But now Moulmein suffered eclipse. Cockey went back to India to take up the work of his brother, the martyr of Cawnpore; Shears was invalided home; and Bishop Cotton called Marks away to prepare for ordination at Calcutta, and sent him back as a deacon in 1864, not to Moulmein but to Rangoon, now preferred as the capital of British Burma.

There Marks promptly started a boys' school in the "Cottage," a small, inconvenient house with room for only twenty boarders. All was going well, when he was struck down by a dangerous illness and sent back to England, where the doctors ruled out all hope of his returning to Burma. Weak though he was, he spent himself in preaching for his work, and on a visit to St Augustine's, Canterbury, got three of its best men, John Fairclough, Charles Warren and Charles Chard, to promise themselves for Burma;[1] and at Warminster he found Miss Cooke, ready to start a school for Burmese girls.

At last Marks got grudging permission to go back at his own risk: Fairclough and Miss Cooke followed at once, Chard and Warren later. St Mary's School for girls was started: the boys' school revived as St John's College, at first in a bigger house, Woodlands, but later in buildings designed and erected for it. To it was soon added an orphanage for Eurasian boys, and later another for girls.

Marks's principles for school work were perfectly clear. The schools were open equally to all, Europeans, Eurasians, Burmans, Hill tribes, Tamils, Chinese: all were taught the same (except that Europeans learnt Burmese, whilst Asiatics learnt English); and Christian teaching was essential for all, though no pressure would be put upon any to become a Christian. The rest of the curriculum was much the same as in English schools: Arnold of Rugby was Marks's exemplar; games had their full place; a Cadet Corps and fire brigade were started. But it was Marks's own devotion to his boys, and the endless care he spent upon them, that gave his schools their special tone and power; nor could any boys have more fully returned the affection lavished on them.

Marks's abounding energy could not be confined to his college, though this had his constant care. Part of his time was given to work among the Europeans—missionaries were not allowed to do this, but for lack of chaplains it became all too common: Marks used the opportunity to engage their interest in missionary work. As chaplain he visited the river

[1] Marks, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

stations with Bishop Milman in 1867, and started schools at four of them: St Peter's, Henzada, and St Andrew's, Thayetmyo, proved the most successful. At Kemmendine, just west of Rangoon, he started St Michael's School. And in St John's School chapel met two small congregations, one of the few Burman converts (for Buddhists were most difficult to win), the other of Chinese. Work began also among the Tamils, under James Colbeck, ordained in 1874, and a catechist of their own race.

Two other great developments occurred, to be described later: the work opened in Mandalay at King Mindon's invitation, and the Karen Mission. Burma quite clearly needed a bishop of its own. Cotton and Milman had both urged this; and on Milman's death it was at last granted. The diocese of Winchester took a special part, finding £10,000 to endow the new see of Rangoon, and a bishop, Jonathan Holt Titcomb, to occupy it: the S.P.C.K., S.P.G. and C.B.F. added another £10,000 to complete the endowment.

Bishop Titcomb, arriving in 1878, threw himself keenly into the work, encouraging all that he found, stimulating new advance.[1] The schools delighted him: St John's, under Mr J. G. Scott[2] as headmaster, was vigorously taking up cricket and a cadet corps. In a great service in the pro-cathedral he baptized thirty-eight Chinese, and later confirmed many of them. He ordained the Tamil catechist deacon, and the delighted Tamils built their own church, St Gabriel's. He himself began training native catechists, knowing that a native ministry was essential to success. He revived the work at Moulmein, where he put James Colbeck in charge. And he paid an early visit to the Karen Mission, ordaining its first four native clergy.

It was on a later visit to the Karen hills that he fell, injuring his spine so badly that he had to resign his see. His short episcopate had done much to strengthen the Church. As successor came John Miller Strachan, doctor as well as priest, from twenty years' work under the S.P.G. among the Tamils of South India: twenty more years he was to give to Burma, the earlier a time of advance and reinforcement, the later saddened by lack of men and a weakening of the Church's hold.

THE MANDALAY MISSION

We must now turn back to tell of the events that brought the Church into Upper Burma.[3] After the war of 1852 the British deposed the King, Pagan Min, and placed on the throne his brother, Mindon Min, an enlightened ruler, with a British resident to watch his doings. Mindon soon

[1] Titcomb, *Personal Recollections*, p. 24 foll.
[2] He later became Sir George Scott, a great administrator and authority on Burma.
[3] Marks, *op. cit.*, chapters xiii–xv.

built himself a new and beautiful capital at Mandalay; and to earn favour, in the hope that Lower Burma might be restored to his crown, he made friendly approaches first to the Roman Catholic Church (whose Missions were now being staffed from France, and reorganized by the great Bishop Bigandet), and then to the Church of England. One of his sons, in temporary exile, had visited and admired Marks's work in St John's College: now there came a warm invitation from Mindon to Marks to start a Christian school in Mandalay. Colonel Sladen, the British Resident, wrote to commend the proposal: he knew that the Government in India were nervous of anything that might occasion trouble in a stronghold of Buddhism.

Consent, however, was given by the Viceroy as well as by Bishop Milman; and in October, 1868, Marks with six picked boys from St John's left Thayetmyo by steamer, and in a week reached Mandalay. The royal city was a great square, each side nearly a mile long, enclosed by a moat and battlemented wall; the common people and foreigners lived outside it. Soon they were bidden to the great gilded Hall of Audience, amid a company of ministers and courtiers, who, at the King's entrance, prostrated themselves upon the floor. The King, "a fine, typical Burman-looking man, about 55 years of age, very dignified and very pleasant", threw himself down upon a couch, and surveyed the assembly through a pair of binoculars. Then he addressed Marks, thanked him for coming, and promised to grant all his requests. Marks begged permission to work as a Christian missionary in his country, to build a church in Mandalay, to obtain ground for an English cemetery, and to build a Christian school for Burmese boys. All these the King granted, declaring that he would himself build the church and the school, and would send some of his own sons to be taught. Hearing that they should be twelve to fourteen years old, he summoned nine of that age, and laughingly replied that he had 110 sons and daughters. He graciously accepted the gift of books sent by the S.P.G. Calcutta Committee. Next day the party were bidden to breakfast in the palace, more gifts were exchanged, more promises given; and when after three weeks and more interviews Marks returned to Rangoon, plans had been approved and work started on the school.

Marks went to Calcutta to discuss the whole project with Bishop Milman and the Government, who were still nervous about it: but Sir John Lawrence, the Viceroy, at last gave his permission, and as soon as news came from Major Sladen that the buildings were ready Marks set off again, with ten of his best boys, to start the new school. They reached Mandalay on June 7, 1869; Marks took up residence in the fine house built for him by the King, and opened the "S.P.G. Royal School" for boarders and day-boys.

King Mindon now proposed to send the nine sons as pupils, but Marks asked that he might start with four. Next week they came—one of them was Thibaw. "I looked out, and there were the four princes, mounted on four royal elephants, two gold umbrellas held over each, and forty followers in 'undress uniform' behind each elephant. The long procession came up to my door; the elephants knelt down, and the princes descended and came up to my room." He conducted them over to the school hall. "But as soon as the princes entered every boy, according to Burmese custom, went down flat on the floor—none dare stand or sit in the presence of royalty. . . . At length I went forward and pulled up one boy, who looked very miserable and frightened. As soon as I released him to raise up number two, he went down flat upon his face again—worse than at first." The princes were shaking with laughter, and at last told the boys to stand up and get on with their work: "but school worked very stiffly for a day or two"![1]

Things went on well for some time. All the nine princes came—"it was more like a procession of Sanger's Circus through the streets than that of pupils coming to school." They were amiable and docile scholars. The King made no objection to their instruction in Christianity, even saying that at a proper age they might choose between it and Buddhism. He took in hand the building of the church, its design suggested by the new Chapel of St John's College, Cambridge. But gradually his attitude began to change. He had hoped to gain some political advantages; but Marks firmly refused to be drawn into such matters. He was offended that, owing to some formal difficulties, Bishop Milman, on a visit in 1870, did not come to see him. There were delays in building the church, but in 1873 it was finished, and Bishop Milman came to consecrate it, in the presence of a leading prince, and several Ministers; this time he was graciously received by the King. The church was built wholly by the King; Queen Victoria added as her gift a marble font.

But Mindon's favours were ending. He withdrew the princes from the school; his promised payments fell into arrears. At last in 1874 Marks received a message that the King did not want him any more; he had better leave, or his life might be in danger. Undismayed, Marks answered that he would stay till his appointed time was ended; and stay he did, for eight months more, relieved indeed to waste no more time in going to the palace to teach the princes or wait upon the King. In these last months a young layman fresh from St Augustine's, Canterbury, came to help him, James Alfred Colbeck, soon to be ordained and devote his life to Burma. At last, in January, 1875, Marks left, with a number of his pupils. Fairclough, Chard and Colbeck in turn carried on the school, but

[1] Marks, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

in growing disfavour. In 1878 Mindon died, and was succeeded by Thibaw. An inoffensive and weak lad, under the dominance of his mother and his wife, Queen Supayalat, he showed atrocious cruelty, first imprisoning his seventy possible rivals, and then barbarously putting them to death: two escaped to Colbeck's house, and he, at the risk of his life, smuggled them to safety.

Matters went from bad to worse. In 1879 the British Resident was withdrawn, and ordered Colbeck also to leave. In the end it came to war: Mandalay was taken, Thibaw sent to exile, and Upper Burma annexed. Even before the troops entered Mandalay Colbeck was back, in December, 1885. He reopened the church and the school—Thibaw had protected them from destruction—and with an additional grant of £1,000 a year from the S.P.G. work went forward vigorously in Upper Burma, even Burman Buddhists coming forward for baptism. Marks, revisiting the familiar scene in 1889, found the great Hall of Audience converted into a chapel for the British garrison, and in a gilded room built by Thibaw for his monks celebrated the Divine Mysteries.[1]

But Colbeck, worn out by fifteen years of unbroken and unsparing service, died in 1885; a grievous loss when all promised so well. George Colbeck, his brother, took up his work, and others followed. There were outposts at Madaya and Myittha; a new centre at Shwebo was opened in 1887 by Dr F. W. Sutton, and carried on by the Rev. H. M. Stockings. John Tsan Baw, a pupil of Marks and the first Burmese priest of our Church, did sterling work, but died in 1894. But staff had been falling short, outposts could not be fully supervised, converts relapsed; by the end of the century only one priest, the Rev. T. Fisher, was left at Mandalay, and the hold of the Church in Upper Burma was sadly weakened.

THE KAREN MISSION

Toungoo, 175 miles up the great Sittang river, became a frontier town after the war of 1852, with a garrison and a chaplain, and in 1862 the chaplain suggested to the S.P.G. that it should start a Mission there to the Karens, who lived in the town and in the hills lying east of it. But the Society was fully occupied in Rangoon, and the American Baptists had already a strong Mission among the Karens. It was a schism among these that eventually brought the Society in. A Mrs Mason with some 6,000 converts broke away, and asked the Church of England to take them over.[2]

Bishop Milman sent the Rev. J. Trew to make inquiry, and he recommended that the Baptists should not be received, but that a Mission should be started in Toungoo to the Burmans, whom the Baptists had not

[1] *Mission Field*, 1889, p. 335. [2] Purser, *op. cit.*, chapter xii.

evangelized. So the Society sent up, in 1873, the Rev. Charles Warren, who began work and started schools, carefully avoiding any encroachment upon the Baptists. But after two years it was clear that the breach could not be healed; Mrs Mason's converts were drifting back to heathenism, and Warren was told now to accept them.

But the work overwhelmed him; he had been acting as chaplain to the troops, he was daily besieged by Karen inquirers, and had told the Society that Toungoo might become "the key to one of the most flourishing and extensive Missions in the world." In June, 1875, he broke down and died.

The Rev. T. W. Windley came out from England to take up the work, and it quickly spread among the hill villages. When Bishop Titcomb paid his first visit in 1878, he consecrated St Paul's Church at Toungoo, and ordained four Karen deacons; St Paul's School was flourishing under the Rev. J. Kristna, a Tamil pupil of Dr Marks. Next year the Rev. W. E. Jones joined Windley, and with the staff thus strengthened more and more villages were reached. New and better buildings were put up at Toungoo, medical work was started, and a centre for training teacher-catechists.

