

# Reflections on Robert Morrison's Life in Macao and Literary Works Towards a Contextualized Approach

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Robert Morrison, DD (1782–1834), London Missionary Society, LMS (1804), first arrived in Macao, China, on 4<sup>th</sup> September 1807, reaching Canton three days later.

Dr. Morrison is famous for his contribution to the Western knowledge of China and the Chinese, and also his Bible translation and his linguistic skills, which enabled him to produce pioneering English-Chinese dictionaries and grammars during his twenty-seven years of residence in China. It is not surprising to find statements such as: “Dr. Morrison led the way to Western scholarship in China,”<sup>1</sup> and “for several years laboured alone on a Chinese version of the Holy Scriptures,” as written on his tombstone.

However, Dr. Morrison was neither the first Protestant missionary to begin translating the Bible into Chinese, nor the first to publish it, and he had been assisted by Chinese teachers and literati in his translation works even prior to his arrival in Canton. On the other hand, we will see how similar to Roman

Catholic manuscripts is Morrison/Milne's Chinese Bible, published in 1823, and how Morrison referred to former dictionaries, especially those produced by Catholic missionaries.

I do not intend, of course, to deny Dr. Morrison's decisive and unquestionable contributions, which led to a construction of a corpus of knowledge on China in English. However, a broader approach linking missionary studies to a historical framework is required, something that is still not commonly found in the biographical, historical and missiological literature despite some efforts<sup>2</sup> to rid Christian mission history of its strictly religious perspective.

In a recent article<sup>3</sup> I discussed Morrison's Chinese language learning with an emphasis on the role played by his Chinese teachers and assistants and the Catholic contribution to his achievements. There I mentioned the existence of similar strategies used by both early Roman Catholics from the late 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries and the early Protestant missionaries at the opening of the 19<sup>th</sup> century—a comparative approach that I would like to explore further in this article.

In this context, several questions might be addressed while revisiting the topic, aiming to contribute to a renewed scholarship on the Western knowledge of, and approach to, China. What did the Protestant missionaries learn from the early Catholic missionary experiences in China, including their language-teaching methods? What use did they make of the earlier linguistic works for 19<sup>th</sup> century dictionaries, grammars, translations of the Bible and other works?

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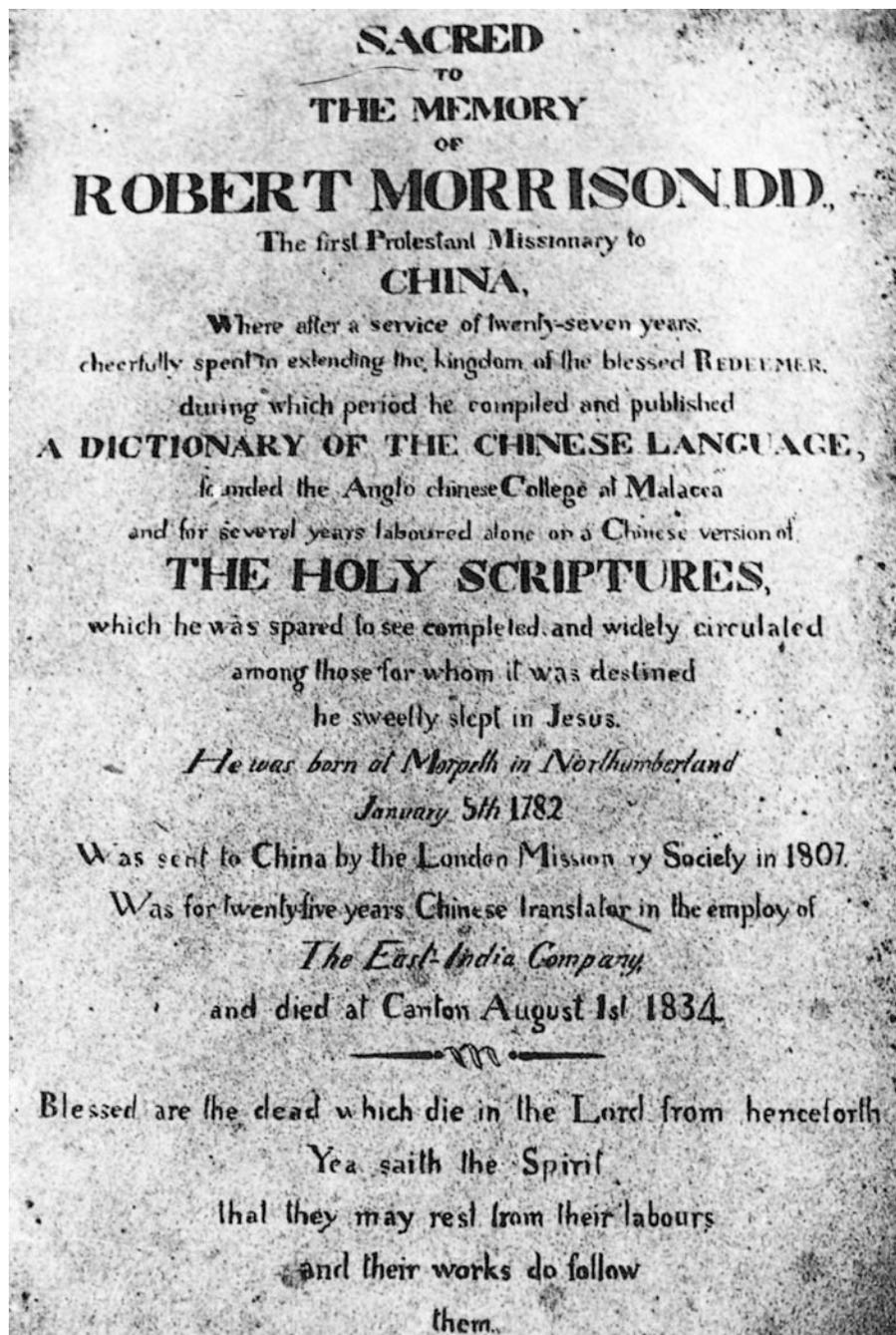
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Besides this, there are some well-known ideas about Morrison's life, activities and relationship with Macao's Portuguese authorities that entered Morrison's biography, supported by his writings. However, a contextualized vision of Morrison's and his companions' lives and work in Macao, making use of local sources, needs to be explored. José Maria Braga (1887–1988)<sup>4</sup> seems to be the exception, but

he focused on printing press history. That approach is not followed here.

Missionary bibliography has been too much centered on the names of some of their most outstanding protagonists, such as Matteo Ricci, SJ (1552–1610), or Morrison, often forgetting those who assisted them either on the Chinese or Western side. Although in many situations those pioneer missionaries found themselves alone or almost alone, they were protagonists of a collective work. The almost unknown Lazzaro Cattaneo, SJ (1560–1640) and Diego de Pantoja, SJ (1571–1618) were crucial assistants and supporters of Ricci's work. In turn, many preliminary steps had been prepared by Michele Ruggieri, SJ (1543–1607), who, despite being well-known, never achieved the fame of his companion. Certain circumstances led to a lack of information on the Chinese helpers. At times they were recruited from amongst converts, or from groups of a low social status or marginal groups—at least as perceived by the Chinese ruling classes—hired under threat of persecution.

However, while reporting their activities to a European public—from whom they expected to gain support and funding—the missionaries made use of a tone of justification and apology, stressing their achievements and progress even if they sacrificed native names central to their work. There was also a prevalent ethnocentric mentality, and it was common practice for these projects to



Tombstone of Robert Morrison.

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assume the character of an open collective work under continued construction and re-evaluation. This is something that continued to prevail<sup>5</sup> even after the pioneer Protestant missionaries came to China.

This article will focus on three main aspects in order to better contextualize Robert Morrison's individual experience and extraordinary linguistic achievements:

- Macao's context at the time of Morrison's arrival;
- The similarity of early Christian missionary strategies;
- Western competition in the study of the Chinese language in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

In my research I have drawn on first-hand sources found in the writings of Catholic missionaries and Morrison and William Milne, DD, LMS (1785–1822),<sup>6</sup> the Macao Senate [urban council] archives, as well as Morrison's biographical works available in Macao<sup>7</sup> and on biographical notes found in historical and missiological books, and Internet websites in Western languages. I do not include literature published in Chinese or other Asian languages, despite being aware of the relevant contribution of Chinese scholarship<sup>8</sup> towards the development of the history of Christianity in China.

The recourse to global definitions such as Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries made in this article might appear as reductionism and an oversimplification. However, their use, as operative concepts, aims to facilitate a comparative and global analysis without pretending to ignore differences among denominations or defending the existence of uniformity in beliefs, ideas and ways of acting among those groups. On the other hand, that similarity is not, of course, exclusive to 19<sup>th</sup> century Macao and China. It is found in the Asiatic scenario from the 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards in some of the regions under Dutch influence.<sup>9</sup> With the universality of their goals in mind, it could surely be extended to other continents visited by Western missionaries, but that is far beyond the scope of this article.

## MACAO CONTEXT

Robert Morrison's remains lie at Macao in the Old Protestant Cemetery, a spot granted due to the

pressure that he brought<sup>10</sup> to obtain a burial ground for his wife, Mary Morton Morrison (1791–1821), who died of cholera on 10<sup>th</sup> June 1821.

