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The beginnings of printing at Macao

By J. M. BRAGA

INTRODUCTION

«It is the glory of European genius, newly awakened from its thousand years of sleep», Dr. T. F. Carter reminds us, «that it was able to make printing the basis of a civilisation of which the discoverers themselves could never have dreamed». The invention of printing by the Chinese spread to Europe, probably through the Arabs; yet the earliest European printed reference to Chinese books seems to be by Jovis, an Italian, in A. D. 1550, who mentions that such a present was sent as a gift from the King of Portugal to the Pope. Perhaps carried by Portuguese traders from China to Goa, the volumes had probably been sent from the Far East to Lisbon as curious and fascinating objects, certain to be of particular interest (1).

The clerical institutions were, in Europe, still the repositories of learning and it was the members of the Portuguese

(1) One of these might have been book seen by Michel de Montaigne in the Vatican Library in 1581, to which he refers in his *Journal du Voyage*: «J'y vis de remercabable un livre de Chine, le characters sauvage, les feuilles de certene matiere beaucoup plus tendre & pellucide que notre papier; & parce que elle ne peut souffrir la teinture de l'ancre, il n'est escrit que d'un coté de la feuille, & les feuilles sont toutes doubles & pliées par le bout de dehors où elles se tiennent». E. J. Trenchmann, *The Diary of Montaigne's Journey to Italy in 1580 and 1581*. London, 1929, pp. 142-3.

Christian Missions who re-introduced the use of movable type to China, the land of its invention. This took place in 1588 when the Jesuits set up, at Macao, the printing press in the College of the Mother of God. The press had been carried from Portugal by the four Japanese envoys who had gone to Europe in 1582, as delegates of the Christian communities in Japan, to pay homage to the Pope as the spiritual father of Christendom. In Europe their voyage had been a great success. There seemed to be good cause for optimism, and it was felt that Christianity in Japan would enjoy even greater favour than it had up to then. The setting up of a printing press as an adjunct in their work was felt by the missionaries to be a distinct need.

At Macao two, possibly three, books were printed and the press was then sent to Japan where it was kept busy during twenty-three years. It was returned to Macao in 1614, or earlier, because of the persecutions raging in Japan, the printing press being subsequently sold in Manila⁽²⁾. It was not until two hundred years later that printing again began at Macao, save for a few books produced by the xylographic process from whole blocks cut in wood by Chinese artisans, and printed and bound in the Chinese style. On the second occasion printing began in 1815.

There were, thus, two beginnings of printing at Macao, both of which make interesting contributions to the story of Western printing in the Far East, an activity which has since grown to such proportions in our own time.

THE EARLY JESUIT PRESS

A printing press, still by no means common in Europe, with its complete font of metal types and matrices of Japanese characters, for the purpose of printing in Japan, was among

(2) There are two schools of thought about the subsequent destination of the press. See *infra* note 17.

the things ordered from Europe by Father Alessandro Valignano, S. J., the energetic and far-sighted Visitor of the Society of Jesus in the Far East. It had been at his suggestion that the Japanese legation had been sent to Rome and he considered that the printing press would be a useful adjunct to missionary work in the Land of the Rising Sun.

On their way back the Japanese envoys found it necessary to spend some time at Goa before sailing for Macao⁽³⁾. In Portuguese India, Martinho Hara, one of the four young Japanese nobles, delivered an address in very graceful Latin, and it was thought fitting to print the text of his speech at Goa, on the very press which was being carried to Japan. The little book bore the title:

Oratio Habita à fara D. Martino Iaponio, suo & sociorū nomine, cum ab Europa redirēt, and Patre Alexandrū Valignanū Visitatoré Societatis IESV, Goae in D. Pauli Collegio, pridie non. Iunij, Anno Domini 1587.