In 1884 Bishop Strachan made his first Visitation. Windley had then been invalided home, but with Jones and Kristna were Alexander Salmon and John Hackney, young men from St Augustine's who were soon to be ordained and devote themselves to the Karen work, and four Karen clergymen, as well as a body of catechists. It had become the custom to gather Christians from all the villages in a yearly conference, and over this the bishop presided, in the village of Wathocot. The villagers had built an assembly place of bamboo and leaves to hold 600 people, and prepared immense quantities of rice and meat—buffaloes, kids, pigs and fowls—to feed their guests. The conference began with Holy Communion, followed by Matins and a sermon by a Karen priest. Then each village made a report of its doings, and many aspects of the work were discussed. A deputation came from 300 heathen Karens asking for instruction, and offering to build a church and school and to support their teacher.[1]

The bishop, being also a doctor, spent much time dispensing medical aid. He also held a Confirmation, and personally interviewed all the village teachers. He went away deeply impressed with the growth and promise of the Mission: already it had gathered in 4,000 people from over 50 villages and half-a-dozen tribes, and merged them in a new unity; already they were doing much in self-support, and spreading the Gospel among their neighbours; already there was a strong base in the schools at Toungoo—a girls' school was added in 1884.

[1] *Report*, 1884, pp. 30–33.

The steady work continued, depending much on the native clergy and catechists, since European missionaries can travel in the hills only four months in the year—during the rest the hot weather and the rains make it very difficult. By 1900 there were 12 Karen clergy, with 3 missionaries to supervise them. The area had fallen into 3 districts, each with its staff of native clergy and catechists under the direction of a missionary. They covered some 64 villages, most of which were wholly Christian, and had their little bamboo church and school: the baptized Karens were about 5,000. Already the Karen Mission had become the most constant and promising branch of our Church in Burma.

LOWER BURMA

After leaving Mandalay in 1875 Marks took a short furlough in England, and then returned to St John's College, which gained still more in strength. Titcomb gave it every encouragement. Kemmendine went forward too: first James Colbeck took charge, living in the single upper room of a native house, and using the lower story as a chapel. Saint and ascetic, wherever he went he brought new life. A school and chapel were built, and a training institution for Burmese catechists was established: Fairclough carried on Colbeck's good work.

On the other side of Rangoon at Poozondoung a girls' school was opened, and Bishop Strachan started a dispensary; under the Rev. T. Rickard a number of Buddhists were converted. The Tamil Mission also profited by the coming of Bishop Strachan, who had so long worked among Tamils: under the Rev. T. Ellis it began also to gather in Telugus. Work was started too among the Chins of the Prome and Thayetmyo districts by a layman, C. R. Torkington. Posted to Thayetmyo as an Army officer, he had come into contact with the Chins, and in 1895 bought his discharge and settled down among them. After three years he died, but already 26 Chins had been baptized.[1] The Rev. George Whitehead then took up the work: he reduced the language to writing, translated parts of the Prayer Book, and wrote various pamphlets. By untiring tours through the villages he increased the Christian community to 120.

Long years of service and the effects of his many illnesses began to tell upon Marks, and when again invalided home in 1895 he resigned the charge of St John's: Mr J. T. Best was appointed to succeed him, and carried on his great traditions. Marks came back once more to the place where he had started, Moulmein. It had fallen on bad times; but when James Colbeck left Mandalay in 1879 he was sent there, and put new life into the work: the Tamil mission revived, 40 Buddhists were converted,

[1] Purser, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

a large school was started, the half-built church was completed. At his return to Mandalay 6 years later, he left a strong congregation of many races. These welcomed Marks back; but his health was not restored. In 1898 he gave up, and returned to England, there to continue his life's work for Burma by constant speaking and preaching for the S.P.G. Once in 1900 he came back, to receive the gratitude and gifts of his many friends and pupils—15,000 boys had passed through his hands in his many schools. He died, still active in service, in 1905. One of the greatest educational missionaries of all time, his work laid the foundation of the Church in Burma.

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BORNEO AND THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS

BORNEO

WE have already briefly told of the beginning of the Borneo Mission; of how Francis and Harriette McDougall, at the invitation of Rajah Sir James Brooke, started work at Sarawak; of the building and consecration of St Thomas's Church; of the arrival of the Rev. William Chambers and Mr Fox to share their labours. The task that lay before them must now be sketched: it was full of difficulties.

They had to deal with a great mixture of races. The Malays, whose Sultans ruled the land, were a fierce people who lived by piracy and warfare. The Dyaks, whose country they had invaded, numbered many tribes speaking many dialects, but fell into two main groups with different languages. The Sea Dyaks lived up the great rivers which—thanks to the heavy rainfall—are characteristic of this huge mountainous tropical island; delighting in war, they joined the Malays in their raids upon shipping. The Land Dyaks, living in the jungles, were of a less ferocious character: yet all the Dyaks were given to tribal warfare and head-hunting. And finally there were many Chinese immigrants, traders and craftsmen for the most part, some transient, some settlers who mingled with the Malays.

There was thus a Babel of tongues: two main Dyak languages, each with many dialects; a variety of Chinese dialects; and Malay, which could serve as a *lingua franca* for daily purposes, but not for religious teaching or worship. As to religion, the Malays were Moslems, fanatical enough to resist successful advance by Christianity; the Dyaks were animists, fearing the power of many spirits, controlling their actions by omens, and taking the heads of their enemies as charms for some of their magic rites. The Chinese brought with them the faiths of their homeland, but among them one or two Christians might chance to arrive.

Sir James Brooke had set himself to stamp out piracy and head-hunting, and establish peace and progress. As each pirate tribe was defeated and subdued, he set a small fort under one of his officers to keep it in order; and as his efforts succeeded fresh areas were entrusted to him by the Sultan of Brunei, to be pacified and occupied. Brooke saw the power of

Christianity to change the hearts of the people from war to peace, and wherever his authority was established, wished to plant the Church, to convert and civilize the wild tribes. Thus the destruction of the Saribas pirates in 1849 made it possible in 1851 to place Mr Chambers on the Sakarran,[1] guarded by a fort at Lingga on the mouth of the Batang Lupar river.

But the greatest difficulty of all was that of health. For an equatorial and rainy country, Borneo is not excessively hot, thanks to its sea breezes; but it was plagued with virulent malaria, of whose cause and prevention nothing was then known. None escaped its attacks, many who came to serve the diocese soon broke down and left; the McDougalls themselves were frequently ill, as were others who yet heroically stayed on. Outbreaks of cholera, too, occurred from time to time, and the damp climate caused rheumatism. Yet McDougall himself was the only doctor: he taught the rudiments of simple treatment to all his workers, but in his frequent absences on duty or through illness no expert medical attention could be had.

Bishop Wilson, on his visit in 1851, saw how promising a mission field Borneo offered; and it was an open field, for neither Roman Catholic nor Free Church Missions had entered it. But if that promise were to be realized two steps must be taken: Rajah Brooke had already seen that there must be a leader with authority to direct and control all that was done, and had suggested that McDougall ought to be bishop. And there must be a stronger financial backing than that of the group who had started the Mission, but whose support was already proving inadequate.

Other reasons, too, called the McDougalls back to England. Both had been repeatedly ill with fever, and Francis limped on a rheumatic knee which he could not cure. And they had lost five children—four almost at birth, the fifth of diphtheria at Singapore: "The flowers all died along our way", wrote the sad mother. The work could be left in good hands. Chambers was out on the Sakarran; at Lundu, west of Sarawak, a friendly tribe had welcomed William Henry Gomes, a deacon newly come from Ceylon; and at Sarawak itself was Andrew Horsburgh, a Chinese-speaking priest whom McDougall had brought from Hong Kong, with Fox to look after the school. In the autumn of 1852 Francis and Harriette sailed for home.

On January 1, 1853, the S.P.G. formally took over responsibility for the Mission,[2] and for the next half-century was its sole support: McDougall spoke up and down the country for his work, and stirred new interest. Three thousand copies of Harriette's *Letters from Sarawak* were sold. And all agreed that McDougall must be bishop; but only after much discussion

[1] Later more correctly spelt Skrang.

[2] *Quarterly Paper*, May, 1883.

of legal difficulties was it settled that the Crown would grant Letters Patent for a new see of Labuan—the only British territory within the area —and authorize the archbishop to commission the Bishop of Calcutta with his suffragans to consecrate McDougall in India—the first such consecration outside the British Isles. The S.P.G. continued to pay a missionary's stipend to the bishop to supplement that from the endowment, towards which it gave £5,000 from its Jubilee Fund; the S.P.C.K. added £2,000.

Early in 1855 the McDougalls were back in Sarawak, with reinforcements for the staff, and in the autumn Francis returned to Calcutta, and on St Luke's Day was consecrated Bishop of Labuan: the Rajah added Sarawak to his title and jurisdiction: after doing some episcopal duty for the aged Bishop Wilson, he was back in time for Christmas.

Already two of those whom he had brought out with him had broken down and left, but during the next year were replaced by Charles Koch, who stayed on for eight years, and Miss Woolley, who became Mrs Chambers. Gomes he now ordained priest and Koch deacon. No great advances could yet be attempted, but the first fruits of the work were gathered in. Gomes was making progress at Lundu: in school he "set the alphabet to a popular tune, and in the course of a fortnight five of his scholars could recognize the letters and sing them to the air of *Auld Lang Syne*"![1] He now brought eight men to be baptized on Whitsunday, and the bishop took them on to Banting, Chambers's new station on the Batang Lupar, to meet his seventeen converts and a number more under instruction: he wanted the different tribes to make friends. He paid a visit also to Labuan, to arrange for a church to be built and to apply for the appointment of a Government chaplain.

At Kuching[2] the schools were working well; the Chinese were responding; and he made an opening among some thousands of Chinese working on goldfields at Bau, thirty miles up the river, where he found one able to act as catechist. To Harriette another baby girl was born, so that she had three small children to care for; but the coming of more ladies to the little European community at Sarawak gave her company and help. All seemed set fair at last.

And then a storm burst upon them. The Chinese on the Bau goldfields had been resentful under the Rajah's control: there had been rumours of insurrection. But all seemed quiet again, and Rajah and bishop were about to leave on a tour when suddenly, at midnight of February 17, 1857, the Chinese rose, fell upon Kuching, attacked and set fire to the houses of the Rajah and his staff and seized the lightly held forts: from the school house

[1] *Mission Field*, 1856, p. 25.

[2] We use this name for capital town, Sarawak for the country, though the town also was commonly called Sarawak in the early years.

the bishop and mission workers watched their friends' homes go up in flames, heard the cries and the shots, and anxiously guarded the refugees who took shelter with them.[1] In the morning the Chinese leaders sent word that they would be unharmed, for "the bishop was a good man and cared for Chinese", but ordered him to come and attend to their wounded. This he did, after insisting that the chief constable's wife, whom they had attacked and left terribly wounded in a ditch, should be brought to his house for care.

Now it became known that the Rajah and most of his staff were safe among loyal Dyaks. The bishop warned the Chinese leaders that the Dyaks and Malays would soon be rallying to attack them; and towards evening they retired, after much looting. Then he sent his family and the refugees downstream to a schooner in which they could escape to Singapore; but it was so overcrowded that they took refuge instead in a Malay village at the river's mouth. The bishop himself returned to Kuching and thought it safe to call the Rajah back.

But the rebels learnt this, returned to the attack, and this time would have killed the bishop; but he escaped in the nick of time, and they could only loot his house. The Malays tried to fight off the rebels, but clearly greater forces must be gathered, and while the Rajah set off to collect the Dyaks of all the river tribes, the bishop took his party, now swollen by Chinese Christian refugees, to safety at Banting Mission station.

At that moment, by fortunate chance, an armed steamer of the Borneo Company arrived off the river's mouth: the Rajah boarded her, and steaming up to Kuching she soon scattered the rebels with her guns, and they fled, pursued by the Malays and waylaid in the jungle by the Dyaks, who now took such barbarous vengeance upon them that very few escaped into Dutch territory.

Mrs McDougall with her children and party of refugees returned to Kuching; but all the European houses had been destroyed except their own, and that had been so looted that only the library remained; church and school had been stripped too. They had to go to Penang to rest and refurnish. Then they returned: but to work grievously set back; for the peaceful mixture of races which the Rajah had striven to achieve was shattered, and the old blood-lust for heads, which he with the bishop had begun to stamp out, had revived in the Dyaks' murderous attacks upon the rebels. And many of the Chinese Christians had been killed or dispersed in the general slaughter.

The news of the insurrection caused a great stir in England. The S.P.G. opened a relief fund, and in August was able to send out not only new plate, fittings and equipment for the church and school, but—more

[1] Bunyon, *Bishop McDougall*, chapter vi; *Report*, 1857, p. 110.

welcome still—three young men from St Augustine's, Canterbury, William Chalmers, James Glover, and W. Hacket. Through illness Horsburgh had retired, and Chambers had to take furlough, but the bishop was able, after ordaining the three at Easter, to send Koch and Glover to hold Banting, and Chalmers to open at Quop the first station among the Land Dyaks—it was there that the Rajah had found safety when the insurrection broke out.