Macao was the scene of almost all the relevant moments of Morrison's private, missionary and scholarly life. It was in that very same place that he first married on February 20<sup>th</sup> 1809, and almost all his children were born there. In Macao "at a spring of water issuing from the foot of a lofty hill by the sea side, away from human observation",<sup>11</sup> he baptised his first Chinese convert in 1814, and it was at Macao that Morrison's comprehensive *Dictionary of the Chinese Language* started to be printed.

It is commonly claimed that Morrison's and other Protestant missionaries' activities were sadly hampered by Macao and even somehow considered hostile by the Roman Catholic priests,<sup>12</sup> even if there were cases of friendly and helpful relations with those in charge of St. Joseph's Seminary<sup>13</sup>, with regard to the task of translating and printing Chinese books.

According to Portuguese law, foreigners,<sup>14</sup> whether Protestant missionaries or not, were not allowed to reside or buy any property in Macao, but their presence became tolerated<sup>15</sup> by the authorities and strongly supported by Macao's inhabitants who were willing to associate with them, either formally or simply tacitly, as mediators or commercial partners.

This ambiguity reflects Macao's situation as an entrepôt, ruled by a Western country in the Chinese empire. With the Qianlong Emperor's (r. 1736–1795) restrictions on foreign trade, codified in 1760, China assumed a new role complementary to Macao. Limiting the presence of foreigners on imperial soil to the trading season that generally lasted from October to March and stating peremptorily that no women whatsoever were to be permitted in the Canton factories implied that Macao could secure a new mediation role as a metropolis of equilibrium. During the period between one trading season and the next, on the arrival or the return voyages home, Macao accommodated an increasing number of foreigners wishing to deal with China, thus consolidating its status as a "pre-port" for Canton.<sup>16</sup>

Accordingly, individuals in the service of Western trading companies started to be allowed to *invernar* [i.e., shelter during the off-season, literally "to winter"] in Macao, upon an individual request addressed every off-season to the Senate. Exceptions to this rule were very few—the hospitality, in cases of ship wrecks or

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urgent demands on ships and crews, being the most frequent—and always decided upon by the Senate even if in disagreement with the Governor.

Despite all the efforts of the Portuguese Crown from the late 18<sup>th</sup> century to legitimize its control over the territory,<sup>17</sup> Macao was still integrated into the Chinese imperial order. In spite of all the legal provisions to the contrary, all the manifest resistance and the explanations and rejection suffered by the new arrivals, their presence was accepted.

However, if Macao's survival, both politically and economically, was dependent on that context according to a principle of mixed jurisdiction, Westerners were ruled by the Portuguese Crown, at that time still an absolute monarchy with a single religion, the Roman Catholic Church, their religious faith being a matter in which the Chinese authorities did not interfere.

Liberalism and all its implications for freedom of religion and press as well as egalitarian principles was only—and as yet provisionally and partially—proclaimed in Portugal on 24<sup>th</sup> August 1820, reaching Macao in the following year. There was still a long way to go until the territory was declared a free port on 20<sup>th</sup> November 1845, when anti-foreign laws were abolished. Thus it would not be surprising if the newly arrived Protestant missionaries had faced some antagonism and limitations from the Macao authorities and the Roman Catholic priests in times of fewer ecumenical practices. However, the opposition Morrison suffered was primarily exercised by his own countrymen, as the East India Company (EIC) was the first to ban his and other missionaries' religious activities.

To reach China, Morrison had to travel via the United States of America in an American ship, the *Trident*, bringing with him a personal written recommendation from James Madison (1751–1836), then Secretary of State and future US President (1809–1817), to the American consul in China, Edward Carrington (1802–1804; 1807–1809). At Canton<sup>18</sup> he stayed and engaged himself in language learning under arduous conditions with perseverance and with the hospitality of some Westerners, especially the Americans and the French, rather than the British. When the EIC hired him, after two years, it was then the Company realized that Robert Morrison's Chinese expertise would be an advantage for its commercial purposes. The EIC also became interested in the composition of the Anglo-Chinese dictionary

he had proposed to complete, but not in the Bible translation, despite all the private personal support that he received from some of his compatriots. EIC rules “prohibited unofficial clergy and missionaries from entering and working in any of the territories within its monopoly.”<sup>19</sup>

In addition to this scenario, a natural reserve that the British generated against themselves with the two attempts<sup>20</sup> towards Macao in 1802 and 1808 was deeply felt in the city as a menace to its long-held privileged position on Chinese soil. Briefly, this is the Macao Morrison encountered, which is not always considered in his bibliography. Revisiting this particular topic in a more complex scenario of the foreign communities living in pre-Hong Kong Macao might be difficult. Lack of local sources on semi-legal Western residence in Macao, and rare references in the Portuguese press hinder the researcher. It should be, however, a more exciting and challenging task that requires further development. In any case, I truly hope these few ideas will call the experts' attention<sup>21</sup> to the need for renewed scholarship on this topic.

## THE ROMAN CATHOLIC LEGACY IN CHINA

Early Catholic missionary linguistic work and the study of China are often neglected in Anglo-Saxon literature. Since the late 16<sup>th</sup> century, however, Macao, the China Mission, and Manila were places where language training and Western scholarship on China was promoted. These places also had been centers of dissemination of this knowledge to cultivated Europe since the Renaissance. Accounts, letters, treatises, maps, translations on China, Chinese grammars and dictionaries, produced by missionaries, especially the Jesuits, but also the Mendicants from Manila, merchants, officials, explorers and adventures—mainly Portuguese, Spanish, Italians and French—had circulated in Europe and have been successively translated over the centuries.<sup>22</sup>

Only a few<sup>23</sup> of those early works have been translated into English and incorporated into narratives of travels and seafaring but these are generally incomplete and omit the authors' names, resulting in a generalized British ignorance of that legacy. Nowadays, however, there can be no excuse to systematically ignore, specially in academic circles, the names of many eye-witnesses such as Fernão Mendes Pinto (c.

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1509/1511–1583), Friar Gaspar da Cruz, OP, (1520?–1570), Martin de Rada, OESA (1533–1578), Michele Ruggieri, SJ, Matteo Ricci, SJ, Duarte de Sande, SJ (1547–1599), Alessandro Valignano, SJ (1539–1606), Nicolas Trigault, SJ (1577–1628), Adriano de las Cortes, SJ (1578–1629), Álvaro Semedo, SJ (1585–1658), António de Gouveia, SJ (1592–1677), Gabriel de Magalhães, SJ (1610–1677), Philippe Couplet, SJ (1623–1693), Friar José de Jesus Maria, OFM, (16...–1752), among many others, as “constructors” of Western knowledge of China before the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century.

Rewriting and making use of these and other sources, enlightened Central and North Europe gave way to an idealized idea of China, even an obsession with China, as was the case of the well-known 18<sup>th</sup> century *chinoiserie* or *sinomania*, which reached Great Britain as well,<sup>24</sup> contrasting with a much more reliable and direct Chinese knowledge existing in Iberian and Mediterranean regions.

In England, China had been catching the attention of writers and scholars since the late 16<sup>th</sup> century. However, during the 18<sup>th</sup> century there was strong British criticism of the idealized image of China, mainly propagated by the French Jesuits, and even some depreciation. This attitude was initiated and popularized by Daniel Defoe's (c. 1660–1731) world-famous novels.<sup>25</sup> It was supported by questions of religious doctrine, European national rivalries and by some accounts of less successful direct contacts of British subjects with the Celestial Empire, including books of travels written by Englishmen that began to multiply<sup>26</sup> mainly after Commodore Anson's (1697–1762) voyage around the world (1741–1744) and Lord Macartney's (1737–1806) embassy (1792–1794). That “imperfect sympathy”<sup>27</sup> which was still alive in Morrison's time and was to remain until the Opium Wars (1839–1842, 1856–1860), did not prevent a renewed British interest in China, and some efforts were made at Oxford towards some amateur sinological Orientalism,<sup>28</sup> although these were marginalized by those devoted to Oriental studies.

That general British ignorance of much reliable Chinese knowledge, difficult access to the Roman Catholic materials, especially Jesuit accounts, as well as the absence of trust, as explained by Milne<sup>29</sup> an attitude inherited from the English Restoration<sup>30</sup>—were the circumstances that led to the construction of a

corpus of systematic knowledge on China in English, a process in which Dr. Morrison played a pioneering<sup>31</sup> and decisive role.

The fact that they had been produced by Roman Catholics and the apologetic tone and idealized idea of China they propagated were the main reasons Morrison and Milne distrusted those early reports. However, it must be clarified that our authors' access to this legacy was primarily through Jean-Baptiste du Halde, SJ (1674–1743) and his companions' codifications<sup>32</sup> of that knowledge on China, not through the first-hand sources that supported them. Even Louis-Daniel Le Comte's (1655–1728) *Nouveaux Mémoires*,<sup>33</sup> written upon direct experience and translated into English in the year following its publication in Paris in 1696, was not accepted by English scholars and readers due to his laudatory tone.

This distrust however was not sufficient enough for approving Adam Smith's (1723–1790) total depreciation—based on an anti-clerical posture rather than on any other reason—of those early missionaries' work, an attitude refuted by Milne/Morrison:

Dr. Adam Smith, speaking of the public works, canals, bridges, &c. of China, and referring to the testimony of the Catholic Missionaries, says, ‘The accounts of these works, however, which have been transmitted to Europe, have generally been drawn up by weak and wondering travellers, frequently by stupid and lying Missionaries. If they had been examined by more intelligent eyes, and if the accounts of them had been reported by more faithful witnesses, they would not perhaps appear to be so wonderful’ (*Wealth of Nations*, Book V, Chap. I, Part 3).