This little book was published at Goa in 1588. The printer was a young Japanese, who had been christened Constantinus Douratus and who had learned, with Brother Jorge de Loyola,

(3) They sailed from Goa on April 22, 1588, in the ship of Ayres Gonçalves de Miranda. The voyage to Malacca took seventy days and after a short stay at the Malayan city they left for Macao, landing there on August 11 of the same year. A description of this embassy (1582-1586) was written by Father Luis Frois, *Tratado dos Embaixadores Japões que forão de Japão a Roma no anno de 1582*, excellently edited and annotated by J. A. Abranches Pinto, Yoshitomo Okamoto and Henri Bernard, S. J., *La première Ambassade du Japon en Europe*, Tokyo, 1942. A transcript, now believed lost, was in a codex in the Sarda Collection at Toulouse (ff. 1-114). An account of the return to Japan (1586-1592), also by Father Frois, is to be found in various sections of Codex 49-IV-57, in the Library of the Ajuda Palace, Lisbon. An edition by Mr. Abranches Pinto, Mr. Okamoto and Father Bernard-Maitre has been projected.

S. J., in Portugal, how to print and how to make matrices for typesetting. Only two copies of this book are known to exist⁽⁴⁾.

This was not the first book to be printed in Portuguese India. The printing press had been introduced there a quarter of a century earlier and among the first to see light was one in 1563, when a book of considerable scientific value appeared. Written by Garcia de Horta, a physician, the book was entitled:

Coloquios dos simples, e drogas he cousas medicinaes da India, e assy dalguas frutas achadas nella onde se tratam alguas cousas tocantes a medicina, pratica, e outras cousas boas pera saber, &c.

It was printed at Goa by Joannes de Endem⁽⁵⁾.

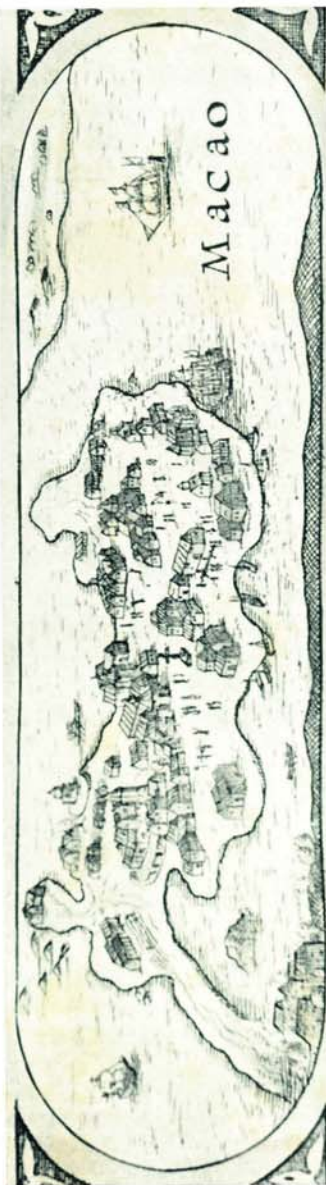
During the quarter of a century which followed several other books were printed in the same city, all of the utmost rarity now.

From Goa, the Japanese party sailed for Macao on the penultimate part of their itinerary, and at this little Portuguese settlement on the China coast they found that it was necessary to wait, not only for the next season, but also for a reply and an assurance of safe conduct from Hideyoshi, the

(4) One copy is in the Spanish embassy to the Vatican and the other in the Jesuit Archives at Rome. (Cfr. Father J. Laures, S. J., *Kirishitan Bunko*, Tokyo, 1940, p. 8 and *Supplement to Kirishitan Bunko*, Tokyo, 1941, pp. 1-2). Cfr. Letter by Father Lenis, S. J., mentioned by Father Valignano, S. J., written at Cochin, on Dec. 22, 1586, cited in *Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu*, IX, 1940, p. 271.

(5) Introduced by the Jesuits, the printing press in Goa started work in 1556 with a catechism by St. Francis Xavier. Religious tracts and pamphlets followed. (José Nicolau da Fonseca, *An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa*, Bombay, 1878, pp. 58-59; C. Gómez Rodeles, S. J., *Imprentas de los antiguos Jesuitas en las misiones de levante*, Madrid, 1912, pp. 5-7, *apud* Francisco Rodríguez, S. J., *A formação Intellectual do Jesuita*, Porto, 1917, pp. 507-508.)