Next year a new danger arose, this time from a few disloyal Malay chiefs, whom the Rajah had treated leniently. They stirred up a Dyak tribe to attack one of the Rajah's forts, in which Fox and Steele, former Mission workers who had turned to civilian service, were killed; but their plots against Kuching were discovered and the culprits expelled.[1] But the danger led to Hacket leaving with his family for Singapore, and when both Chalmers and Glover broke down in health, all the reinforcements were gone, though Chambers was back again at Banting.

Once more the McDougalls had to return to England. There was talk now of uniting the Straits Settlements with Labuan, and the bishop welcomed the idea, but pressed again the need for a Government chaplain at Labuan. Early in 1862 they were back (leaving their three eldest children behind in England) and were gladdened by the arrival of four more recruits; William Mesney and William Crossland from St Augustine's, with Frederic Abé and John Zehnder, two Lutherans who had joined our Church: a fifth, John Richardson, followed soon after. This was riches indeed, and though Richardson was invalided out after 7 years, Abé lived on for 14, Crossland gave 15, Mesney 36, and Zehnder 37 years of service to Borneo.

The next four years saw steady extension from the main centres of work. Beyond Banting Crossland opened a new station at Undup, while Mesney aided Chambers. A chaplain from Singapore, taken to visit Banting in 1865, confessed his admiration of "the patience with which Mr Chambers talks all day, morning, noon, and night, to every party of Dyaks, who march into the house whenever they like, making it quite their home."[2] His day was busy enough without interruptions: by 7 o'clock he would be out teaching in a Dyak "long house," after breakfast at 11 o'clock came school, lasting till 5, then service in church for all, dinner and a short rest, and all evening a house full of Dyaks coming to be taught and entertained.

At Lundu the chaplain saw 52 Dyaks confirmed, and 80 received Holy Communion. Gomes had extended the work to a number of villages; at Salakon he asked the tribe to build him a little house, and gave the chief 10 *reals* in payment for their labours. When the chief called the tribe

[1] *Report*, 1860, p. 158. [2] Mrs McDougall, *Our Life at Sarawak*, p. 221.

together to discuss this, one man rose up, excitedly threw down before them the printed sheets of Creed, Lord's Prayer and Commandments which he had been learning, and cried, "This is worth more than any wages he can give us," and all refused to take payment.[1]

With Richardson to help, a new station was opened at Sedemak, and other "long houses" asked for teaching. Abé and Zehnder took over Quop, to which Merdang was now added. At Kuching itself the boarding school was flourishing with some forty boys, and promised to provide workers for the Mission stations: the girls continued under Harriette's eye: there was a day school in the bazaar. The Chinese congregation increased, and the bishop ordained its catechist, ~~Fong Hau Kong~~, to the diaconate; work was started again among the Chinese at Bau. Labuan, too, had a chaplain at last, Julian Moreton (formerly a Newfoundland missionary), and a church was built.

McDougall now had eleven clergy in the diocese, and each year, from 1864, he brought them all together for common counsel at Kuching: much of their time was spent on discussing linguistic problems of translation. The bishop had early completed a Malay Catechism and Prayer Book, but much more was needed.

Twenty years' work could indeed show solid advance, in spite of the many difficulties. The Chinese congregation numbered 100 and had its own ministers; there were more than 1,000 baptized Dyaks; baptisms and confirmations increased year by year, and the women, long resistant to change, were being won over. Four churches and three chapels had been built in the out-stations.[2]

Yet there were shadows in the picture too. The resistance of the Moslem Malays remained stubborn. Piracy still reared its head; and in 1862 the bishop was involved in a fierce battle with pirate ships. He had gone with Captain Brooke, partly to comfort him over the loss of his wife, on an expedition to establish a new fort in territory ceded to the Rajah beyond Labuan. They fell in with a fleet of Illanun pirates, who had been plundering shipping for seven months, and were laden with loot and captives. Brooke at once attacked, sank five of the pirate ships and beached a sixth, killed many of the pirates and saved many of their wretched captives. The fight was at times critical, and the bishop took part in it, though chiefly busied with caring for the wounded. When the account he wrote of the affair was published at home in *The Times*, his actions came under severe criticism. The S.P.G. left the verdict in the hands of Archbishop Tait, who felt that, in all the circumstances, McDougall could not have done other than he did.[3] But the bishop felt

[1] *Report*, 1861, p. 181. [2] *Report*, 1867, p. 130.
[3] Bunyon, *op. cit.*, chapter ix; *Journal*, xlviii, p. 320.

that he was under a cloud. Rajah Sir James Brooke had also suffered under ill-informed criticism and a Parliamentary inquiry, and had retired, embittered and with broken health, to England.

And now McDougall's health failed too; heart trouble supervened upon his constant malaria. At the end of 1866 he sailed in a frigate to Labuan, where he consecrated the church, and then on by Manilla and Hong Kong to Singapore, where he performed some episcopal duties. And so back again to England: he had not decided to resign, and all his belongings were at Kuching, where Chambers had been placed in charge as archdeacon.

But the decision had to be made, and the offer of the living of Godmanchester provided a way out. In April, 1868, he resigned. A few months later Rajah Brooke died. They had shared in a great endeavour, and with good measure of success. McDougall's work had planted the Church firmly in a new and very difficult soil, at the cost of how much suffering only he and still more the indomitable Harriette knew: her figure must stand among the great women of Victorian days. They were given eighteen years more of quiet work together, and passed to their rest, Harriette in May, Francis in November, of 1886.

BISHOP CHAMBERS: 1869–79

Chambers was the obvious successor to the bishopric. He came home, and McDougall shared in his consecration. The Straits Settlements had at last passed under the control of the Colonial Office, and were added to his see; but no addition was provided to his stipend, to cover the extra expenses involved in the double charge.

On his way back to Borneo Bishop Chambers stayed long enough at Singapore to make arrangements for his jurisdiction: the story of the Church there will be told separately. Borneo still claimed the chief share of his time, and there were sad gaps in his staff. Gomes, partly for health and partly for his children's education, had gone to Singapore, Richardson had left through sickness. But Zehnder, whom he placed at Lundu, stayed on there to do a great work for 32 years, his genius for languages enabling him to master the tribal dialects and gather in many villages. Quop, with Abé removed to Kuching, was cared for by a remarkable Chinese, Chung Ah Luk. One of the first orphans mothered by Harriette McDougall, he became the bishop's boat-boy, and then went with Chalmers in 1858 to open the mission at Quop; and there he stayed, 20 years as a catechist, 26 more as a deacon, 20 more as a priest. His own language he forgot, but became fluent in Malay and Land Dyak, helping to reduce the Land Dyak tongue to writing and to translate into it St Matthew's Gospel.[1]

[1] E. Parry: *Borneo Essays*, p. 152.

Chambers' own station, Banting, was safe in the hands of Mesney, and from it a new outpost was set among the Krian tribe, once notorious pirates. Buda, their chief's son, had for two years come to Chambers at Banting for teaching; then he went back and taught his own people, and at length sent for Chambers, who found 180 of them so well instructed that he accepted them for baptism. Here the Rev. John Perham was now placed, and worked on for twelve years. Crossland's tribe had moved away from Undup, and Sabu now became the centre of his mission.

Chambers proposed to make the school at Kuching a centre for training the best lads from all the Mission stations as catechists and future clergy. But the scheme, unfolded in his first Charge, never came to fulfilment. Some of his staff fell ill, Abé died. Mesney was called in to take charge of Kuching. Chambers himself had to spend part of each year in the Straits Settlements. And nearly thirty years in Borneo had taken heavy toll of his health: in 1879 he resigned.

BISHOP HOSE: 1881–1908

The choice now fell upon George Frederick Hose, Archdeacon of Singapore. He had come out as a chaplain first to Malacca and then to Singapore, and in both places had been keenly interested in missionary work among Tamils and Chinese. He was consecrated Bishop of Singapore, Labuan and Sarawak, and divided his time equally between the Straits Settlements and Borneo: language did not handicap him, for he was the foremost Malay scholar of his time.

The work in Borneo for a time continued to progress. Though Mesney came in from Banting to take charge at Kuching as archdeacon, and Perham had to combine the oversight of the Krian with that of Banting, the work was maintained: at Sabu the Rev. William Howell began what was to be almost a life's work. The Rev. C. W. Fowler took charge of Quop, with Chung Ah Luk; and a tribe of notorious head-hunters, the Skrangs, asked for Christian teaching, and the Rev. F. W. Leggatt opened a new station among them.

But the chief extension under Bishop Hose was that to North Borneo. This area had been ceded by Charter to the British North Borneo Company in 1881. Next year Bishop Hose paid a visit to Sandakan, and the Governor and residents asked for a chaplain and started to raise money for a church. The S.P.G. sent up a Chinese catechist, but it was six years before it could find a priest: then William Henry Elton went out to Sandakan.[1] He had already served in Ceylon and New Zealand, but had always wished to work in Borneo. The long interval had cooled the

[1] Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

people's keenness, but he soon roused them again. A leading member of the S.P.G., the Rev. Brymer Belcher, a shareholder in the Company, had urged them to build a church and promised to help towards the cost. Elton chose a hilltop site, and spent five years with one coolie levelling off the ground. On St Michael's Day, 1893, the Governor laid the foundation stone, and on it, under Elton's personal supervision, slowly rose the only stone church in Borneo: on Easter Day, 1898, St Michael's Church was dedicated, though only the chancel was yet built. He raised £6,000, too, to build a parsonage, and schools for boys and girls which soon flourished.

But Sandakan did not exhaust his energies. At Kudat, half-way to Labuan, he found a number of Chinese Christians; with their own aid he built them also a church, and in 1892 Mr Richards, who had been training under him as a student, was made deacon by Bishop Hose and placed in charge.

But there also weighed upon his heart the neglected state of the Muruts, a primitive tribe living shyly in the jungles inland fron Sandakan. He urged the S.P.G. to start work among them, offering to go himself if someone could take his place at Sandakan. For such remote and solitary work the Society insisted that two men must go together, and at last in 1896 the Rev. F. Perry and the Rev. H. J. Edney went out, and at Keningau started this difficult venture. They began to learn the language, and opened a school, but Edney fell ill and had to be transferred; Perry carried on for a time alone, but the strain was too heavy, and the great endeavour came to an end.

Elton and his wife worked on tirelessly, for ten years taking no holiday, but in 1913 he was worn out and retired, to die soon after returning to England. Almost alone he had opened up a great new territory to the Church.

Bishop Hose's later years, unhappily, saw the work in Borneo lose ground again. The older workers retired; new ones were hard to find, for Borneo was no longer the land of romance, of pirates and head-hunting. Archdeacon Mesney retired in 1897; through his ill-health the work around Kuching had suffered, but the Rev. A. F. Sharp took it up and brought a vigorous revival. John Perham became Archdeacon of Singapore. Slowly the staff dwindled, and without European supervision the work lapsed. In 1900 the Bishop wrote in great distress of his lack of men, and the Society commented that never in its history "had there been such a dearth of clergymen offering themselves for missionary work." When Bishop Hose retired in 1908 only three European and two Chinese clergy remained:[1] Archdeacon Sharp at Kuching, Elton at Sandakan, Howell at

[1] Parry, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

Sabu, Chung Ah Luk at Quop, Fong Hau Kong, a deacon, at Kudat. Even Banting and Lundu were untended.

THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS

The Malay Peninsula offered many attractions to the traders of the European countries, and the East India Company at various times established posts at the island of Penang, in Province Wellesley on the coast opposite, and at Malacca; to these Stamford Raffles added in 1819 the almost uninhabited island of Singapore, and by freedom of trade and residence made it the greatest port of the East, so that in 1836 it superseded Penang as the centre of Government. And trade brought in not only the Europeans but also various races from India including Tamils from the south, Chinese from the southern provinces, Javanese and other kindred races. The land was fertile, it could produce spices and coconuts, and there were minerals: the waters teemed with fish. Here was an opportunity to develop a great distributing centre which would far surpass what Malacca had hitherto done. The Malays on the coast were inclined to piracy, the rest were devoted to agricultural pursuits with occasional warlike tribal interludes. As elsewhere in similar conditions, a Eurasian community of mixed blood soon grew up.