There was no just ground for such a sweeping charge against the Romish Missionaries—observed our(s) Author(s), to conclude: The Dr.'s book is greatly indebted to their writings; and would have been, in many parts exceedingly bare without them.<sup>34</sup>

What I would like to emphasize here is firstly the awareness, even if limited, that these two British pioneer missionaries to China, Robert Morrison and William Milne, had of their Roman Catholic companions' previous knowledge and approach to China, and secondly, and despite the natural differences and criticism of doctrines and strategies, the respect and acknowledgement they manifested for their

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predecessors' work, and mostly the humility of trying to learn from their experience given the similarity of their missions.

To exemplify, I will again quote *A Retrospect of the First Ten Years of the Protestant Mission to China, (Now, in Connection with the Malay, Denominated, the Ultra-Ganges Missions). Accompanied with miscellaneous remarks on the Literature, History, and Mythology of China, &c.*, a work in which Milne made use of a manuscript written by Morrison on the tenth anniversary of his arrival in China (4<sup>th</sup> September 1817). Morrison's contribution is found between the beginning of the fourth and middle of the tenth sections of Milne's work as stated by him in the "Preface," the reason why I prefer to indicate both missionaries' names as its authors.

The style of their publications—when referring to China Catholic missionaries—is generally perspicuous—sometimes elegant,—and may be often imitated with advantage by subsequent labourers, to whatever church they belong; and to take due advantage of the talents and labours of those who have gone before, in order to facilitate our own progress, is wisdom, and discovers reverence to Christ, who gave them these gifts for the good of the church.<sup>35</sup>

Another main fault they found with their Catholic predecessors, also supported by cultural differentiation, is the divorce from the real world and direct contact with the proselytes, resulting, in part, from having been "brought up chiefly in Colleges and Monasteries, during the early part of their lives." According to our authors, the Roman Catholic missionaries' lack of life experience led to the development of an attitude of admiration for many things that "others more conversant with the world have possessed nothing remarkable"<sup>36</sup>. Neither generalizing this statement nor judging it intentional, the new China missionaries advised their companions to avoid such an attitude: "a caution" that "may be suggested for those who are now employed in a similar work".<sup>37</sup>

Despite all the divergences, whether doctrinal or cultural, the recognition of a similitude in their works and the expressed intention of learning from their predecessors' experience is something remarkable. In fact, those were two starting moments of direct Western interaction with China and two different steps on the same path towards *globalisation* that have much more in

common than it seems at first glance, something which is not usually recognized by historians, missiologists, writers and publicists.

## SIMILARITY OF STRATEGIES

If we consider the work of those pioneers acting in the field, it should not be surprising to find a similarity in the strategies and methods adopted by the Catholic missionaries of the late 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, especially the Jesuits in Macao and China, as well as the Mendicants and the Jesuits from Manila, and the Protestant missionaries of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Departing from a humanistic posture, and maintaining a direct contact and dialogue with those to be evangelized, all the missionary activity was supported by an accurate and arduous effort towards language training, including not only proficiency but also the production of a *linguistic corpus*: glossaries, dictionaries, grammars, methods and Romanization systems, followed by further editions and translations. As pointed out by Frederico Masini,<sup>38</sup> less than one thousand Western missionaries in China from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries produced more than two hundred manuscript Chinese dictionaries and grammars.

This indirect intellectual apostolate was the first stepping stone to a deeper knowledge of the Other's beliefs, civilization, political, social and administrative organization, science, culture and traditions, a basis to better promote their missionary activities and to achieve a genuine cultural dialogue. Evangelization emerged linked to the basic needs of local communities, such as education, medical assistance and welfare, and to those groups able to provide the missionaries with scope for their activities. Scientific, artistic and technical achievements were used, in the Catholic case, to grant an approach to the Chinese elites and to gain access to the Court at Beijing as a support to their religious work. Being well-versed in language and Chinese canons they turned out to be the ideal middlemen. In this context, political and diplomatic mediation was exercised by both missionary groups at different levels and through different channels, not excluding occasional involvement in more aggressive conflicts.

With regard to strategies, points of contact between the two missionary groups might be found in

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their involvement in trade networks, local politics and diplomatic missions and in the services they provided to local communities through worship, education, welfare, translation and publishing, to scientific, artistic and technical support, and also in the way they obtained their funding from the trade communities.

As it is impossible to be exhaustive in such an enumeration, I will choose some examples to illustrate my statement on the similarity of early missionary's strategies. That being the aim of my article, I will not include the related historical details, not being concerned with the evaluation of the results of such activities.<sup>39</sup>

## LINGUISTIC TRAINING

Concerning the methods of language and linguistic training, Catholic and Protestant missionaries both found the same options: the recruitment of Chinese language and linguistic assistants among the Christianized population or trade partners, and the creation of sinological schools for religious as well as commercial and political purposes.

## CHINESE ASSISTANTS

Morrison's first Chinese assistants were Chinese Catholics, and Karl Gutzlaff (1803–1851), who learned the language and dialects from overseas Chinese in Thailand, Fujian sailors and traders during his commercial and missionary cruises.

Around 1580 the newly arrived Michele Ruggieri, SJ, established in Macao, near St. Paul's College, the *catecumenado de S. Martinho de Tours*, where he lived, thanks to a donation by an Italian merchant. There he was taught the language by the Chinese Catholic community, becoming the first missionary to learn Mandarin in an erudite and systematic way while living among the Chinese, a method followed by Matteo Ricci, SJ, who arrived in 1582. Among those Christianized Chinese there was Filipe Mendes (Kiu-Nikó?), one of Macao's official *jurubacas*<sup>40</sup> (translators), who later worked with them in Zhaoqing. The term *jurubaca* might also refer to a *mestiço* (creole) or to a native Asian Catholic, but those are only a few individuals among an unknown universe.

That initial ad hoc model<sup>41</sup> of elder missionaries teaching the newly arrived and being helped by Chinese

literati and assistants would also be the method adopted by Morrison, who taught Milne and also the first American missionary to China, Elijah C. Bridgman, DD, (1801–1861) from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM).

## EDUCATION AND CULTURAL MEDIATION

The creation of both St. Paul's College<sup>42</sup> by the Jesuits in Macao in 1594, granted university status in 1597, and the Anglo-Chinese College in Malacca are the most relevant examples of the missionaries' educational strategies. For the Jesuits Macao was a secure base, far from the instability of Japan, which was still their main missionary destination, while Malacca was also seen as a safe and strategic location<sup>43</sup> by Morrison and William Milne<sup>44</sup>. There they founded in 1818 "the only Protestant college east of the Ganges with the object of 'reciprocal cultivation of Chinese and European literature',"<sup>45</sup> to be a center for the knowledge of Chinese and other Asiatic languages, and of diffusion of Christianity with the aim of reaching China. Malacca became the Evangelical China mission headquarters as Macao was before to the Roman Catholic Japan Mission.

Let us make use of the statement of Lu Xiyan 陆希言 (Simo 思默), Domingos Lu or Lò (1630–1704) as he is also called among other designations,<sup>46</sup> in his *Aomen Ji* 澳门记 [Essay on Macao]. This was most probably written while this Chinese Catholic, who would become a Jesuit Brother, was studying at St. Paul's College in Macao in the early 1680s:

S. Paulo, commonly mistakenly called Sanpa 三巴, is where the Jesuits reside. [They] train themselves very strenuously and yet do not show it; [they] follow the manners of the common people and yet are very strict with their regulations.... As to relieving others and administering charity, [they] not only take care of the sick and the young but also of the poor and the miserable by providing them twice in seven days with clothes and food. [They] also have established free schools; not only the talented but even the shepherd boys and servants may all go to the elementary school to study. Having finished the elementary school, [they] enter the college (*da xue* 大学). Furthermore, [they] are given money for their clothing and food and are

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expected to become men of competence. After [they] became versed in their studies, some may join the priesthood, others may engage in trade; they are still allowed to do what they please.<sup>47</sup>

Identical concern towards the creation of a local elite and social basis of support is found in the general plan of the Anglo-Chinese College at Malacca at the time of its creation, regarding the natives<sup>48</sup> who were considered admissible:

Native youths of any of the above-named countries, who either support themselves, or who may be maintained by Christian Societies, or by private gentlemen, who wish to serve native youths by giving them an English education. These native youths shall not be required to profess the Christian religion, nor will they be compelled to attend Christian worship—they will, however, be invited to do so; and the good order of the institution will require their attendance on all lectures given publicly.

Persons of any nation of Europe, or of the continent of America, belonging to any Christian communion, bringing with them respectable recommendations as to their moral habits and the objects they have in view, will be admitted. Persons from European Universities having traveling fellowships; Christian missionaries; and persons belonging to commercial companies, or attached to national consuls, will be admitted.<sup>49</sup>

The creation of elementary schools for local populations was an early concern of both missionary groups. In 1572 the Jesuits founded an elementary school (*primarum litterarum scholam*) in Macao which had 150 students in 1576.

Although the circumstances did not allow Morrison to establish a public school in Canton or Macao—where, according to the Presbyterian tradition, he developed some private efforts restricted to his domestic circle<sup>50</sup>—it was one of the primary concerns of the Ultra-Ganges Mission, which he created with Milne in 1814<sup>51</sup>, initially operating in Malacca and later also in Penang<sup>52</sup>.