MACAO in 1626



Probably the oldest known rough outline map of Macao, by John Speed, the English cartographer, dated 1626, copied from an earlier sketch which does not seem to have survived.

(From the author's collection.)



Title-page of xylographic book by Father Michele Ruggieri, S. J., printed at Macao in 1585, Macao's first printed book.

(Courtesy of the Archives of the Society of Jesus, Rome)

Japanese Chief Administrator, to whom Father Valignano had written stating that the Viceroy of India had appointed him as his envoy. This was considered expedient because a governmental order had been issued on July 24, 1587 proscribing Christianity and imposing restrictions on foreigners, especially missionaries. It would not have been prudent to rush to Japan in the face of such a situation and Father Valignano, with the envoys and their entourage, had perforce to stay in the Jesuit college and headquarters in «the City of the Name of God of Amacao».

Here the new arrivals found that printing had already commenced before the arrival of the printing press they had brought with them. In 1584, Father Michele Ruggieri, S. J., had produced, from xylographic blocks, cut by the laborious Chinese process, his book in Chinese, apparently the very first book in Chinese to be published by a European⁽⁶⁾. A document in the Lisbon archives tells us that «at Macao Father Ruggieri prepared a catechism which was then written in Chinese characters by a Chinese scholar ... Father Ruggieri printed this Catechism in Chinese characters and then distributed it in China». Bibliographers, not familiar with this old Lisbon document, have been under the impression that this book was printed in China not Macao⁽⁷⁾.

Father Ruggieri had also begun to compile a Latin-Chinese vocabulary, an early version of which had been printed, also at Macao, in 1585, on Father Valignano's instructions. But Father Ruggieri was at work on something more ambitious,

(6) Unless the Franciscan friars in the Yuan dynasty (A. D. 1280-1367) had done printing, particulars of which are not recorded.

(7) See ms. in the Ajuda library at Lisbon, Codex 49-X-3, f. 3 v., «Pontos do que me alembra» [by Father Francisco Pires, S. J.] This catechism was entitled («*True Account of God*») two copies being sent to the Vatican, one printed on silk. Two copies may also be seen in the Jesuit Archives at Rome. (Vide Father Pasquale D'ella, S. J., *Fonti Ricciane*, Roma, 1942, Vol. I. pp. 197-198).

in which Father Ricci had collaborated with him: a translation of the Chinese classic, *The Four Books*. Both the Vocabulary and Translation have remained in manuscript and may now be seen in the Jesuit archives at Rome ⁽⁸⁾.

The missionaries came to see that block-printing was peculiarly adapted to Chinese books, in which an attempt was often made to reproduce the beauty of the calligraphy of the author's original. For books in which a European text was used, however, the alphabet determined that movable types were required ⁽⁹⁾. During the period of enforced idleness at Macao, while waiting for the final stage of their journey to Japan, the priests decided to put the printing press to good use.

The first book was a reprint, with some modifications, of a work on Christian education (first published at Salamanca in 1575 followed by an edition at Burgos), by Father Giovanni Bonifacio, S. J. The Macao version bears the date of 1588 and is entitled:

*Christiani Pveri Institutio, Adolescentiaeque per-
fugium: autore Ioanne Bonifacio Societatis Iesv. cum
libri unius, & rerū accessione plurimarū: Cum facul-
tate Superiorum: Apud Sinas, in Portu Macaensi: in
Domo Societatis Iesv.: Anno 1588.*

A small book of 252 leaves, it was edited by Father Valignano. Only one copy of this book has survived; it may be seen in the Library of the Ajuda Palace, Lisbon ⁽¹⁰⁾.

⁽⁸⁾ Father D'Elia, *Fonti Ricciane*, pp. 13; 16; 43; 148; 250 *passim*.