The Company undertook to supply its posts with chaplains, but they seldom stayed long, and had no encouragement to attempt any missionary work among the non-Christians around them. McDougall, travelling back to Borneo in 1854, commented that "the aspect of the English Church on the coast between India and Singapore was anything but cheering. It seemed to take no part in missionary work." The Roman Catholics were there in force with a bishop, and colleges and girls' schools at Penang and Malacca. "They seem to have no lack of funds. Yet the straitened income of the S.P.G., barely sufficient for the work already in hand, forbids it at present to do more than cast a wistful eye on so promising a field of labour."[1]

Singapore quickly grew to an immense size; by 1857 there were 40,000 Chinese there, and many thousands of Tamils. Now at length Chaplain T. C. Smyth roused his congregation to do something for them, and set a Chinese and a Tamil catechist at work under his direction. Soon there were twenty to thirty Chinese meeting for worship in a little wooden building, and some dozen to whom he gave Communion once a month. But he could spare little time, and knew neither language; so in 1859 he wrote to Bishop Cotton, asking him to appeal to the S.P.G. to send a missionary who could devote his whole energies to the task.[2]

[1] *Mission Field*, 1856, p. 7. [2] *Report*, 1859, p. 97.

The Society at once consented, but it was not till 1861 that it found the man. Then the Rev. Edward Venn went out, and set steadily to work. He started a boys' school of 100 pupils and a small girls' school. Language was the chief difficulty: the Chinese spoke many different dialects, and he had two separate congregations each under its catechist: Tamil and Malay groups also had their catechists. The Malays, however, would not listen: the Tamils and Chinese were often transient, returning to their homes when they had earned enough. Yet this made Singapore a unique centre for diffusing the truth, as they carried with them what they had learnt and spread it in their homes. But in 1866 Venn died, and for six years no successor could be found, and the work languished.

Meanwhile two changes occurred. The Straits Settlements passed in 1867 under the control of the Colonial Office, and the chaplains were given security of tenure and encouraged to stay at their posts. And in 1869, when Chambers became Bishop of Labuan, they were placed under his jurisdiction: St Andrew's Church, which had been built in 1863,[1] became his cathedral, and every year for a few months he visited this part of his diocese; and he turned to the S.P.G. to aid him there, as it did in Sarawak.

New energy came to the missionary work. In 1871 W. H. Gomes, coming from Borneo, revived the work that Venn had started. Lundu's loss was Singapore's gain; his vigour and his mastery of languages gave it new strength. He found one Chinese catechist with the remnant of a congregation; he soon had five catechists at work, one among the Tamils and four for different Chinese language groups. He enlarged the school, and built it a chapel; he started a training home for catechists, and a hostel for Christian lads of many races attending the Government schools in Singapore. At the request of a converted planter, who built a chapel at his own charges, he opened a new centre, which became the Church of St John. He did valuable work of translation into Malay and Hokkien Chinese, crowning his achievements with the Hokkien Prayer Book in 1901. The following year he died.

Elsewhere, too, keen chaplains, helped by some of their congregations, took up missionary work. At Malacca the S.P.G. had for eight years given a small grant to Miss Williams' school, which took in girls of several races. When the Rev. G. F. Hose came as Chaplain, he started a mission to the Chinese, for whom the S.P.G. soon provided a catechist. In 1871 Julian Moreton, coming from Labuan to Penang, engaged an Indian catechist, Mr R. Balavendrum, to work among the Tamils; in 1880 he was ordained, and the S.P.G. provided his stipend. Soon the Tamil congregation needed its own chapel, and work was begun among the Chinese also.

[1] *Quarterly Paper*, May, 1863.

It was the Society's view that where chaplains were officially appointed for British communities the Government and community should supply their stipends, and its own grants should be restricted to missionary work. In the Straits Settlements, and what became known as the Federated Malay States, conditions were unusual; the British people were few, and Government grants were small; so the Society accepted the practice of appointing priests as jointly chaplain and missionary, supplying usually one-third of their stipends and depending on Government and local support for the rest. Both sides of the work were thus provided for, even if numbers were small. So to Province Wellesley, a coastal fringe opposite Penang, the Society sent in 1879 the Rev. H. Mc. D. Courtney; from Bukit Tengah as centre he travelled round the scattered British planters, holding services in their houses, and teaching their Tamil coolies.

In 1881 Bishop Chambers retired, and Archdeacon Hose became bishop. The title of his diocese now included Singapore, and he spent half the year there, half in Borneo. It was too much; neither part of the diocese made such progress as would have been possible under a bishop of its own.

Hose was an expert botanist, and a great Malay scholar: he perfected the translation of the Prayer Book into the Malay tongue, but he was unable to start work among the Malays. The Chinese Mission, centred at St Andrew's, grew steadily under the leadership of Gomes, and smaller centres up the peninsula were worked by one or two catechists. In 1902 that great veteran died; and the Rev. R. Richards came from Kudat to take up his mantle, and wear it most worthily for thirty-two years.

One Tamil priest worked at St Andrew's among his fellow-countrymen in Singapore, and others up-country—no Indians have proved so missionary-hearted as the Tamils. Mr Balavendrum served thirty-three years in Penang before retiring, and was succeeded by the Rev. R. A. Peters. In Perak the Rev. A. Markham, stationed at Taiping in 1884, soon built a church and started a Tamil mission, with Mr A. Gnanamani as catechist; he was ordained, and stayed on till 1907. In Selangor St Mary's Church was built at Kuala Lumpur for the British community in 1887; in 1890 the Rev. F. W. Haines came as chaplain-missionary, and soon had work started among the Chinese and the Tamils, for whom the Rev. R. O. Vethavanam was ordained in 1900.

With the Society's aid, Bishop Hose kept these chaplaincies manned; the plan failed only in Java, where the S.P.G. offered a stipend for a chaplain-missionary at Batavia, but the European community would have nothing to do with converting Malays, and the project lapsed.

Meanwhile, though it was not yet included in the diocese, Bangkok had become a new missionary outpost. In 1893 the British community there had grown big enough to ask for a chaplain, and to them came

Canon William Greenstock, retired from his long service in South Africa. They were a mixed community, Free Church as well as Anglicans, Americans, Indians, and Eurasians as well as British. He served them all, and travelled out wherever he could find them, whether among the teak forests to the north, or at the head of the railway pushing south towards Burma. His daughter started a school, chiefly for the Eurasian children.

In 1902 the S.P.G. earmarked £1,000 from its Bi-centenary Fund in the hope that a Community Mission would take up the work in Siam. That hope came to nothing; but in 1903 Greenstock resigned the chaplaincy to give all his time to the mission. There he kept in 1905 the jubilee of his ordination. Though knocked down and injured by a tram, at seventy-seven, he would not give in. Twice during vacancies he took on the chaplaincy also; a new church was built for it in 1905. The American Presbyterian Girls' School came to evensong at the mission, because the music was so good. "I have no desire to return to England," he declared; and he died, as he had wished, still in harness, in 1912 at the age of eighty-two.

It was growing clear that the Church in Malaya must have a full-time bishop in order to rise to its responsibilities. Government officials and business men supported Bishop Hose in an effort to raise an endowment. When at last it was in sight, he resigned: he had given forty years to Malaya, twenty-seven of them as bishop.

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AUSTRALIA

THE Church in Australia had made astonishing growth during the life of Bishop Broughton. When he arrived in 1829 he found, in the whole of Australia and Tasmania, only 18 clergymen and 12 churches. When he died early in 1852 he left five dioceses (not counting New Zealand), each with synodical government established, and a good staff of clergy; all were contributing a solid measure of self-support, and through the Australasian Board of Missions were committed to evangelizing their own aboriginal tribes and the islanders of Melanesia. Convict settlement was at last ended, free settlement was increasing, and the discovery of gold gave it sudden stimulus. More healthy was the steady expansion of farming and stock-raising: the frontiers of settlement were ever pressing inland from the coastal belt; on the eastern seaboard they moved quickly northwards towards the semi-tropical areas of Queensland, as well as westward over the mountain barrier to the open plains beyond.

It was to these frontier areas that the help of the S.P.G. was directed. The towns and closely settled areas soon became prosperous, and proved ready to support their Church generously. As early as 1853 the Sydney diocese was raising £17,000 for the maintenance of the Church;[1] in 1858 it gave £11,000 to meet £1,000 from the S.P.G. for the endowment of the new diocese of Goulburn; those of Grafton and Armidale, Bathurst and Riverina were wholly raised in the country.[2] Investment of Church funds in land proved very profitable: two town lots in Adelaide, bought for £150, twenty years later were bringing in £700 a year; Bishop Tyrrell, most generous with his private means, bought sixteen stations, and bequeathed them as an endowment to his diocese; they were optimistically thought to be worth £250,000.[3]

The S.P.G. gave its aid in two ways. It made capital grants, usually of £1,000, to start endowment funds for new sees, or for their clergy; and it made annual grants to the bishops, which they used to open up new areas, sometimes by sending a travelling missionary out to survey and organize new parishes, sometimes by providing part of the stipend for a new parish,

[1] *Report*, 1855, p. 130. [2] Historical Sketch, *New South Wales*, p. 18.
[3] *Report*, 1878, p. 66.

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BURMA

IN 1902 Bishop Strachan resigned, and next year Arthur Mesac Knight, dean of Caius College, Cambridge, was consecrated the third Bishop of Rangoon. He found the diocese in low water, illness had depleted both the chaplains and the missionary staff; for the latter he had but eight European clergy (several in deacon's orders), of whom only two could preach in Burmese: he was like "a general without officers." But his own stimulating and winning personality put new life into the Church and brought strong reinforcements to its rescue: when ill-health forced his own resignation six years later the scene had been transformed.

Most marked was the revival in the north. There he found only the Rev. H. M. Stockings at Shwebo and the Rev. T. Fisher (moved from the Karen Mission) at Mandalay. In 1905 the Rev. R. S. Fyffe and the Rev. H. A. Jerwood started the Winchester Brotherhood in Mandalay, and though Jerwood died almost at once, three other clergy came—J. S. Beloe, F. R. Edmonds, and C. E. Garrad, with a layman, E. Hart, to be head of the King's School—and a small community of women, led by Miss K. Patch, opened up work among women and girls. At Shwebo, Mr. Stockings' faithful work culminated in building a stone church, and a strong girls' school was started.

At Rangoon the cathedral, nearly twenty years in building, was at last consecrated in 1905. The Rev. V. N. Kemp took over St Gabriel's Indian Mission, and the Rev. R. Ellis passed from the charge of it to the training of clergy at Kemmendine, which became not only an educational centre but the base of growing work among the Karens of the Delta: from Prome the Rev. G. Whitehead developed his mission to the Chins. Among the Hill Karens round Toungoo, however, a strange heretical sect, known as Kleeboism, sprang up, led by a Karen priest, Thomas Pellako, and though Fisher and the Rev. J. Hackney were back among them, it was some years before the heresy died out.

It was a great blow to the diocese and to himself when Bishop Knight was forbidden by the doctors to return to Burma, in 1909, but as Warden of St Augustine's, Canterbury, he found another channel for outstanding service to the missionary cause. The Rev. R. S. Fyffe was taken from the headship of the Winchester Brotherhood to succeed him, and led the

diocese for eighteen years. They were difficult years, including the first World War, and the restless period that followed it, but the ground was held, the Church's organization built up, and several important gains secured.

In the north, Shwebo and Mandalay strengthened their hold, under Mr Stockings and the Winchester Brotherhood, and some medical service was given by Miss Patch. In 1921 the Queen Alexandra Hospital for women and children was opened, and in 1923 Dr Mary Blakeston came to take charge of it. Among the Hill Karens, with the passing of the Kleebo heresy, the Church gained ground; but fresh outreach into new areas needed missionary leaders, free from the ties of central institutions in the towns. The death of Mr Hackney in 1911 removed a trusted head with thirty-three years' service. It was in the plains that two new movements arose. One was that among the Talaing Karens, a tribe speaking their own tongue, to whom Kemmendine was the nearest Church centre. Ellis, in charge there, could not speak Talaing, but he set native deacons and catechists to work among them, and built a church at Myago. The work progressed, and under the Rev. W. C. B. Purser developed into a small mass movement. In 1912 Bishop Fyffe made a tour among them, confirmed 160, and saw three centres established.

The second came through one man of remarkable character and power, Maung Tha Dun, the "Burmese hermit."[1] Son of a pious Buddhist family, as a lad he joined the local monastery, but was so disillusioned and disgusted by the life of the monks that he left it, and after a time, renouncing family and home, retired to solitude in a cave to meditate upon God. After twelve years he emerged, to preach from village to village belief in the "everlasting God," and to be fiercely persecuted by the monks, whose failings he denounced. He won many followers, but there were Christian teachers in the villages too, and he was led to listen to a conference for Christian teaching led by Ellis from Kemmendine. To him the hermit afterwards came, to hear more fully the Christian Gospel, and to ask for baptism, which he eventually received on Easter Day, 1911, taking the name John Baptist.