However, after some time had passed, and despite some difficulties posed by the Macao context, by the end of the 1830s some private schools sponsored by Protestant missionaries opened in Macao. This was the case of Mrs. Gutzlaff's school (1835–1839) and also one run by the Morrison Educational Society from

1839 to 1843, which then moved to Hong Kong, where it remained active until 1849.

## PUBLISHING

Publishing was another of the priorities of both groups of missionaries. Starting with the production of reference and guide books for religious and trade purposes, such as vocabularies, dictionaries, catechisms, and codes, they soon moved to the translation of the Scriptures and religious texts, scientific and other China-related books, and to the composition of original treatises and descriptions, a list complemented by the modern periodical press in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The first Sino-European (Portuguese) dictionary was produced in around 1584–1588 by Michel Ruggieri and Matteo Ricci,<sup>53</sup> probably assisted by the Chinese Fujianese literati Kiu-Nikó and the future first Chinese Jesuit Brothers (coadjutors) Sebastião Fernandes, SJ (1562–1626), i.e. Zhong Mingren 钟鸣仁, and the Macao-born Francisco Martins, SJ (1568–1606), i.e. Huang Mingsha 黄明沙. It remained unpublished until a few years ago (and is still incomplete), but copies might have circulated in Macao and among those involved in the early China mission.

The first Chinese book printed in Macao—from xylographic blocks cut in the Chinese process, apparently the very first book in Chinese to be published by a European and the first translation of a Western book into Chinese—appeared in 1584 after having been revised with the help of one Chinese Christian literati, named Paulo. This *Tianzhu shilu* 天主实录 [True Account of God] was the first Chinese catechism composed in 1581 by Ruggieri and Pedro Gómez, SJ (1535–1600) with the help, once again, of Kiu-Nikó. The approximately 1,500 printed copies were distributed among the Catholic Chinese in Macao and Zhaoqing.<sup>54</sup>

The list could follow with hundreds of titles, produced in Macao, China and Manila: too many to enumerate here.<sup>55</sup> Mention, however, should be made of Trigault's vocabulary for the use of the newly arrived missionaries committed to language learning, the *Xiru er mu zi* 西儒耳目资 [An Aid to the Ear and Eye of Western Scholars], composed with the help of Wang Zheng 王征 (1571–1644) and Han Yun 韩云, who authored prefaces to the original edition, apparently published in Shanxi in 1626. It was the first vocabulary

# THE EVANGELIST:

AND

## MISCELLANEA SINICA.

No. III.

GO YE INTO ALL THE WORLD AND PREACH THE GOSPEL TO EVERY CREATURE.

MAY 27. 1853.

### INSCRIPTIONS ON SCROLLS.

One of the most usual Inscriptions on Chinese Scrolls, on occasions of Domestic rejoicing, birthdays &c., consists of the following three words;

壽 祿 福

which are pronounced in the mandarin tongue, *Fuh; Luh; Show*; and which denote, *Prosperity*, or general happiness; *Government-annuity*, or office and emolument; and *Longevity*.

This Scroll is used only among the Families of the Gentry, where a literary degree, or official rank, either real or nominal is possessed. Traders and Merchants use the following;

利 萬 本 一

which is read *Yih pun, wan le*; i. e. "*One principal, ten thousand profit*," or *Ten thousand per cent*. This moderate wish ornaments the title pages of Almanacs, in which lucky days for making bargains are pointed out. A European sinologue published the other day, an account of these Almanacs, and translated the above inscription, *One volume vastly profitable*; which makes a good sense enough, but is not at all the meaning of the original.

### CHINESE RULES

FOR DOMESTICS.

*Keih-ching*, in the Work called *Kea Paou*, i. e. *Domestic Jewels*, or valuable suggestions for Families—says, "When a domestic sees a visitor or guest approach, he must answer any question put, in a gentle low voice, with attention, and a pleasing countenance. If at the gate; domestics see a gentleman passing, they must all rise and stand upright. If they meet him on the road, they must stand still, by the side, and yield the path to him.

Should they go to a Friend's house to make any inquiries, they must always speak in a low voice and answer gently. Although these are little matters, still from them, the character of a master, whether he be faithful and friendly or not; and the character of his household, whether they are likely to make disturbance or not—may all be known."

As these good rules are but little attended to by the native servants of foreigners in China, we subjoin the original for their perusal.

可生家之此話行諸皆容聲家  
知事人忠雖皆如途起門緩人  
也供之厚小低至皆身前答見  
因生不事擊其側直見小答吉  
此事忠主緩家立立答心至微  
而不厚人答問讓遇退婉低曰

### A NARRATIVE OF FACTS.

Where no human laws maintain the religion of Jesus, but every man adopts or rejects it at his pleasure; even its friends have been fearful of the result. But so far has the experiment proved that apprehension to be groundless hitherto, that I am prepared to look for the best triumphs of the Gospel, where conscience has no lord, but him who gave it. One of the most happy instances which I have ever known of the legitimate sway of the gospel, is particularly exhibited in the following facts.

A few years since, in one of the delightful towns of new England, a very general and unusual concern for religion seemed to pervade all classes of the people. This feeling was no less powerful in the college for which that town is celebrated, than among the people of the town, and of the circumjacent country. But the fact, of its prevalence at all in a college (of which alone I wish to speak now) is rather the matter of surprise. For it was a recorded sentiment, that if religion could awaken the concern of common people; of the weak and timid, yet it could hardly enter the Academical Hall, and contest successfully with youthful pleasure, and pride and ambition. But the event put to shame the infidel sentiment, and proved the gospel to be indeed "the power of God."

Within those collegiate halls were assembled several hundreds of young men from the several states of America—not merely a company of boys, who had no strength of judgement, or mind of their own; for the average of their ages was doubtless twenty years or more. About two hundred of these students, though

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organized according to the Western alphabet and presented a phonetic method for memorizing characters and their correct pronunciation, being, in Masini's opinion, "one of the earliest and most remarkable achievements of Western sinology".<sup>56</sup>

Although many works survived only as manuscripts, others were printed by woodblock or movable type. The first printing press using movable type was established in Macao by the Jesuits in 1588.

That same preoccupation with publishing as one of the first needs to pursue the missionary activity is found in the Protestant missionaries, with a strong natural emphasis on Bible translations.<sup>57</sup> The publication of a catechism (1812), portions of the Scriptures to be distributed in missionary voyages, as well as a Chinese grammar, completed in 1811 and published in 1815, are among Morrison's first works.<sup>58</sup>

Milne carried a Chinese printing press<sup>59</sup> on his Southeast Asia tour in search of "a quiet and secure place retreat, where the chief seat of the Chinese Mission should be fixed; and where those important labors, which could not be carried on to great extent under a persecuting government, might be pursued without interruption"<sup>60</sup>.

Morrison founded a printing press in Malacca in 1815 to facilitate the publication of his translations and other religious texts. Although some earlier works had been printed in Macao,<sup>61</sup> it was in Malacca that his Chinese Bible was printed, along with the first modern magazine edited by foreigners in Chinese. This was the pioneering *Chinese Monthly Magazine* 察世俗每月统记传 *Chashijue Meiyue Tongjizhuan* (1815–1821), a missionary magazine edited by William Milne.

Elijah Coleman Bridgman also established his own printing press in 1832 only two years after his arrival in Canton, translating portions of the Scriptures and other religious books to be distributed by missionary cruises along the China coast and South China Seas, as well as *The Chinese Repository*. Founded by Bridgman on 31<sup>st</sup> May 1832 with the help of Morrison<sup>62</sup> and published until the end of 1851, it is considered to be the first journal of Chinese studies within the modern sinological tradition.

Morrison considered it time to develop a similar project in Macao under the name of his son John Robert Morrison (1814–1843), with the establishment of the Morrison Albion Press. On 1<sup>st</sup> May 1833, they started on the publication of a missionary, literary and

historical revue, *The Evangelist and Miscellanea Sinica*. Once the sixth issue had come out on 1<sup>st</sup> August 1833, the revue was stopped by the Macao Senate due to its attacks on Roman Catholic doctrine, upon a request presented by the Capitulary Vicar (r. 1828–1834) of the diocese of Macao, Fr. Inácio da Silva (1762–?), a Macao-born priest. Morrison's reaction to this appears self-centered and arrogant if we consider that he had not requested any permit from the local authorities to install his press and especially that he argued denying the Portuguese right to govern Macao. Portugal had been ruling Macao for centuries, even if in a very unorthodox way; Roman Catholicism was the state religion, and the country was defending what it considered its right under the Portuguese *Padroado*, even expelling from Macao, at the same time, non-Portuguese Roman Catholic missionaries.<sup>63</sup> Thus, besides the underlying sectarian questions, the Portuguese authorities invoked the contravention of the law forbidding any publication without previous submission to censorship applicable to any publication in Macao, even Portuguese, an argument barely accepted by our missionary.<sup>64</sup>

## MEDICAL ASSISTANCE AND WELFARE

In 1569 the Jesuit Bishop D. Melchior [Belchior] Carneiro, SJ (c. 1516/1519–1583) established the oldest Roman Catholic welfare association in Macao, the *Santa Casa da Misericórdia*, to assist the Portuguese, Eurasians, Catholic Chinese and slaves living in Macao. He also founded the first Western-style hospitals in the Far East, the hospital *dos Pobres* [Poor] or *dos Enfermos* [Patients] (later *S. Rafael*) and that of *S. Lázaro*. The Macao *Misericórdia* provided medical assistance at its two hospitals educating and arranging the marriage of orphan girls, and managing asylums and dispensaries. It also provided food to the poor and Catholic services, such as religious activities, processions and burials, and the redemption of captives. The *Misericórdia* was supported by royal and private donations and run by a group of lay brothers chosen from among the city oligarchy, also serving the group's interests.<sup>65</sup>