⁽⁹⁾ For comments on the comparative advantages see *Estimate of the proportionate expense of xylography, lithography, and typography, as applied to Chinese printing; view of the advantages and disadvantages of each*. Article by «Typographus Sinensis» [W. H. Medhurst] in *The Chinese Repository*, Vol. III, Oct. 1834, pp. 246-252.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Jordão de Freitas, *A imprensa de tipos moveis em Macau e no Japão nos fins do seculo XVI* in *Anais das Bibliotecas e Arquivos de Portugal*, Coimbra, 1915, Vol. I, No. 5, pp. 211, ff. Father J. Laures, S. J.

The next book printed at Macao was an important one, an original work describing, in Latin, the journey undertaken by the Japanese envoys, and telling how they had been given the very warmest and most enthusiastic welcomes wherever they had travelled in Europe, with fine descriptions of the cities and places they visited. At Rome they had been given a splendid reception and they took part in a number of important functions at St. Peter's and elsewhere in the Holy City, all of which are recounted in this book. The title of the volume gives an indication of its contents:

De Missione Legatorum Iaponensium ad Romanam curiam, rebusq; in Europa, ac toto itinere animaduversis dialogus: ex ephemeride ipsorum legatorum collectus, & in sermonem latinum versus: ab Eduardo de Sande Sacerdote Societatis Iesv: In Macaensi portu Sinici regni in domo Societatis IESV cum facultate ordinarij, & Superiorum. Anno 1590 ⁽¹¹⁾.

Twelve copies of this book have survived.

At least one more book seems to have been printed in Macao at the China coast. It is believed to have been a work entitled «*Sanazario emendato*» and is mentioned by Father Lorenzo Mexia, S. J., but no copy has come to light in modern times ⁽¹²⁾.

mentions (*Second Supplement to Kirishitan Bunko*, Tokyo, 1951, p. 4) that Father P. Humbertclaude has pointed out that a copy of this book is mentioned in «*M. Augusti Beyer Memorale Historico-Criticae Librorum Rariorum*», *Dresdae et Lipsiae, apud Fredericum Hekel*, p. 106.

⁽¹¹⁾ Cfr. Father J. Laures, *Kirishitan Bunko*, Tokyo, 1940, p. 12 and *Arquivos de Macao*, 2.^a série, p. 100. A facsimile edition was produced in Japan, in 1935, from Prof. Koda's copy, with a Japanese translation. A summary by A. J. de Figueiredo appeared in *Archivo Pittoresco*, Lisboa, Vol. VI, 1862; and an annotated reprint by Father Benjamin Videira, S. J., and J. M. Braga, Macao, 1960.

⁽¹²⁾ Cfr. Father Joseph Schutte, S. J. *Christliche japanische Literatur, Bilder und Druckblätter in einem unbekanntem vatikanischen Codex*

Meanwhile word had been received at Macao from the Japanese authorities extending to Father Valignano, as ambassador from the Viceroy of India, a welcome to Japan. He landed at Nagasaki in July, 1590, with a rich assortment of presents, and in due course was received by Hideyoshi at Kyoto, on March 3, 1591. The Letter from the Viceroy of India, a magnificently illuminated document on vellum, still preserved in Japan at the Temple of Myohoin, at Kyoto, was presented to the Japanese ruler as well as the presents which Valignano brought and, «thanks to Valignano's exemplary tact, aided by the exceptional linguistic skill of the Portuguese Jesuit, João Rodrigues, nicknamed *Tcuzzu*, or interpreter, to distinguish him from colleagues of the same name, everything passed off as merrily as the proverbial marriage bell» (13).

In Japan no time was lost in putting the printing press to work and the first book from the Portuguese Mission press in that country was produced at Katsusa in 1591:

Sanctos no Gosagyō-no uchi Nuhigaki

This was a «Compendium of the Acts of the Saints», a popular account of the twelve apostles and some of the Christian saints and martyrs. From Katsusa, the press was transferred to Amakusa a year later and then, in 1598, to Nagasaki (14).