For the next seven years he moved among the villages, and sometimes travelled to distant centres, tirelessly giving his message, which grew more deeply Christian, as he learnt more and more from the Burmese priest, Po Sa, who accompanied him, and from the Rev. C. R. Purser, who often shared his wandering, ascetic life, and the frequent persecutions stirred up by the Buddhist monks. "No one who was with him during those last few years can ever forget the inspiration of those missionary journeys," wrote his companion. "His was the most beautiful face I have

[1] See articles in *The East and The West*, Vol. xiv, p. 172: xx, p. 97.

ever seen," declared Bishop Montgomery. He died, worn out by his self-chosen hardships, in 1918: the whole Burmese Church had been influenced by his example.

In 1914 the Church made an effort to deal with the appalling problem of the blind. There were some 20,000 blind people in Burma for whom nothing had been done. A few were now gathered, cared for, and taught at Kemmendine. Then in 1917 W. C. B. Purser called his brother-in-law, the Rev. William Henry Jackson, to take charge of the growing work. Jackson was himself blind, but of a courage and faith that turned his weakness to strength.

"Surely," wrote a visitor a few years later, "he must be one of the wonders of the Anglican Communion! In six months he learned Burmese, and invented a phonetic script with which he has produced an immense literature in Braille. He has found out for himself how to cane chairs in five hours (the trade time being thirteen), and has taught his boys to do the same. He has learned—and teaches—map making, basket-chair making, doormat making, and many other things. His last effort is that he has taken ships' fenders to pieces and learned by touch how they are made, and has been promised by the British India Line and the Irrawaddy Flotilla Company the contract for all their work in this line. Surely a wonderful achievement in five years."

But more wonderful still was the spiritual power of his love and devotion. His care for each pupil was infinite: above all he led them to worship, adapting Burmese music and ceremonies to Christian use. His thoughts turned towards an order of apostolic poverty in the Burmese Church.

In 1931 his own health broke down; he had to come home for a serious operation, but as soon as he could travel, went back to his beloved blind in Burma. The illness returned, and he lay among them in great pain. On his sick bed he received the Gold Medal of the Kaisar-i-Hind, the highest honour the State could pay him. Early on Sunday morning, December 6, he died. "I shall be helping all I can on the other side," were the last words he whispered.

For the rest, work went ahead quietly. Ellis retired in 1912, after twenty-three years' work, and the Rev. W. C. B. Purser took charge of Kemmendine with its multifarious activities. In 1921 Whitehead retired from thirty-three years' service; not least had been his work in translation, and in retirement he completed a *Life of Christ* in Burmese. The Chin Mission, which he had maintained, was taken up two years later by the Rev. C. R. Purser.

From Moulmein the Rev. W. G. White for a few years tried to start

work among the Mawken, the "sea Gipsies" down the southward coast. And there was much building and rebuilding. St John's College, Rangoon, Christ Church, Mandalay, and St Luke's, Toungoo, all needed extensive work. The year 1927 brought the jubilee of the diocese, and at its close Bishop Fyffe resigned, leaving the Church, though still short of men, well equipped and vigorous.

Bishop Norman Tubbs came from Tinnevelly to succeed him. Surveying the diocese, he was impressed by the great educational work done by the Church, though at the highest level it made no contribution to the new University of Rangoon, whose Christian constituent was the American Baptists' Judson College. He was able only to establish a chaplain to work among the students, with Holy Cross as their church. But he felt that the European clergy, all too few in number, were tied too closely to institutional work and established centres. A courageous step to develop native leadership was the appointment of the Rev. John Hla Gyaw to take charge of the Karen Mission in the Toungoo Hills. Only a few years earlier there had been three station missionaries at Toungoo; now John Hla Gyaw was in sole charge, with twelve Karen clergy under him. Bishop Tubbs also determined that means must be found to increase the flow of native clergy, and to train them for greater responsibility, so that the missionaries might be free to open up new work. So the Divinity School, which hitherto had moved round the diocese and had been the care of successive station missionaries, was established on a more permanent basis, with a whole-time missionary principal, the Rev. A. Dilworth, assisted by John Hla Gyaw, who had done good service in charge of the Karen Catechists' Training School at Toungoo.

In 1929 died the Rev. H. M. Stockings, after forty-one years devoted almost entirely to Shwebo; his sisters crowned his work there by giving new buildings in his memory to the Girls' School which he had created.

Shortly after the first World War the Bible Churchmen's Missionary Society started work in Upper Burma under the leadership of the Rev. A. T. Houghton. Its main work was among the Kachin people, but it also had Shan and Burmese work. Shwebo was the nearest S.P.G. station, and for some years lay workers of the B.C.M.S. received pastoral ministrations from the S.P.G. missionaries at Shwebo.

In Lower Burma the missionaries were at last beginning to get free for evangelistic work. The Rev. G. A. West led the way from Kappali, near the Siam border, aided by a Karen priest. Later the Rev. W. B. Hicks, also in the Kappali district, and the Rev. D. C. Atwool from Moulmein, opened work in new villages, and drew the Christians into giving their witness. This was of the first importance; for in 1930 the "Church of

India, Burma and Ceylon" became an independent Province; the nationalist ferment was at work; leadership must be transferred from the missionary to the Church of the country.

This was the aim set before himself by George West when, Bishop Tubbs having resigned in 1934, he was chosen to be the sixth Bishop of Rangoon. He strengthened still further the Divinity School, which in the last months of Bishop Tubbs' time had been moved to the university side of the Kokine Lake and was from then on known as the College of Holy Cross; and here, under the Rev. G. Appleton, there were soon over twenty students, of several races, living a simple life together; they spent their first year learning English, so that they might then study theology with the benefit of English books. The university with its lectures was close at hand. And following up his own pioneer work in the large, unevangelized area around Kappali, Bishop West planned a group of "training parishes," where two European and two Asiatic clergy would together work four districts, the one guiding the other. He was able also to follow Bishop Tubbs' example by placing the more experienced native clergy in central posts; the Rev. Taw Mwa, a Karen, over the Burmese congregation at St Augustine's, Moulmein, and another Burmese priest at Prome, hitherto occupied by a missionary. Indeed, the dominant note of Bishop West's episcopate was the development of indigenous leadership.

Other sides of the work grew. The Blind Mission was taken up, after Jackson's death, by the Rev. E. C. Turner, who opened a branch at Pakokku: blind girls were under Miss Linstead's care at Moulmein. And Miss Avice Cam, seeing the great need for medical work, and especially midwifery, in the Delta, started a small maternity hospital at Pedaw, trained native girls as nurses, and built up a ring of five dispensaries under their care. Meanwhile the Queen Alexandra Hospital continued its fine work for women and children at Mandalay; and there too a centre was started for training Burmese women in evangelistic work.

THE JAPANESE INVASION

In 1937 India received fresh powers of self-government. Burma, now politically separated from it, received a less complete measure, and Burmese nationalists, incited by Buddhist monks, protested by rioting and schoolboy strikes. Bishop West's policy of giving the fullest trust and responsibility to his native clergy was most timely, and he gained the confidence of all parties, pleading for their co-operation in the supreme interests of Burma. It seemed indeed a providential preparation for the far severer test which soon came with the second World War. Then the Burmese

Church was quick with sympathy and prayer for the Church in England under the ordeal of bombing: but at the close of 1941 the storm suddenly burst upon it. After their rapid invasion of Malaya the Japanese turned upon Burma. At Christmas, 1941, they bombed Rangoon, killing 2,000 people, and soon their troops were sweeping in from the south and east upon Moulmein and across the Karen country. Bishop West was absent in America, recovering from severe injuries caused by a motoring accident: and the Rev. A. T. Houghton, who had sailed from England to become assistant bishop for northern Burma, was torpedoed, and after five days in an open boat landed in Scotland. The Rev. H. McD. Wilson, as Commissary, had to meet the emergency. The Karen and Burmese clergy decided that they would stay with their people whatever might befall. But the Christians would only suffer the more if British clergy were found among them; so the missionaries at their request, and obeying Government orders, retired northwards to Mandalay, where (everyone believed) the Japanese advance would be held. Out in the Andaman Islands the Rev. V. N. Kemp stayed at his post with a last group of troops and officials, and awaited the Japanese occupation.

But the Japanese could not be halted. On Good Friday, 1942, Mandalay was devastated by an air-raid and left in flames. Sister Rosina Simmonds, with her nurses from the Queen Alexandra Hospital, did heroic work among the wounded and for the Indian refugees who, struggling to make their way home on foot, were dying by hundreds of cholera. Fire reached the hospital chapel, but the Rev. W. R. Garrad saved it. For a terrible week they stayed on, then were forced to leave; the nurses, with all the medical supplies they could carry, went off to jungle villages; Sister Simmonds was flown out in one of the last planes to Assam.

Other missionaries, having given help of every kind, reached India at last by air or by the mountain and jungle tracks over which troops and refugees made their painful escape to Assam, leaving many dead by the way. The Rev. E. C. Turner got his blind men and boys away to safe care in their homes or other villages, but himself was waylaid at night by dacoits, who wounded him terribly with their *dahs* and left him for dead. But he was found, carried to Shwebo, and flown to hospital in India, where he slowly recovered. Archdeacon Higginbotham, worn out by unceasing welfare work among the refugees, died of pneumonia at Sahmaw, shortly after that town had been occupied by the Japanese. An Anglo-Burmese teacher, Ada Tilly, was killed by a bomb while taking her girls to safety. And tragedy overtook a party of thirty-six Anglo-Burmese girls from the Bishop's Home at Rangoon. Evacuated first to Myitkyina, they attempted with Miss Bald, their headmistress, and several of her staff the terrible route to Assam by the Hukaung valley. But the

rains came, they had little food, their shoes wore out, many fell ill. Relief was sent, but in vain: only four came through alive. Two Indian priests died of exhaustion on a similar trek.

Most of the missionaries stayed in India, finding temporary work until the way should open for their return. Several went as chaplains with the Chindit invasion columns, and one, the Rev. David Patterson, was killed in a crash-landing of a carrier glider: "he was a grand chap," was the soldiers' tribute. Others were with the columns which eventually fought their way back into northern Burma, and by March, 1945, reached Mandalay, in May liberated Rangoon, and then drove the last Japanese troops back through the Karen hills towards Siam.

At last it could be known how the Church in Burma had fared; and it was a tragic but noble story. Ma Pwa Sein, the great headmistress of St Mary's Training School, had moved with her staff for safety to Nyaungngu in the Delta, and there befriended exhausted stragglers from the British army. Later a band of Burmese ruffians massacred them, with sixty other villagers, on the score that they were Christians and Karens. Christians as a whole had been under suspicion: "You Christians no good; you pray God to send back the English." Public meetings for worship had been forbidden. Churches had been looted and desecrated.

But the Christians had held fast, especially their leaders. At Prome indeed they melted away under threats, but their priest, Ba Htet, went to the very centre of Japanese domination, Rangoon, and gathered the Christians in half a dozen centres for worship. When the city was freed he was found in tattered robes singing evensong with his little flock in Holy Cross Church. At Mandalay the Japanese held a census of Christians, but the people unafraid put down their names, and their young priest John Aung Hla went his rounds of Mandalay with seven neighbouring villages, and Maymyo with fourteen, giving them Communion and strengthening their faith.

Most dangerous were the conditions in the Karen hills, where parachutists and loyal Karens kept up a guerrilla warfare against the invaders. Here the two leading priests, Francis Ah Mya and John Hla Gyaw, were arrested and imprisoned. Francis was shut up with twenty others for five months in a cell so tiny that they could never lie down together; they had no water for washing; dysentery ravaged them, and several died. But they bore it with steady patience, praying daily for their guards; and at last, on Francis' petition, the survivors were released; he himself was near death.

John Hla Gyaw was also long in prison, and from time to time his captors tied his hands behind him, hung him from them, and savagely beat him. In his suffering he was sustained by thoughts of Christ on the Cross.

"Japan must be changed into God's country," he wrote afterwards, "then Japanese must be God's fearing people. Terrible they had been. They must become new people."

The nurses, both those in the Delta and those evacuated from Mandalay into the villages, carried on their work as long as their drugs lasted, and improvised as best they could. And British soldiers were amazed to find, in a jungle village, a party of the Blind School girls still working away at their looms. Others, unhappily, had died or been scattered.

Rangoon having been recovered, Bishop West was flown in early in July. The cathedral had been turned into a sauce and toddy factory; it stank of filth and dead rats. Led by generals and colonels, the troops cleaned it out, and a moving Service of Reconciliation and Thanksgiving was held. Elsewhere too the troops repaired and rebuilt damaged churches, and joined the native Christians in using them. And from their distant posts, in spite of floods and dacoits, the clergy came in to meet their bishop. "All they asked was to begin again; to restore their churches; to have their missionaries back. No one asked for any back pay, or for any present or future pay. The Lord had provided. He would still provide. The immense spirit of caring between priest and people that the war years had brought should not be lost."