Basic medical care was also provided in Macao by the Jesuits at St. Paul's infirmary, as we have seen, and for a certain period also at the Franciscan convent,<sup>66</sup> but it was at St. Paul's that early research on Chinese and Asian drugs and therapies was accomplished

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in its famous *botica* (apothecary).<sup>67</sup> Some medical treatises, mostly concerned with anatomy and the study of medicine, as well as tracts on botany and the preparation of drugs, were composed in Chinese or translated into Chinese (and from that idiom into Latin and European languages) by some earlier Jesuits to China.<sup>68</sup>

The same concern towards medical care was felt by the 19<sup>th</sup> century Protestant missionaries, sometimes in association with the physicians and surgeons in the service of the trading companies. Robert Morrison and Dr. John Livingstone, an EIC surgeon, opened a dispensary in 1820 to serve the Chinese living in Macao, where the Western study of Chinese herbal medicine had been developed. The dispensary was headed by a Chinese practitioner familiar with the principles of Western medicine who worked until Dr. Livingstone's departure in 1829. The first modern Western style hospital<sup>69</sup> established in mainland China, the Canton Hospital, was opened by the first American missionary doctor, Dr. Peter Parker (1804–1888)<sup>70</sup> on 4<sup>th</sup> November 1835, being specially devoted to ophthalmology and surgery. Later, under the direction of Dr. John Glasgow Kerr (1824–1901), who had replaced Dr. Parker in 1855, it would turn into the first Western medical school to train Chinese students on a regular basis. In February 1838 Parker and Dr. T. R. Colledge (1796–1879) of the EIC established the Medical Missionary Society in China at Canton. This was later in charge of the Canton Hospital, a project also supported by the American missionary Elijah C. Bridgman. It had the collaboration of, among others, the medical missionary, Dr. Benjamin Hobson (1816–1873), who was the father of the Hong Kong Western medical school to train Chinese (1843) and the pioneer of writing modern Western medical literature in Chinese.<sup>71</sup> Dr. Hobson was the son-in-law of Dr. Robert Morrison as he married the missionary's daughter Mary Rebecca Morrison (1812–1903)<sup>72</sup> in March 1837. This is only one example of the endogamy found among the missionaries, a situation that helped networking, cooperation, mobility and circulation of models, experiences, information and literature, another topic that deserves to be better explored.

If charitable and welfare associations promoted Catholic community gathering inside the China Mission since the early times,<sup>73</sup> the story of Protestantism<sup>74</sup> in China lists so many Christian philanthropic societies,

especially those devoted to education and social care, that no further explanation is required.

Through medical training, practice, education and popular literature, those men and women deeply influenced people's livelihood, hygienic practices and medical care.

## DIPLOMATIC MEDIATION

The Roman Catholic priests' commitment is well-known, especially that of the Jesuits to China-related diplomatic missions, starting from the time of St. Francis Xavier, SJ (1506–1552). Ruggeri's involvement in Macao's diplomatic mission to Zhaoqing, accompanying the Macao *ouvidor* [Chief Justice], Matias Panela, in May 1582, resulted in the opening, the following year, of the China Mission he established with Matteo Ricci. Alonso Sánchez, SJ (c.1545–1593) was sent from Manila to Macao in 1582 to announce the union of the Spanish and Portuguese Crowns, in which he succeeded. However, Sánchez's other goal, to secure Spanish entry to China, as instructed by the Governor of the Philippines, was not achieved.

Chinese emperors made use of Roman Catholic priests as their ambassadors to the Pope, to the Portuguese kings, or even to solve pending questions with their Russian neighbors, as happened with Michal Boym, SJ (1612–1659), António de Magalhães, SJ (1677–1735), Tomás Pereira, SJ (1645–1708) and Jean-François Gerbillon, SJ (1654–1707), among others. We may also add Macao's relationship with both central and provincial Chinese political and bureaucratic circles, in which the Jesuits developed a fundamental role.<sup>75</sup>

While the Roman Catholic priests' language skills and negotiating abilities made them versatile diplomats, what we find in the early Protestant missionaries is a more national involvement serving especially as interpreters in their own countries' negotiations with China while trying to solve conflicts or sign a treaty. That is not surprising if we consider either their commitment to national churches or how Western countries were then trying to impose the primacy of International Law in China. Such was the case of the Americans Bridgman, Samuel William Wells (1812–1884), and Peter Parker; and also the Prussian Gutzlaf (in the service of the British, however), Morrison's situation being a different

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one as his diplomatic involvement derived from the commitment he had with the EIC.

This is sufficient to show how missionary activities were seen by both groups as holistic work comprising the religious and secular spheres, duties the missionary should be ready to perform. We should also understand that their activities remained a collective work, no matter if those men worked alone or in cooperation with other missionaries without paying much attention to their different denominations, affiliations and nationalities, as happened in many cases, especially among the pioneer Protestant group.

The more politicized view—now rather dated and presenting some temporal nuances<sup>76</sup>—tends to reduce missionary activities to an instrument in the service of colonialism/imperialism, calling it *cultural invasion*. One should admit that those men brought along with them their civilizational, cultural and mental background while interacting with the Other, even if we adopt the idea of *cultural transmission* defended by Standaert.<sup>77</sup> For better or for worse, despite all the efforts towards an accommodation policy, this model conceived by the Catholic missionaries that proved to be fruitful in an early period was still alive—although, like before, not uniformly accepted—in the later period but circumscribed to a more theological dimension. The accommodation model did not command the missionaries' behaviour any more, even if it was capable of seducing the young Morrison in his very early times in Canton, when he adopted the Chinese lifestyle and dress.<sup>78</sup> What certainly remained was the strong conviction of the need to use Chinese as the language of proselytism, something that the Roman Catholics did not uniformly acclaim from the beginning.

## LINGUISTIC AND TRANSLATION COMPETITION

Dr. Morrison's linguistic achievements and Chinese Bible translation are far from being a unique and isolated project. On the contrary, having accepted China as his missionary destiny, he found himself increasingly in the middle of a tremendous linguistic competition instead of merely facing the difficulties of proselytizing.

Leaving aside the arduousness of learning the Chinese language itself, due to his dual commitment

with the EIC and the LMS, Morrison had to fight simultaneously on two fronts: the Chinese dictionary and the Bible translation.

It is known that in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, Western commercial interests leading to diplomatic and political connections with China urgently required<sup>79</sup> learning the Chinese language and culture. In this context, "many scholars fought for primacy in publishing the first dictionary or the first grammar of the Chinese language. In some cases they even went so far as to sue each other, with accusations of plagiarism, in order to ensure they won the battle and were the first to publish the linguistic tools they considered to be the key for understanding human knowledge," as stated by Masini.<sup>80</sup> This author described what he classified as the "fight for the dictionary," which ended in Macao in 1815, when Morrison published the first volume of his *Chinese-English Dictionary*.

According to the same author the work's major achievement "was the systematic study of the phonetics of southern Mandarin [Nanjing pronunciation], the most representative and widely used variety of Chinese"<sup>81</sup> at that time.

As the protagonist of such primacy, Morrison recognised his debt to the earlier linguistic contributions, including those of the Catholic missionaries, as discussed in the "Introduction" to this work:

Of the following Dictionary, Kang-he's Tse-t'een, forms the ground work; the arrangement and number of Characters in the First Part, are according to it. The Definitions and Examples are derived chiefly from it; from Personal knowledge of the use of the Character; from the Manuscript Dictionaries of Romish Church; from Native Scholars; and from Miscellaneous Works perused on purpose.

The Manuscript Dictionaries contains from Ten to Thirteen thousand Characters; the late Printed French Copy, contains, Thirteen thousand, three hundred and sixteen. Neither the Manuscript Dictionaries, nor Printed Copies, insert the Chinese Characters in the Examples, which leaves the Learner at great uncertainty, as to the Characters or Words which compose the Examples given. In this Work, that material defect is supplied. The Examples are also more numerous, and the illustrations generally fuller

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than that in the Manuscripts and Printed Copy of the Missionaries' Dictionaries. In this Work, the Seal Character and Running-hand forms are introduced. The number of Characters, agreeably to Kang-he's Tsze-tëen, amounts to about Forty Thousand, amongst which are many of rare occurrence, but which are necessary to the completeness of the Work.<sup>82</sup>

Morrison completed his c. 40,000 character dictionary in six volumes in 1823. The work is divided into three parts: I) Chinese and English arranged according to the radicals; II) Chinese and English disposed alphabetically, according to the English mode of pronunciation; and III) Translation of English and Chinese words, phrases

and maxims<sup>83</sup> having followed the Jesuit method of representing the five tones of Mandarin Chinese and their alphabetic order.