On St Michael's Day, 1945, the congregation of St Michael's, Kemmendine, held a great thanksgiving. Luka Po Kun, their priest, proposed that, instead of depending on grants from the diocese, they should begin giving, and as a start send their Christmas offerings as a token of thanks to the S.P.G. And those gifts duly arrived, from Kemmendine and from Hla Gyaw's flock at Toungoo.

Thus had the furnace of war proved the strength of the Burmese Church and its leaders. Bishop West responded by appointing John Hla Gyaw, Luka Po Kun and John Aung Hla archdeacons for their several districts. The country was in grave distress and confusion, with communications disrupted, and only missionaries with previous knowledge of the people were allowed to return. Not till October, 1946, could the Diocesan Council be gathered, and it, almost wholly indigenous in membership, concentrated upon organizing and strengthening the Church to stand on its own feet. Self-support and vigorous evangelism were their purpose: and the bishop set before them, and people of all races, faiths and parties, the high ideal of unity and public service.

The years that followed have severely tested both country and Church. The authority of the Government has been challenged both by Communists and by Karen nationalism; disorder and dacoity have been widespread, there has been faction war. Bishop West did his utmost to mediate between the Government and the Karens—of whom so many are Christ-

ians—but serious throat trouble forced him to leave for an operation in America, which left him able to speak only in a whisper. Yet after the Lambeth Conference he flew back to Burma to continue his efforts. And now he called two of his best priests, John Aung Hla and Francis Ah Mya, to consecration as assistant bishops, and made Stephen Taw Mwa an archdeacon. Falsely attacked by some of the press as an ally of the Karens, he offered his own resignation, but the whole Church urged him to remain, and, his voice now partially recovered, he has carried on. But the Church is now truly indigenous. Only three English missionaries remain; the veteran Canon W. R. Garrad[1] giving the guidance of his long experience at Mandalay; the Rev. G. L. Tidey training ordinands at Holy Cross; and the Rev. C. T. S. Lewis as chaplain at the cathedral, where two memorial chapels now commemorate the great servants of the Church in Burma, and the troops who gave their lives in the defence and liberation of the country.

One other missionary remained: Miss Avice Cam returned, hoping to revive her dispensaries in the Delta, but conditions there were too dangerous, and she made a start instead near Toungoo. It is planned, when conditions are more settled, to open there a hospital where the training of nurses may be undertaken once more. The Queen Alexandra Hospital at Mandalay may be reopened as a Union Christian hospital.

THE NICOBAR ISLANDS

It remains to tell the story of the Nicobar Islands. With the Andamans, some 150 miles to the north, they lie far out in the Bay of Bengal, belonging politically to India, but ecclesiastically (until 1949) to the diocese of Rangoon. Port Blair in the Andamans is the administrative centre, and there an English chaplain was placed. On the Nicobars dwell a primitive native people, remote from the busy world, living upon their coconut palms, and in fear of the spirits and the witch doctors who claim to control them.

In the far past first Jesuit priests, then heroic Moravians, tried to convert them, but died of fever and starvation. Then, in the 1880s, Mr Solomon, a young Indian catechist from Madras, opened a school at Port Blair, to which a few Nicobar boys came. In 1896 Solomon was sent as Government agent, and as Mission catechist and school master, to Car Nicobar, the most populous island of the group, and there worked steadily away.[2] In 1901 he presented to the Rev. C. P. Cory, chaplain at Port Blair, the first fruits of his teaching, twenty-four candidates for baptism. Six years later Bishop Knight visited the island, found a hundred baptized Christians, of whom he confirmed sixteen, and took back with him two lads, John Richardson and Joseph, for education in Mandalay. So promising did the work seem that he would have sent a missionary over to take charge, but none was available.

[1] Canon Garrad died in Jan. 1951.

[2] Whitehead, *In the Nicobar Islands*, p. 236.

In 1909 Solomon died, leaving a body of 128 converts. "Many more of the islanders," wrote the superintendent at Port Blair, "have been led to abandon their savage customs, to cultivate vegetables and fruit for their own consumption, to drink tea instead of *tari*, to sew, to do carpentry. Their former customs of infanticide, devil murders, felling coconut trees on the death of the owner, dragging about the bodies of deceased persons, burying them with live animals and so on, have altogether been given up in the principal village of Mus, where the mission station is. Mr Solomon has reduced the native language to writing, and has translated into it (in Roman character) parts of the Prayer Book and of the Gospel according to St Matthew.

"Before his arrival in the island traders were not allowed to remain on shore after their ships had left, owing to the murders that occurred, but now they live there in safety all the year round and have several fine shops and houses.

"It will be seen how much is owed to Mr Solomon's devoted service, undertaken in the face of much difficulty and sickness, in a malarious climate and in an isolated position among a barbarous people little removed from savages."[1]

At the moment no one could be found to carry on the work so well begun. But John Richardson had proved an excellent scholar, and in 1912 Bishop Fyffe sent him back as catechist, with Joseph to aid him, and for two years the Rev. George Whitehead paid long visits, encouraged and advised Richardson, and revised Solomon's translation work. Yet again, from 1916 to 1921, Whitehead (though nominally retired) paid visits to Car Nicobar and gave it his special care.

So the work went forward, aided by Mr Scott, the Commissioner, and an Indian Christian doctor in the little Government hospital. In 1934 Bishop Tubbs ordained Richardson to the priesthood. In 1936 a new church was ready for consecration by Bishop West, and fifty-nine persons were confirmed. From Port Blair the Rev. V. N. Kemp year by year reported steady progress in Car Nicobar.

Then came the Japanese attack upon Burma. John Richardson's son, sent over to school in Rangoon, was killed in an air raid. Early in 1942 the Japanese occupied the Nicobars, and, accusing the Christians of spying for the British, treated them with appalling brutality. The Indian doctor

[1] *Report*, 1909, p. 136.

and other leaders were burnt to death: Richardson's second son was killed. Buildings were destroyed, the church damaged. Finally Richardson himself and his chief helpers, Ezekiel and Abednego the schoolmaster, lay bound in prison, awaiting execution in the morning.

"We were all put in prison," Ezekiel wrote afterwards, "and were taken to the place where is supposed to be the place of murdering.... My group were tied up, hands and legs, for a day and a night, without food or water.... In prison I was praying, the others also were praying, I can hear them whispering in their prayers. I was praying to God to spare my life and not allow me to die in the hands of people who have no Gods, and who hate God. I also add in my prayer that it may not be my will, but His will be done. After the short prayer in the prison I fell asleep, and early next morning I was awakened by the cry of one of the Jap soldiers calling me and asking me to get up and get out of the prison.... So I was released. Thanks to God."[1]

Japan had that day capitulated: they were free. Not till 1947 was Bishop West able to visit Nicobar, and found awaiting him nearly 900 candidates for Confirmation. Richardson had restarted the schools, restored the old church and built many new, spread the Gospel to many once heathen villages, and baptized hundreds of converts. Car Nicobar itself was now almost wholly Christian; the other islands were asking for evangelization. The martyrs had indeed proved the seed of the Church.

The bishop raised three more men to the diaconate—Ezekiel, Watchful and Benjamin. On his next visit, in 1949, 750 more candidates were ready for confirmation, and he ordained Ezekiel priest. As India had become self-governing, the islands were now transferred into the diocese of Calcutta. And there, on January 15, 1950, came the climax of this wonderful story of evangelism: John Richardson was consecrated bishop over his people. It is his firm purpose to gather all the Nicobar islands into the body of the Church.

[1] *Report*, 1945, p. 10.

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SINGAPORE

UPON Bishop Hose's resignation Singapore became a separate diocese, with Siam now added to it. And as bishop came C. J. Ferguson Davie, from service in Rawal Pindi, with his wife, a qualified doctor. He was, among other things, a rifle shot of Bisley calibre.

He soon visited and took stock of his diocese, It was steadily growing in importance. In addition to the tin mines, rubber plantations were now rapidly developing, and railways being built to serve them and open up further areas. Three states to the north, Kedah, Kelantan and Trengganu, ceded by Siam, joined the Federated Malay States. Ships thronged Singapore harbour, at the rate of 800 a month. British officials and business men came in an ever-increasing stream, and Indian, Chinese and Javanese coolies followed in hundreds as labour needs grew.

For all this his staff numbered only twelve European and three Tamil priests, aided by a few Chinese and Tamil catechists: they were but touching the fringe of opportunity; no medical work was being done. He promptly came to England to appeal for workers, and started the Singapore Diocesan Association to rally support both at home and in Malaya. It worked in close co-operation with the S.P.G., concerning itself largely with the needs of the Europeans, while the Society directed its care primarily to the non-Europeans.

Thus the diocese gained strong reinforcements. The Rev. J. R. Lee, coming to St Andrew's School in Singapore, revolutionized it, and within a few years raised it to the status of High School with 600 boys. Women workers arrived at Kuala Lumpur, and in 1913 St Mary's School for Girls was started under Miss Eveleigh. Chaplaincies were filled up, some of them receiving small grants from the S.P.G., on condition that the chaplains fostered work among Tamils or Chinese, usually carried on by clergy or catechists of their own race, for whom the Society made further grants.

And medical work was at last undertaken. In 1911 Dr Mildred Staley opened St David's Hospital, Malacca, planned as a channel for Christian witness among the Malays. In 1914 it moved into fresh quarters, and Dr Elsie Warren took charge: maternity work was greatly needed, and Asiatic nurses were given training for this. For twenty-one years the

hospital gave valuable service; but in 1933 no doctor could be found to succeed Dr Elsie Davis, medical funds were low and retrenchment inevitable, and it was regretfully closed.

But an offshoot had sprung from it. There were thousands of blind children in Malaya, for whom nothing was done. A few were taken into a home at Malacca in 1924; the little venture won interest and support, and became St Nicholas' Home, under the devoted care of Miss Sherman, to whom the S.P.G. made a grant. In 1932 she moved it to delightful quarters in Penang.

Meanwhile medical work started also in Singapore, where, with Mrs. Ferguson Davie's help, dispensaries were opened in 1913: next year a small hospital was started in an old school in Cross Street. The need proved so great that in 1922 St Andrew's Hospital was built; placed in the crowded Chinese quarter, it devoted itself to the needs of women and children: a dispensary for Malay women was also opened five miles outside the city.

Direct evangelistic work in Singapore was still centred in St Andrew's Mission, with its outpost at Jurong. Here the Rev. R. Richards, himself master of several Chinese dialects, had a staff of Chinese clergy and catechists, and one Tamil priest for the Indians in Singapore. The S.P.G. supported this work and that of Tamil priests at Penang and other centres up the coast. Richards frequently pointed out how greatly the Chinese work might be expanded, given one or two more missionaries speaking some Chinese dialect, and a larger staff of Chinese to work under them. But none could be found, and the variety of dialects made a training centre impracticable; workers had to be imported from China, and were hard to find.

Educational work grew in importance. St Andrew's Boys' School became one of the foremost schools of all Malaya. At Kuala Lumpur St Mary's School grew to large numbers, and Miss Josephine Foss, who had joined its staff in 1924, started the Pudu English School for girls of more advanced standards: Chinese and Eurasians provided the majority of pupils for both. There was also a small day school for boys, chiefly Chinese, in Pudu, and several for Tamil boys in Province Wellesley.

In Bangkok the Rev. C. R. Simmons took up Greenstock's work in 1914, and with his wife's aid increased the girls' school and added a small school for boys. But finance was always a difficulty, and he had to take work in the university to supplement his funds. In 1927 the Rev. C. W. Norwood came to join him, bringing also two women teachers. The schools grew, and Norwood took up important translation work. In 1932 Mr and Mrs Simmons retired, but three years later the Rev. C. G. Eagling came, and took charge of the mission, while Norwood undertook the

chaplaincy. But in 1938 he retired, and the whole of the work fell on Eagling. Finance was again difficult, and St Peter's Boys' School had to be closed. In 1940 it was reluctantly decided to bring the Mission to an end. It had never been possible to staff or equip it on a scale adequate for the task of planting the Church in a new country. Eagling stayed on, with his wife, as chaplain.

But this is to anticipate. During the first World War Singapore, though hard-pressed for staff, prospered on the urgent demands for rubber and tin. The slump came afterwards. But the bishop maintained his staff, and only in Province Wellesley did a chaplaincy require subsidy by the S.P.G.