The three volumes published in Macao<sup>84</sup> were printed at the EIC printing press, established in around 1814, in contravention of Portuguese law and in disobedience of the Chinese laws blocking foreigners from being taught their language and printing books in Chinese; and counting a number of Portuguese engaged in the typographical work. This placed the city's life at risk, a fact which is often neglected in related literature that tends to emphasize the hostility Morrison suffered from both Roman Catholic clergy and Macao authorities, as already pointed out by J. M. Braga.<sup>85</sup>

Robert Morrison and his Chinese assistants engaged in translating the Bible. After George Chinnery. Oil on panel. Courtesy of Martyn Gregory Gallery, London.



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The translation of the Bible into Chinese was, in fact, a project cherished in England for some time, and the reason why the LMS decided to create a China Mission and to send Morrison there.<sup>86</sup>

Those were the early times of the modern missionary movement<sup>87</sup> that followed Joseph White's (1745–1814) sermon titled “On the Duty of attempting the Propagation of the Gospel among our Mahometan and Gentoo Subjects in India,”<sup>88</sup> preached at the University of Oxford in 1784; the 1792 manifesto of William Carey, DD (1761–1834), the founder of the Baptist Missionary Society (BMS): *An Enquire Into the Obligations of Christians to Use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens...*<sup>89</sup> and the creation of the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS)<sup>90</sup> in 1804 that supported Morrison's work.

Carey moved to India in 1793 and founded a Mission in 1799 in Serampore, together with two other Baptist missionaries, William Ward (1769–1823) and Joshua Marshman, DD (1768–1837). They were known as the *Serampore Trio*. The translation of biblical texts into different Asian languages, Chinese included, was the main goal among the publications undertaken by the increasingly famous Serampore Press.

In fact, the first complete Chinese Bible to be published was not the one produced by Morrison—as it is often claimed—but one completed in Serampore in 1822 by Joshua Marshman, Morrison's and Milne's text coming out one year later, despite the fact of having been finished by 25<sup>th</sup> November 1819. What is little known is that the man who assisted Marshman was Joannes Lazaro (1781–c. 1835), better known as Lassar, an Armenian, who was born in Macao and had moved to Calcutta with his family in 1802.

Some authors have pointed out that there was serious competition between Marshman and Morrison in the translation of the Scriptures, that being the reason why Morrison submitted himself to such an arduous and strict working discipline even risking his health, something commonly accepted by all his biographers. It resulted in the construction of the idea that runs through Morrison's hagiography of an almost ascetic redeeming experience—a mix of biblical hermitage and neo-Confucian self-cultivation—while performing the impossible (i.e. the translation of the Bible into Chinese).

Largely based on the manuscript he copied at the British Museum, *A Harmony of the Gospels*,

as Morrison calls it<sup>91</sup> and paying tribute to the “pious labours” of his “unknown [Jean Basset]<sup>92</sup> predecessor”<sup>93</sup>, Morrison completed his translation of the New Testament in 1812 and made it available in print by 1813, while Marshman and Lassar's translation was published in 1816 “with the omission of Luke and Acts, which can only be understood,” in Jost Oliver Zetzsche's opinion,<sup>94</sup> “as a response to Morrison's publication of the same two books in 1810 and 1811.”

According to the same author, and despite the fact that Marshman “saw himself as the actual translator, and he is treated as such by most works about Chinese Bible translation,” a “complete evaluation of the role that Lassar played in the accomplishment of the work, however, shows clearly that he was the primary translator, perhaps with Marshman—as one author [George Ensor in 1892] phrased it—as the ‘inspiring factor’.”<sup>95</sup>

This being the scenario, it is not difficult to understand why competition, dispute and, worse, plagiarism between the two rival missionaries, Morrison and Marshman, are recurrent issues in related literature, addressing other questions related to the accuracy of these translations; such as how William Milne became so quickly acquainted with the Chinese or why the publication of Morrison's grammar at Serampore was delayed for almost three years.<sup>96</sup>

The reader might find good insights in specialized literature,<sup>97</sup> but I will just mention that the relevant discrepancies between them went far beyond scholarly matters. As Zetzsche points out, beyond the translation questions, there were rivalries between Baptist and non-Baptist groups and differences in the interpretation of doctrine. These remain unresolved until the present.

I will not enter into the discussion of the rivalries between the two groups, nor the interesting story of Joannes Lazaro, or Lassar's family. However, credit for the first printed (1822) complete Bible in Chinese should be given to this Macao-born Armenian, despite the minor importance that Morrison<sup>98</sup> gives to him as his former teacher in Canton.

It should be mentioned that even the Serampore team was networked to Macao and China's Roman Catholic legacy, and not only through Lassar. It included some Catholic priests as well, which is something that requires further research. However, it is enough to stress the Catholic contribution to the

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Marshman/Lassar project, knowing that they also made use of Basset's manuscript.<sup>99</sup>

On the other hand, if through residence in China and Macao, Morrison could achieve a more supportive language training and comprehensive knowledge of Chinese culture, it is also true that he was granted an easier access to the rich linguistic corpus and repertoire of Chinese religious terms produced by the Roman Catholic priests, a richness that Macao and the China Mission(s) have preserved for centuries.

One more proof of Macao and China's Catholic Missions' role as a support to cultural mediation between East and West is the assistance Morrison received from some Roman Catholics, priests included, especially in Macao<sup>100</sup> and Canton.<sup>101</sup> However, Morrison's main support was the large number of Chinese books,<sup>102</sup> translations of the Scriptures, Latin-Chinese dictionaries and vocabularies, that he was able to purchase and collect<sup>103</sup>, or was presented with. As early as 1808 he received a manuscript Latin-Chinese Dictionary "value about L. 50, which he sometimes uses to the present day"<sup>104</sup> from the Hon. Mr. John Fullarton Elphinstone (?–1845) of the EIC, compiled years before by a Catholic priest,<sup>105</sup> as well as a copy of a Chinese grammar in Spanish from the Company's senior tea inspector, Mr. Samuel Ball, (1781?–1874). Both were sent to him from Macao<sup>106</sup>. The latter was probably *Arte de la lengua mandarina*, by Francisco Varo (1627–1687), OP, completed c. 1680 and printed in a revised version by xylographic process at Canton in 1703, being the first Chinese grammar to be published in China.<sup>107</sup> Besides those well-known examples there is at least one other reference to "a translation of the Gospels, with notes," written in the colloquial style by "a missionary still living at Pekin[g]"<sup>108</sup> that Morrison "was liberally favoured with" by "an Italian clergyman of the Romish Catholic, and agent for the missionaries in Pekin[g]" in around 1816.<sup>109</sup> If he could not have used it for his own translation of the New Testament, published in 1813, based on the *Harmony of Gospels* as mentioned, it seems that Morrison had purchased several translated *Epistles* by at least the end of 1809 before his Chinese translation of the *Acts of the Apostles* was published in 1810<sup>110</sup>, as testified by his own statement:

These are, I think, on the whole, faithful and good; the effects of the labour of some diligent man, and, I hope, believer in our Lord. They have

been of great use to me, and I have read them to some of the Chinese every Sabbath-day.<sup>111</sup>

The linguistic obstacles presented by this legacy towards terminology, Romanisation and codification are beyond the scope of this article. Likewise are the discussions on the choice of the style to be used in translating biblical texts aiming to reach common people,<sup>112</sup> a question that brought to the surface a strong Protestant criticism of elitism in Catholic religious literature and proselytism.

## CONCLUSION

Jesuit propaganda for European consumption had emphasized and explored the achievements of their confreres who were favored by successive emperors, as well as the conversion of a significant number of literati. This generated the idea of an elitist proselytism as an attribute of the Society of Jesus, often compared with the Mendicants, that crosses historiography as well as Protestant criticism. If obtaining the patronage of imperial and high ranking officials was unquestionably a Jesuit strategy, the pastoral work they developed among anonymous communities is something that is emerging from the most recent studies on the China Catholic Mission.<sup>113</sup> Its history is still in the process of being cleansed from all the residual preconceptions and strategies inherited from the discussions, rivalries and conflicts generated in the long-lasting process known as the *Rites Controversy* (1633–1742),<sup>114</sup> while a renewed Chinese historiographical trend that started around one decade ago is paying more attention to the Chinese "side of the story," as stated by Jessie G. Lutz,<sup>115</sup> or a Chinese-centered one, pertinent to recent Roman Catholic and Protestant scholarship.

Due to its geographical location and rather peculiar status, Macao was until the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, if not in command of, at least linked to the dissemination of Western knowledge on China, deserving a place in the world's sinology. A repository of knowledge,<sup>116</sup> scholarship on China and linguistic expertise was accumulated in the city for centuries—the reason why it had developed a central role in the early sinological universe, being also networked to other centers of Chinese expertise, including the pioneering and exceptional, although restless, case of Manila.

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There is a multi-national, multi-cultural, multi-ethnic and pluri-linguistic legacy produced by a variety of men, from the celebrated Jesuit missionaries to the common sailors and adventurers, Westerners and Asians, whether developed in Macao or not, which has been preserved in the city and has contributed to turn it into a vital point of Western interaction with China.

The story of those different groups and communities and the use that Macao has made of that rich seam of information, how it was managed towards

diffusion or secrecy, training and daily use, linguistic expertise and competition is something that deserves a more detailed approach. **RC**

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## ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ABCFM	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions	EIC	The East India Company
BMS	Baptist Missionary Society	LMS	London Missionary Society
BFBS	British and Foreign Bible Society	MEP	Foreign Missions of Paris
CICM	Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary	OESA	Order of Hermits St. Augustine (now OSA)
CM	Congregation of the Mission (French)	OFM	Order of Friars Minor Capuchin (OFM/Cap)
DD	Doctor in Divinity	OP	Order of Preachers / Dominicans
		SJ	Society of Jesus

## NOTES

- See the editor's note to Harriett Low's journal, *Lights and Shadows of a Macao Life. The Journal of Harriett Low. Travelling Spinster, 1829–1834*, edited by Nan P. Hodges and Arthur W. Hummel, Woodinville, WA: History Bank, 2002, Vol. I, p. 374, n. 64.
- See, for instance, Daniel H. Bays, ed., *Christianity in China: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996; Wong Man Kong, "British Missionaries' Approaches to Modern China, 1807–1966." Paper presented at "Missions, Modernisation, Colonisation and De-colonisation," Seventh Special Session of the 19<sup>th</sup> International Congress of Historical Sciences, Oslo University, 6–13 August 2000, <http://www.oslo2000.uio.no/program/papers/s7/s7-kwong.pdf>, visited 23/07/2007, and quoted bibliography; Jeroom Heyndrickx, CICM, ed., *Historiography of the Chinese Catholic Church. Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, K. U. Leuven: Ferdinand Verbiest Foundation, 1994, especially pp. 11–59; and Paul Rule, "From Missionary Hagiography to the History of Chinese Christianity," in *Monumenta Serica. Journal of Oriental Studies*, Vol. LIII, 2005, pp. 461–475.
- "Robert Morrison: A Man with a *Body of Iron* and the *Eyes of an Eagle*," in *Chinese Cross Currents* 神州交流, IV, (4), October–December 2007, pp. 152–173.
- See J. M. Braga, *The Beginnings of Printing at Macao*, Lisbon: Offprint of *Studia - Revista Trimestral*, No. 12, Julho 1963, pp. 41 *et seq.*
- See Jessie G. Lutz, "A Profile of Chinese Protestant Evangelists in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," in Ku Wei-ying and Koen De Ridder, eds., *Authentic Chinese Christianity: Preludes to its Development (Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries)*, Leuven/Louvain: Leuven University Press/Ferdinand Verbiest Foundation, 2001, pp. 67–86.
- The second missionary of the London Missionary Society, afterwards LMS, sent to China in 1813 to assist Morrison in his translations and religious works. Forbidden to remain either in Canton or Macao, he departed for Malacca in 1815, where he directed Robert Morrison's projects, such as the Anglo-Chinese College. Milne stopped his responsibilities in 1819 due to mental illness and died on June 2<sup>nd</sup> 1822.
- There I could not find the classic study by Marshall Broomhall (1924) or the more recent works by Murray A. Rubinstein (1996) and Suzanne W. Barnett (1971).
- See the excellent overview by Nicolas Standaert, SJ, "The Construction of a Christian History in China," in Xiaoxin Wu, ed., *Encounters and Dialogues: Changing perspectives on Chinese-Western exchanges from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries*, Sankt Augustin/San Francisco: Monumenta Serica Institute/The Ricci Institute of Chinese-Western Cultural History at the University of San Francisco, 2005, pp. 295–316 and quoted bibliography.
- Cf. Jurrien van Goor, "Trade, Research and Science Under the Dutch in Asia," in *Review of Culture*, Macao, 3<sup>rd</sup> Series, International Edition, No. 20, Outubro/October 2006, pp. 142–150. This is the first of two issues dedicated to the "European Travellers and the Asian Natural World" (the second, No. 21, having been published in Janeiro/January 2007), where some interesting data and notes on this line of thought are found.