In 1927 Bishop Ferguson Davie retired, and was succeeded by the Rev. Basil Coleby Roberts, chaplain at Selangor. He set himself to increase the number of chaplaincies, asking S.P.G. grants again for the purpose: but the world depression which set in in 1930 held up advance. In 1933 Canon Waddy, visiting the diocese, was impressed, as all who see it must be, by the success of Singapore in uniting people of many races and still more numerous tongues in one worshipping Church, exemplified in the Cathedral Eucharist. He remarked also upon the importance of Singapore as a channel of Christian influence upon the lands further east, with which its trade made so many links. Another visitor, the Rev. L. E. Browne, came from the Henry Martyn School of Islamics in India to study the problem of approach to the Malay Moslems.

That extension still remained an unfulfilled hope: the Tamils and the Chinese were task enough. Bishop Roberts planned to send men to train for their ministry at Rangoon and at Kuching, and the S.P.G. offered £300 to make this possible. In 1934 came the retirement of Mr Richards, after forty-eight years devoted to the Chinese. Under his care were now three churches and a mission hall, serving the Tamils as well as the bewildering variety of Chinese, with a staff of two Chinese priests and a few catechists. A successor was not found till 1938, when the Rev. A. J. Bennitt took up the task of superintending thirteen congregations, speaking eight Chinese dialects, English and Malay! With China invaded by Japan, many more Chinese took refuge in Singapore, whose rich merchants sent help to their distressed homeland.

The Government required the sites occupied by St Andrew's School and St Peter's Church, the home of four Chinese and two Indian congregations. Mr Bennitt planned to build two new churches, and St Andrew's, for the Chinese, was opened in 1940. St Andrew's School, now of over 850 boys, moved to fine new buildings on the outskirts of the town: other schools—St Mary's and the Pudu school at Kuala Lumpur—had enlarged and improved their buildings; and excellent boys' schools had

been started at St David's, Malacca (in the former hospital), and St Mark's, Butterworth.

Other welcome developments came from the generosity of Lord Nuffield, who, visiting Singapore in 1935, was greatly delighted with the work of St Andrew's Hospital, and even more by St Nicholas' Home for the Blind: to each he gave £1,250. St Andrew's had longed to do more for the many tubercular children whom only prolonged orthopaedic treatment could cure. Now it made a start, with a small sanatorium by the sea. So great was its success that further funds were raised, the Government gave a site, and an admirable orthopaedic hospital was opened in 1938. Here, under Dr Patricia Elliott, who had joined St Andrew's in 1927, bright days dawned for the young patients: they had school lessons, two R.A.F. sergeants gave their spare hours to teach carpentry and music, some became Scouts and Guides, and all showed great improvement in health.

In 1940 Bishop Roberts resigned, and became Warden of St Augustine's, Canterbury. John Leonard Wilson, Dean of Hong Kong, came as his successor. The war had broken out; within four months of his arrival it fell upon his diocese. He was out at Bangkok, finishing a first tour of visits, and flew back to Singapore in the last plane.

THE JAPANESE ATTACK

The Japanese attack began on December 8, 1941; three days later the *Prince of Wales* and *Repulse* were sunk. Invading from Siam, down railway and road, the enemy drove our forces back upon Singapore. Before they occupied Bangkok Eagling had sent away his wife and child, but himself bravely stayed, was interned with other British and Americans, and won their deep gratitude by his ministry to them. Miss Mabert, a Siamese teacher, kept the Church services going. As the Japanese advanced, Europeans were evacuated, and with streams of Asiatic refugees crowded into Singapore, where somehow they were housed. The clergy took up work assigned to them by the bishop, some as chaplains to the local forces, some in hospital or civilian duty. The Rev. Eric Scott stayed in Penang and did great service among its terrified and distressed people, was placed under arrest in St Nicholas' Home, but allowed to hold services there; and finally brought to internment in Singapore. The Rev. Bernard Eales likewise stayed at his post in Malacca, but was lodged in prison until removal to Singapore; the Rev. C. D. Gnanamani was allowed to visit and hold services in the prison. In Singapore, heavily bombed for three weeks, wounded soldiers from the military hospitals were moved at last into the cathedral. On Sunday, February 15, came the surrender.

The Europeans, clergy included, were at once interned, though the

Asiatic clergy remained at liberty. But the officer responsible for religion and education was Lieut. Ogawa, a keen communicant of our Church in Japan. He allowed the bishop, with the Rev. J. Hayter and the Rev. R. K. S. Adams, to return to the Bishop's House, and there for thirteen months, though closely watched by the police, they continued their work. Without money or rations, they were fully supplied by their loyal Churchpeople. The bishop organized a Federation of Churches, largely devoted to relief work. He gathered the Asiatic clergy for conference and counsel, and was allowed to visit P.O.W. camps to administer Confirmation.

Then came word that they must return to internment. At once the bishop ordained to the priesthood John Handy, a young Eurasian, and a Chinese deacon, Muo. He put Dr Chelliah, Indian vice-principal of St Andrew's School, in charge of the diocese. Then the three joined their comrades in Changi Prison—designed for 600 Asiatic prisoners, and now crammed with 3,000 Europeans.

Apart from the terrible overcrowding, life had so far been tolerable in Changi; the clergy, under Archdeacon Graham White, had given a welcome ministry; Dr Patricia Elliott had been foremost in medical work in the women's camp. But on October 10, 1943, came a sudden change. The Japanese "Gestapo" searched the whole camp and began to carry off individuals for questioning. One of the first was the bishop. The police had become aware that money had been smuggled into the camp (and the bishop had arranged this, for it was needed to buy food and medical supplies for the sick prisoners), and that a wireless receiver was somewhere concealed. Upon this they built up fantastic charges that he had planned and was financing espionage throughout Malaya. For three days he was mercilessly beaten and tortured to extract a confession, as were many others: some died of it—he survived, yet to be confined with many others for over eight months in horribly crowded and filthy cells. Several of his helpers from the city met the same treatment. None did more to keep up their spirits and faith than the bishop: secretly he celebrated Holy Communion, and baptized a Chinese. At last, in May, 1944, he was returned to the camp, now moved to less crowded quarters in Sime Road. But here food grew shorter than ever, though the prisoners were forced to work on garden plots and defensive works. At last, on August 14, 1945, came the Japanese capitulation.

There had been many losses. Before the fall of Singapore a number of the women missionaries had been evacuated by sea; but some of the ships were sunk; nothing was ever heard of Miss Olga Sprenger or Miss Evelyn Simmonds; Sister Wood's ship was sunk, but, bravely swimming, she saved herself and eight others on a raft. The Rev. A. C. Parr, of St

Andrew's School, died as a chaplain among the men working on the terrible Siam-Burma railway, and his wife in Sumatra, where also the Rev. Victor Wardle, of the Missions to Seamen, died in internment. And in Sime Road camp both Archdeacon Graham White and his wife died; both had been of wonderful influence among their fellow prisoners.

Outside, through the long months of Japanese occupation, the Asiatic Christians and their clergy had held on loyally. On first coming the Japanese had shot hundreds of Chinese, many young Christians among them. They had watched the Christian leaders with deep suspicion, and arrested a number as accomplices in the bishop's "espionage"; several had died. The churches, though some were used for stores and many looted, were undamaged, except St George's, Penang, destroyed by bombs, and Holy Trinity, Singapore, which was soon repaired. The congregations had held together and maintained worship; the cathedral had carried on without a break. The schools, however, had been taken over by the Japanese: teaching had practically ceased, and the buildings were bare of books and all equipment.

Now the Christians enthusiastically welcomed back their missionaries; the schools, though without books, filled up and started again. For a month the bishop was busily engaged re-organizing work, and chairing a "Malayan Welfare Council" set up by the Government. Common suffering had drawn together, as never before, the many races and the many denominations; and responsibility had called out new powers of initiative among the Asiatics.

After much-needed furlough the bishop and some of his clergy returned —others were no longer fit. The problems were great: Europeans (apart from the forces) were many fewer, costs much higher, supplies often short. It was impossible to staff all the chaplaincies in the old way, though Service chaplains gave valuable help for a time; nor could the Europeans contribute to the missionary work. The constitution of the new Malay Union made more vital than ever the task of drawing all races together for their common welfare, and in this the Church could take a lead. "Christian Reconstruction" became a watchword, and much thought was given to social work. Miss Josephine Foss, whose headship built up Pudu School, was again in Singapore, working in the leper asylum and on social welfare.

The schools were fuller than ever; but this very fact made it more difficult for overburdened teachers to find opportunity for Christian influence with individuals. St Nicholas' Blind School continued its special work, though hard-pressed for staff. In Singapore the orthopaedic hospital was restarted, still under Dr Patricia Elliott[1]; and St Andrew's

[1] Dr. Elliott died in London, in September 1950, shortly after retiring.

Hospital (whose buildings had been commandeered) at last found a new home in three stories of a big building, where out-patient work began once more in June, 1948, and in-patient work six months later. Miss Muriel Clark, back again in charge of this, began to train nurses for the care of sick children. An Australian, Dr Keys Smith, was in command. In Bangkok, Mr Eagling returned and took up his chaplaincy once more.

In 1948 Bishop Wilson resigned, to become Dean of Manchester. His successor, Bishop H. W. Baines, coming from Rugby, had the difficult task of carrying the Church's work forward in face of the dangers and restrictions caused by the outbreak of Communist terrorism, and the problems raised for the many Chinese in Malaya by the Communist control of China. His first duty after enthronement, on September 28, 1949, was to lay the foundation stone for a new St Matthew's school and parsonage in Singapore—a sign that the Church was determined on reconstruction and revival.

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BORNEO

BISHOP HOSE, before his retirement in 1908, had ensured the division of his diocese into two—Singapore, and Labuan and Sarawak. The charge of two such areas was too heavy for one bishop; to his grief he left both gravely undermanned.

To Borneo came William Robert Mounsey, who had worked for some years for the Church in New Guinea. Before leaving for his diocese he organized the Borneo Mission Association, once more to gather the support of those specially interested in the country; and he was followed out by reinforcements for his staff, though these were too largely offset by the loss of older members. Archdeacon Sharp, who had held the diocese together in the interregnum, was invalided home in 1910, and the Rev. R. J. Small took his place at Kuching: and W. H. Elton, bravely returning to Sandakan after a year's convalescence, had finally to leave in 1913, and died the next year. Some of the newcomers soon succumbed to the climate.

The northern area of the diocese, opened up under Bishop Hose, was almost cut off by lack of communications from Sarawak in the south. But it was of growing importance. Elton had planted the Church firmly in Sandakan, the administrative centre, with St Michael's Church and boys' school, and St Monica's school for girls. The Rev. T. C. Alexander and others carried on his work, especially among the Chinese. Kudat was also a strong Chinese centre, but after Mr Richards moved to Singapore in 1902 it was left to a Chinese deacon, Fong Hau Kong, whom Bishop Mounsey now raised to the priesthood. Jesselton, farther south, was quickly becoming a second important centre for Europeans and Chinese, and here the bishop placed another senior priest, E. W. Leggatt, who also paid regular visits to Labuan; but in 1913 he too was invalided home.

In Sarawak Kuching was of necessity the central station; its pro-cathedral served the growing Chinese congregation; St Thomas's and St Mary's schools, steadily gaining strength, spread their influence widely; and the staff of women was large enough to start visiting homes and doing some medical service. The revolution in China stirred new ambitions and activity among the Chinese in Sarawak, and the Church, opening a Chinese Institute, gained interest and support among them.

It was less easy to staff and maintain the out-stations among the Land

and Sea Dyaks. Nearest to Kuching lay Quop and Lundu, the Land Dyak centres, and the only priest available was the veteran Chinese, Chung Ah Luk, at Quop. Even more challenging were the Sea Dyak tribes, away up the north-west coast, strung out along the Undup, Saribas, Skrang and other rivers. A number of stations had been opened among them, but few were still held. William Howell, at Sabu on the Undup, had to try to visit also the Saribas and Skrang. "The people in the Saribas are most enthusiastic about learning. Even their women have taken to reading and writing." But even the most cursory tour of that area involved six weeks of hard travelling, and he had his own district, and two schools at Sabu and Merdang, to care for. At Banting were the Rev. G. Dexter Allen and his wife, a qualified doctor; they tried also to visit the Krian, three days' journey, where a church and house had been built, but left to destruction by white ants.

The war of 1914–18 made the maintenance of the staff even more difficult. The Dexter Allens left in 1915, and the hospital work at Banting had to end. In 1916 Bishop Mounsey himself had to give up; he had gone home after a painful accident. In his place next year came E. D. Logie Danson, from six years' service in Singapore. "Give us eight more young and devoted priests," he pleaded, "and the money to support them, and we shall soon win the Sea Dyak area for Christ." But though some came —F. S. Hollis in 1916, W. Linton in 1918, A. B. Champion in 1922—they were far too few, and he turned to the even more vital need of training an Asiatic ministry. In 1920 the first Land Dyak was made deacon, Si Migaat; in 1923 the first Sea Dyak, Thomas Buda; in 1925, Matius Senang. But, better still, largely through the keenness of the Chinese at Kudat, he was able to open there the College of the Holy Way, under the Rev. E. Parry, in which five students were prepared for the ministry; by 1928 all were ordained priests, and though the veteran Chung Ah Luk died that year, he had a staff of ten missionary and nine Asiatic priests, and work was developing at new centres.

Si Migaat had brought new vigour into the life of Quop; and at Tai-i near by Buda, developing an opening made by the Rev. C. Elwell, was building up a new village congregation full of the evangelistic spirit. At Sabu William Howell, though over seventy, stayed on in semi-retirement; but Simanggang had been chosen as the administrative centre for that area, so the Rev. A. W. Stonton began to establish a Church centre there also. Meanwhile Wilfred Linton, posted at Betong in the Saribas area, was opening up new work among the Sea Dyaks, and Dorothy Nadeh, a Sea Dyak pupil of St Mary's School, boldly undertook to start a girls' school there. The veteran Howell came to plant the corner post of the beautiful church of St Augustine.

At Miri oil wells were under development, and both Europeans and Chinese needed the Church's ministry. For some time only a Chinese catechist could be sent, but in 1926 the Rev. F. W. Synnott was posted there, and next year the Rev. Chong En Siong. In North Borneo the College of the Holy Way was closed, since there were no funds to maintain further students over a four-year course; and the Rev. E. Parry left, but not before he had built a new and worthy church. At Sandakan the Rev. B. Mercer had taken up what was to be the chief work of his life.

In Kuching itself Bishop Danson enlarged the pro-cathedral and raised it to the status of cathedral: the two schools were prospering, St Thomas's under the Rev. F. S. Hollis, and St Mary's under Miss Edith Andrews.

Thus on his resignation in 1931 Bishop Danson left the diocese in good heart, and his successor, Noel Baring Hudson, came eager yet further to vitalize and extend the work. Worship must be the heart of the Church's life, witness its expression. One of his first acts was to bring all the clergy of the diocese together, for retreat and conference, at Kuching. Only once before had they so met, owing to the distances and lack of means of communication, especially between Sarawak and North Borneo. And to this gathering came Fr Shelley and Fr Thomas from the Mirfield Community, and Canon Waddy, visiting S.P.G. dioceses in the Far East. "It has heartened me more than any visit I ever paid to the Mission Field," he wrote, deeply impressed alike with the work and the workers, by his few days spent among them.

The Mirfield Fathers were there on another quest. Bishop Danson had longed to see a religious community in the diocese. At Betong Linton had tried to start life under a Rule with the Rev. M. Bradshaw and the Rev. A. J. Sparrow. But just at this moment his health broke down, and he was forbidden to return to Borneo. Bishop Hudson invited the Community of the Resurrection to send some of their number to Kuching, there to do three things—give the witness of the religious life, take charge of the cathedral and its district, and train Asiatic students for the ministry. In 1934, sustained by a promise of £550 for three years from the S.P.G., they sent out five of their Order, Frs Philipps, Shelley, Thomas, Blair and Wrathall, for an experimental period of three years. When it ended, for lack of young men physically fit for the conditions, they regretfully withdrew; but they had given the diocese four new Asiatic deacons, and the deep influence of their own consecrated lives.

In other directions also the work went forward. From Sandakan three towns down the east coast were regularly visited, and a church was built at Tawau. Sandakan too had the witness of community life; two Companions of Jesus the Good Shepherd were in charge of St Monica's School. Round Simanggang, where the Kings' Messengers enabled

Mr Stonton to build a new church, and St Mary's, Stafford, provided him with a launch, new centres were established, by the witness of Dyak Christians, at Abok and Siboyau. At Brunei, at Limbang, at Miri, new churches were built, and that at Labuan moved into a central position.

Then in 1937 Bishop Hudson was called home to become Secretary of the S.P.G.: Archdeacon Hollis, chosen to succeed him, came to the task with twenty-one years' knowledge of the diocese. The steady advance was continued: on all sides jungle villages were ready to hear the Church's teaching, had men and means been available to enter open doors. But the home Church could not find them.

Then war broke in. The treacherous Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour gave warning of danger; the sinking of the *Prince of Wales* and *Repulse* left Borneo undefended, except by a regiment of Punjabis at Kuching. In December, 1941, the Japanese landed at Labuan, Brunei and Miri; Kuching was bombed, and on Christmas Eve invaded. Women and children had been evacuated, several missionaries among them; the Rev. J. Paisley, who escorted them into Dutch Borneo, could not get back, and went on with his wife and children to Australia; Miss Andrews was detained in Java and there interned.

All the rest of the missionaries were interned; those in North Borneo for some months in a little island off Sandakan harbour; those in Sarawak, first at Kuching, but finally in old barracks two miles from the town, to which the Sandakan prisoners were also transferred. Here thousands of troops and civilians—British, Australian, Dutch, Indian, Indonesian—were herded in different sections separated by barbed-wire fences. They were forced to work, partly to grow food, which yet became less and less. Medicines ran out, sickness and deficiency diseases increased; about half the entire camp died—though none of the missionaries. The bishop and his clergy were allowed to hold services on Sundays, sometimes in other sections of the camp, and regularly celebrated Holy Communion; a number of people received Baptism and Confirmation; the women missionaries gave daily teaching to the children in their camp.[1]

Red Cross parcels were not distributed, and, but for a secret wireless receiver, no news (except Japanese propaganda) was heard from the outside world; and two years passed before the first brief postcards from the prisoners reached their relatives; that from Bishop Hollis to the S.P.G. ended, "Rejoicing in tribulation, full of hope."

Meanwhile the little band of Asiatic clergy—eight Chinese and four Dyaks—was left to carry on "without supervision, guidance or salaries, with a hostile pagan power in control which was suspicious of their every

[1] See *Borneo* in *The War and After* series, S.P.G.

movement, and they had a frightened and bewildered people to look after." They and the other Christian leaders responded nobly. Though mission schools were closed, and churches seized for stores, they moved among their people, holding services wherever they could and hiding and saving church property at risk of their lives. The Japanese imposed forced labour, conscribed youths for their army, and commandeered the rice crops, bringing the people to the verge of starvation; disease spread, many children died. When the tide of war turned, and defeat faced the Japanese, they shot many of the English-speaking Chinese, leading Christians among them. At Miri the Rev. Lim Siong Teck had assisted a Dutch airman to escape, and for this he had been brutally punished, but continued to do all he could for his congregation. The day before the Australians landed the Japanese took him and twenty-seven others (prominent Christians among them), forced them to dig their graves, and shot them.

But at last liberation came. Allied planes first appeared on Lady Day, 1945; air raids followed. At last, on August 18, they dropped leaflets announcing that the war was over. Then daily they dropped sorely needed bales of food, clothing and medical supplies. And in from Kuching and the country round crowded the Chinese and Dyak Christians, bringing gifts of fruit and eggs and food—though themselves near starvation—and rejoicing once more to see their missionary friends.

In September an Australian division landed and the interned were moved to Labuan, cared for with every possible comfort, and sent home for much-needed rest and recovery. Two priests stayed on, Stonton and Howes, and with the aid of Australian chaplains were able to assess the losses suffered by the Church, and stimulate its efforts for recovery.

The material damage was immense. Of the churches, a few in the jungle were unharmed; of the remainder some had been destroyed or burnt out, others damaged and completely looted. The towns of Labuan, Jesselton, Sandakan and Miri lay in ruins, due partly to the final Allied bombardment, and all mission property was gone. Kuching had not suffered so severely, but the Japanese had destroyed some of the mission buildings and badly damaged St Thomas's Cathedral. Though the jungle villages had escaped similar destruction, churches and schools and priests' houses needed urgent repairs that had been impossible under enemy occupation.

But the Christians and their leaders, though reduced to rags and half-starved, streamed back to their homes, patched up the damaged buildings or put up temporary shelters, renewed their worship and restarted—though without books—their schools. The Australians helped to restore the cathedral, built a beautiful little church at Labuan, and liberally distributed clothing and other materials.

The terrible privations of internment had left their marks on all the missionaries, and few were able to return. Archdeacon Mercer had to stay in Australia for convalescence; and there died Miss Agnes Olver, who had quietly worked among the women of Kuching since 1906. Bishop Hollis came back in 1946 and made a tour of the north, but his eyesight had been severely affected, he had to return to England for treatment, and after the Lambeth Conference in 1948 resigned: he had given a lifetime of devoted service to Borneo. A long interregnum followed, during which Archdeacon Stonton carried unflinchingly an immense burden. Of three new priests who came to join the staff, two were quickly invalided out; the Rev. A. J. Sparrow, who had returned to Sandakan, resigned. The staff was reduced to three European and eleven Asiatic priests, with three European women workers.

At last, in December, 1949, the diocese, to be known no longer as "Labuan and Sarawak," but as "Borneo"—welcomed its eighth bishop, Nigel Cornwall, who came from notable service under the U.M.C.A. He found a challenging situation.

Politically, the whole of British Borneo—Sarawak, Brunei, Labuan, North Borneo—had come under the rule of the Colonial Office since 1945. Among other plans, the Government was determined to foster education, and though ready to assist mission schools, would put up its own where they were needed. The immense rise in the cost of living—rice, the staple food, was seven times dearer than before the war—made necessary much higher salaries. The Church must therefore, if it would keep its schools, rebuild them promptly and double the payment of its teachers, a task almost impossible on its available resources.

The Government further planned a Teacher Training College to supply the schools, and offered to place on its staff one Anglican and one Roman Catholic priest to give religious instruction to their own teachers.

Vital as this post must be, still more essential was the training of additional Asiatic clergy, but difficult to provide in Borneo, owing to multiplicity of languages, yet more expensive and hardly less difficult to find outside the diocese. Important centres, Sandakan, Jesselton, new oilfields in Brunei, and Kuching itself urgently called for European priests and teachers. Sea Dyak villages round Simanggang and Betong, Land Dyaks round Quop and Tai-i, were eagerly asking for teachers; and in the north the untouched Dusun tribes inland from Jesselton and Kudat were offering fresh openings.

Of the pre-war staff, Miss Edith Andrews was back at St Mary's School, Kuching; Sister Alison, C.J.G.S., at Sandakan; and Miss Carlton at Jesselton. Archdeacon Stonton and the Rev. P. H. H. Howes held Kuching

and Quop; and among the Asiatic priests and teachers were men of outstanding loyalty and zeal—Quop and Tai-i, under the veteran Si Migaat and catechist Oscar, were burning centres of evangelism. Several new priests and women workers soon came from England to reinforce the staff. But the work called for yet more: at the close of 1950 four priests went out, and at last all the posts for which the bishop had stipends were filled.

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AUSTRALASIA

WHEN the Australian Church celebrated in 1900 the jubilee of its Board of Missions it had made great strides towards complete self-support. Two newly founded dioceses, New Guinea and Carpentaria, would need extra assistance during their early years; North Queensland had still many areas of sparse new settlement to provide for; and the claims of Western Australia were even greater, for towards its great empty spaces and the promise of its gold reefs large numbers of settlers were now turning their steps: in 1896 the Australian bishops had specially commended its appeal to the S.P.G.

In Bishop Montgomery the Society now had a Secretary who knew the situation at first hand, yet tempered his natural sympathy for the Australian Church with the conviction that nothing would better stimulate its inward life than to have to tackle a great missionary task within and beyond its own borders. Accordingly we find the Society limiting its grants, and gradually withdrawing them, except where heavy immigration from England made a strong claim for aid from the home Church; there, as in the past, the S.P.G. gave its full aid. And it was always ready to make known the Australian Church's need for men, to help to find them, and to send out funds raised by those in England who had special interest in them.

The Australian Board of Missions rose to the task laid upon it. Reconstructed in 1910, it adopted a policy of assessment; its funds increased; and to strengthen the ministry it used £3,000 of its grant from the Pan-Anglican Thank-offering to start an all-Australia Ordination Candidates Fund. In 1916 the Australian C.M.S. was associated with it, but not (as had been hoped) brought under the one central direction.

New Guinea, Carpentaria, North Queensland and Perth were the four dioceses that could still look to the S.P.G. for help: we will consider them in turn.

NEW GUINEA

The story of the Church in New Guinea is one of heroic venture, leading, in the second World War, to unsurpassed steadfastness and suffering. The S.P.G. shared in it by direct help at the start, but thereafter only by indirect assistance. To the endowment of the see the Society con-