## HISTORIOGRAPHY

- 10 I shall not enter here into the questions related to non-Catholic Westerners' burial in Macao and the creation of the so-called Protestant Cemetery, another topic deeply explored by Anglo-Saxon and Morrison-related literature. It is sufficient to say that no public cemeteries existed at that time. The burial places that were found at Roman Catholic churches were not available to non-Catholics or to Catholic *renegades*. For more on that, see Lindsay and May Ride, *An East India Company Cemetery. Protestant Burial in Macao*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1996 and my *Macao's Cemeteries. The Public Cemetery of S. Miguel Arcanjo*. Lecture before the Chinese University of Hong Kong, Centre for Catholic Studies 27<sup>th</sup> March 2007 as a part of the *Seminar Series on Cemeteries*. In the press.
- 11 *Memoirs of the Life and Labours of Robert Morrison, D. D. [...] Compiled by his widow; with critical notices of his Chinese works, by Samuel Kidd, and an Appendix containing Original Documents, afterwards Memoirs*. London, Longmans, Orme, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1839, 2 vols., I, p. 410. I used the digital version found in: Vol. I: <http://books.google.com/books?id=qELnGfL-UC&pg=PA1&dq=Memoirs+of+the+Life+and+Labours+of+Robert+Morrison>, visited 13/08/2007. Vol. II: <http://books.google.com/books?id=GtLBOxPdTvEC&printsec=titlepage&dq=Memoirs+of+the+Life+and+Labours+of+Robert+Morrison>, visited 13/08/2007. Manuel Teixeira, *Toponímia de Macau*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Macao: Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1997. Vol. I, p. 381, refers to the *Fonte da Solidão* [Spring of Loneliness] located at Guia Hill as the place where Robert Morrison baptized a young Chinese girl. I could not confirm this information.
- 12 See Samuel Couling, *The Encyclopaedia Sinica*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., reprint, Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1991, p. 382.
- 13 William Milne, *A Retrospect of the First Ten Years of the Protestant Mission to China, (Now, in Connection with the Malay, Denominated, the Ultra-Ganges Missions). Accompanied with miscellaneous remarks on the Literature, History, and Mythology of China, &c*, Malacca, Anglo-Chinese Press, 1820, Section XVII, pp. 224–5. I used the digital version found in <http://books.google.com/books?id=4YAsHw80HWUC&pg=PA7>, visited 24/08/2007.
- 14 According to the Macao Senate's contemporaneous sources, *foreigners* were the non-Chinese and non-Portuguese Westerners.
- 15 The issue was among the most hotly and constantly debated topics in Portuguese political and administrative circles and between the Portuguese and Chinese in the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, even though there was not always a unified stance on either side. For more, see my (among others), "A Questão da Entrada de Estrangeiros em Macau no Decurso do Século XVIII. I – Propósitos chineses de confinar o comércio externo a Macau." Paper read at the Seminário Internacional das Relações Luso-Chinesas; "Temas e Problemas da História Luso-Chinesa. O Estado da Questão," Macao, 27–29 October, 1997; and "The Question of 'Foreigners' Entering Macau in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century: Macau, a *Metropolis of Equilibrium?*," transl. Transglobal, in Arthur H. Chen, ed., *Culture of Metropolis in Macau. An International Symposium on Cultural Heritage, Strategies for the Twenty-first Century*, Macao: Instituto Cultural do Governo da R.A.E. de Macau, 2001, pp. 159–175.
- 16 See Jorge M. Flores, "Macao e o comércio da baía de Cantão (Séculos XVI e XVII)," in Artur Teodoro de Matos and Luís Filipe F. R. Thomaz, eds., *As Relações entre a Índia Portuguesa, a Ásia do Sueste e o Extremo Oriente. Actas do VI Seminário Internacional de História Indo-Portuguesa*, Macao/Lisbon: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses/Fundação Oriente/Instituições organizadoras do Seminário, 1993, pp. 21–48.
- 17 A position only achieved in 1849 by Governor (r. 1846–1849) Ferreira do Amaral (c. 1803–1849), who implemented an authoritarian policy marked by the assertion of Portuguese sovereignty in Macao. This governor was ultimately assassinated by a group of Chinese on 22<sup>nd</sup> August 1849.
- 18 Milne, *A Retrospect*, Section VI, pp. 63 *et seq.*
- 19 Lindsay and May Ride, *An East India Company Cemetery*, p. 231. Cf. William Canton, *A History of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, Vol. I, London: John Murray, Albemarle Street, W., 1904, pp. 164–165, 259–267 and 293. I used the digital version found at <http://www.openlibrary.org/details/historyofbritish01cantiala>, visited 27/02/2008.
- 20 See Austin Coates, *Macao and the British, 1637-1842. Prelude to Hong Kong*, Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1988, pp. 92–101.
- 21 There is unpublished research on the activities of Robert Morrison in China and Macao by Tan Shulin 譚树林, Shan Dong Normal University.
- 22 See, for the early period, Luís Filipe Barreto, *Macao: Poder e Saber. Séculos XVI e XVII*, Lisbon, Editorial Presença, 2006, especially Part 2, "Saber é Escolher," pp. 223–386 and Gregory James, ed., *Through Spanish Eyes. Five accounts of a missionary experience in sixteenth-century China*, Hong Kong: The Hong Kong University of Science and Technology, 2003. A collection of early texts produced by Europeans, mainly Iberian, on China was edited (*Revista de Cultura*, Macao, 2<sup>nd</sup> Series, No. 31, Abril/Junho 1997) by Rui Manuel Loureiro, and further translated into Chinese and English: "Documental Anthology. Reports on China in Iberian Literature (Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries)—Part I and Part II," in *Review of Culture*, Macao, 2<sup>nd</sup> Series, Nos. 32 and 33, pp. 11–152, July/September 1997 and October/December 1997, pp. 7–194. The Italian case is explored, among others, by Giulano Bertuccioli, "Sinology in Italy, 1600–1950," in W. Ming and J. Cayley, eds., *Europe Studies China. Papers from an International Conference on the History of European Sinology*, London: Han-Shan Tang Books, 1995, pp. 67–78.
- 23 Not aiming to develop this topic here, the names of Richard Hakluyt (c. 1552/1553–1616) and his collaborator and successor Samuel Purchas (c. 1577–1626) deserve to be mentioned as the biggest translators of those early accounts into English. See *The Cambridge History of English and American Literature in 18 Volumes (1907–21)*, afterwards *CHEAL*, edited by A. W. Ward and A. R. Waller, Vol. IV, especially chapters I, IV and V and quoted bibliography. I used the digital version found at <http://www.bartleby.com/214/index.html>, visited 26/05/2008; Adrian Hsia, ed., *The Vision of China in the English Literature of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1998; and the article by Nicholas Koss, "The Arte of English Poesie (1589). The First Mention of Chinese Poetry in an English Text," in *Monumenta Serica. Journal of Oriental Studies*, Vol. LIV, 2006, pp. 207–208.
- 24 The Irish Oliver Goldsmith (1728–1774) might have been this fashion's most accurate and humorous critic in his "Chinese Letters" published in 1760–1761 in *The Public Ledger*, while using the popular device of a travelling foreigner narrator (Lien Chi Altangi) to satirise contemporary society. They were republished in two volumes, printed for the author, as *The Citizen of the World; or Letters from a Chinese Philosopher, residing in London, to his Friend in the East*, London, in 1762. See, Chen Shouyi (Ch'en Shou-Yi), "Oliver Goldsmith and His *Chinese Letters*," in Adrian Hsia, ed., *The Vision of China*, pp. 283–299. Cf. Jonathan D. Spence, "La Mode des Chinoiseries," in *La Chine Imaginaire. La Chine vue par les Occidentaux de Marco Polo à nos jours*. Traduit de l'anglais [The Chan's Great Continent, *China in Western Minds*, 1998] by Bernard Olivier, Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 2000, pp. 77–95.
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- 29 Milne, *A Retrospect*, Section III, pp. 43–9.
- 30 See *CHEAL*, especially Vol. VII, chapter III.
- 31 In what relates to language acquaintance prior to him, there are a very few exceptional cases in England like those of Thomas Hyde (1636–1703) or William Jones (1746–1794), who had some rudiments of Chinese, as well as one or another gentlemen in the service of the EIC. Besides the Baptist missionaries to India, to be discussed later, the well-known George Thomas Staunton (1781–1859) is the great exception. See Fan Cunzhong (T. C. Fan), "Sir William Jones's Chinese Studies," in Adrian Hsia, ed., *The Vision of China*, pp. 325–337. Cf. Norman J. Girardot, *The Victorian Translation of China*, pp. 171–173.
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- 39 Further information on sources, related literature and other information is easily found in *Handbook of Christianity in China. Volume One: 635–1800*, edited by Nicolas Standaert, Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 2001, afterwards quoted as *HCC*, and in *Reference Guide to Christian Missionary Societies in China: From the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Century*, edited by R. G. Tiedemann, to be published in Fall 2008 by the Ricci Institute of the University of San Francisco & M. E. Sharpe.
- 40 Macao's oldest linguistic institution, established earlier but officialised in 1627–1628, when the rules, duties, organization and training of a corpus of official translators, the *jurubaaças*, was accomplished. It was a Macao specialty, not found in any other Portuguese overseas possession, probably inspired by the Chinese and Japanese models of similar institutions, as suggested by Jorge Manuel Flores, "Macao: De surgidouro a cidade," in A. H. de Oliveira Marques, dir., *História dos Portugueses no Extremo Oriente*. Vol. I, Tomo II: *De Macau à Periferia*, Macao: Fundação Oriente, 2000, pp. 254–255.
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- 42 See, among others, John W. Witek, SJ, ed., *Religion and Culture. An International Symposium Commemorating the Fourth Centenary of the University College of St. Paul*, Macao: Instituto Cultural de Macau/University of San Francisco, Ricci Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History, 1999 and all the issue of the *Review of Culture*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Series, No. 21, October–December 1994, under the general title "The Jesuits, 1594–1994. Macao and China. East Meets West," which includes the classic monograph by Domingos Maurício Gomes dos Santos, SJ, "Macao. The First Western University in the Far East," pp. 5–25.
- 43 When plans for the College started, in 1815, Malacca had been under the English East India Company since August 1795 as a result of regional European confrontations during the French Revolutionary Wars (1789–1799) and the Napoleonic Wars (1799–1815). Restored by the British to the Dutch in 1818, they officially ceded Malacca to the British on April 9<sup>th</sup> 1825 in exchange for Bencoolen, Sumatra.
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- 45 According to Samuel Couling, *The Encyclopaedia Sinica*, p. 27. See Milne, *A Retrospect*, Appendix No. VII, pp. 349–367 and *Memoirs*, I, pp. 426–7; 512–6 and II, pp. 39–65.
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- 50 Milne, *A Retrospect*, Section X, p. 94.
- 51 Transformed on 27<sup>th</sup> April 1819 into the Ultra-Ganges Missionary Union (Milne, *A Retrospect*, Appendix No. VI, pp. 343–349). See *ibid.*, Section XIII, pp. 136–140; Section XVI, pp. 199–207 as well as *Memoirs*, I, pp. 503–9.
- 52 Milne, *A Retrospect*, *passim*, especially Sections XIII, pp. 138; XIV, pp. 146–155 and 169; XV, pp. 174–5; XVI, pp. 220 and XVIII, p. 295.
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- 57 See for both groups of missionaries, “Bible Translation,” in Scott W. Sunquist, ed., *A Dictionary of Asian Christianity*, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 2001, pp. 79–88 and, for the Protestants, Jost Oliver Zetzsche, *The Bible in China: The History of the Union Version or The Culmination of Protestant Missionary Bible Translation in China*, Sankt Augustin: Monumenta Serica Institute, 1999. The classic work by Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929, is still useful.
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- 61 See J. M. Braga, *The Beginnings of Printing at Macao*, especially pp. 51, 55–75 and Appendix III, pp. 131–135 including the works published by the EIC printing press from 1815 onwards.
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- 73 See *HCC*, pp. 456–461 and Liam Brockey, *Journey to the East*, pp. 81, 370 *et seq.*
- 74 See Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, *cit.*
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- 105 According to J. M. Braga, *The Beginnings of Printing at Macao*, pp. 48–49.
- 106 *Memoirs*, I, pp. 196 and 206.
- 107 See Couling, *The Encyclopaedia Sinica*, p. 587; (<http://ricci.rt.usfca.edu/biography/view.aspx?biographyID=1369>), visited 15/03/2008, and for a deeper linguistic approach, W. South Coblin, *Francisco Varo’s Glossary of the Mandarin Language*, Sankt Augustin, Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 2006, 2 vols.
- 108 Despite the fact of having died before that date, it was probably Louis de Poirot, SJ (1735–1813), according to Luo Xurong, quoted by Jost Oliver Zetzsche, *The Bible in China*, p. 37. See also pp. 27–28.
- 109 Morrison letter to the BFBS on 8<sup>th</sup> June 1816, quoted in BFBS, *Report* 1817, p. 15. Apud Zetzsche, *The Bible in China*, p. 37.
- 110 Milne, *A Retrospect*, Section IX, pp. 83.
- 111 *Memoirs*, I, pp. 268.
- 112 See Ann Heylen, “Missionary Linguistics on Taiwan. Romanizing Taiwanese: Codification and Standardization of Dictionaries in Southern Min (1837–1923),” in Ku Wei-ying and Koen De Ridder, eds., *Authentic Chinese Christianity*, pp. 135–174; Jost Oliver Zetzsche, *The Bible in China*, pp. 21, 33 *et seq.* Cf. Milne, *A Retrospect*, Section IX, pp. 90 *et seq.*
- 113 See HCC, pp. 534–575; the works by Noël Golvers, especially, *François de Rougemont, S.J., Missionary in Chiang-shu (Chiang-Nan). A study of the Account Book (1674–1676) and The Elogium*, Leuven/Louvain, Belgium: Leuven University Press/Ferdinand Verbiest Foundation, 1999 and Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East*.
- 114 It is impossible to mention all the abundant literature on the topic. A brief but comprehensive summary can be found in J. Sebes, SJ, “Ritos Chinos, Controversia,” in *DHDLCJ*, Vol. IV, 2001, pp. 3367–3372. For a deeper approach see the proceedings of an international symposium held at the Ricci Institute, University of San Francisco in 1992, Mungello, D. E., ed., *The Chinese Rites Controversy, its History and Meaning*, Nettetal: Steyler Verlag, 1994.
- 115 “China and Protestantism: Historical Perspectives, 1807-1949,” in Stephen Uhalley, Jr. and Xiaoxin Wu, eds., *China and Christianity*, p. 180. Cf. Jeroom Heyndrickx, CICM, ed., *Historiography of the Chinese Catholic Church*, as well as Nicolas Standaert, “The Construction”.
- 116 As proved by the fact of the very first translation of a Chinese novel into English, the *Hao qiu zhuan* 好逑传, published in 1761 (*Hau Kiou Chooan or The Pleasing History* [...]) having been done, at least partially, through a Portuguese manuscript version probably accomplished at Macao or by Macao-related people. See, Chen Shouyi (Ch’ên Shou-Yi), “Thomas Percy and His Chinese Studies,” in Adrian Hsia, ed., *The Vision of China*, pp. 301–324.