At least fifty-four books, possibly over eighty, were printed by the Jesuits in Japan. Of these, copies have been found of

ans dem Jahre 1951 in Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesus, Vol. IX, fasc. 2, Rome, 1940, p. 271.

(13) Prof. C. R. Boxer, *The Christian Century in Japan*, Berkeley, pp. 153-4; J. Murdoch and I. Yamagata, *A History of Japan*, Vol. II, pp. 263-264; Father R. Kleiser, *Monumenta Nipponica*, Vol. I (1933), pp. 82-88.

(14) Father Johannes Laures, S. J., *Kirishitan Bunko*, Tokyo, 1940, pp. 5-6.

DE MISSIONE
LEGATORVM IAPONEN
sium ad Romanam curiam, rebusq; in
Europa, ac toto itinere animaduersis
DIALOGVS

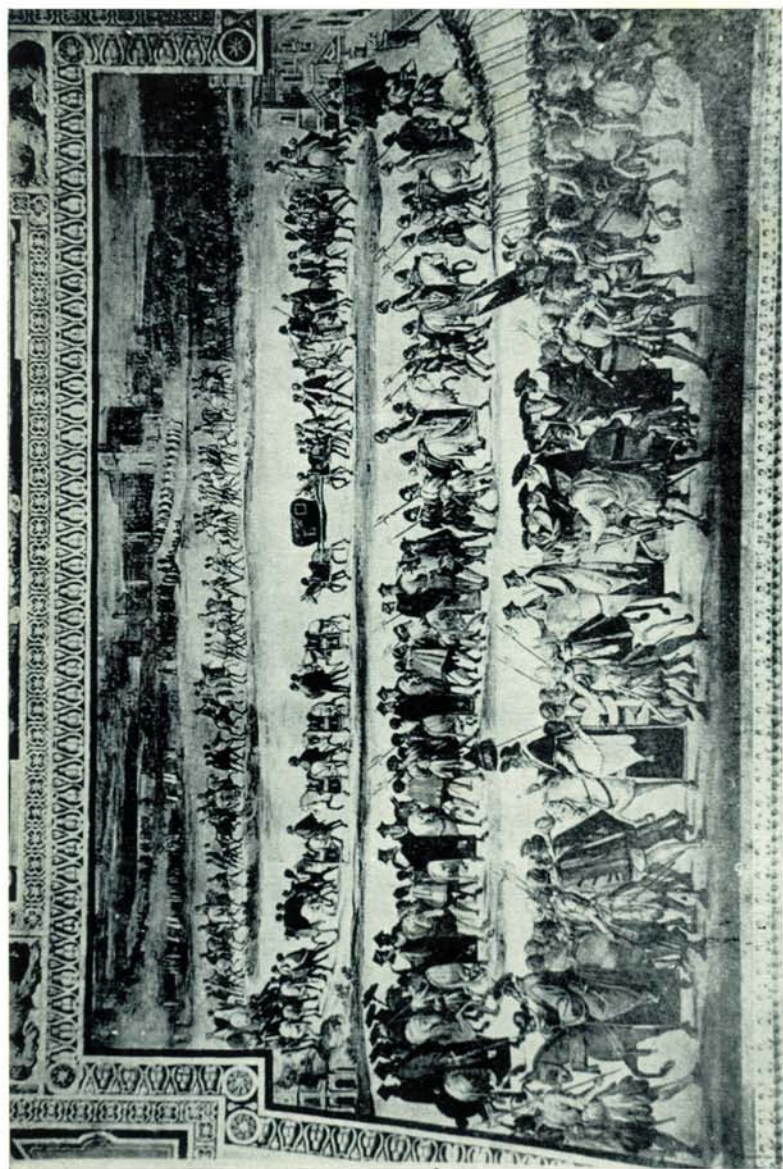
EX EPHEMERIDE IPSORVM LEGATORVM COL-
LEGTVS, & IN SERMONEM LATINVM VERSVS,
ab Eduardo de Sande Sacerdote Societatis
IESV.



In Macaensi portu Sinici regni in domo
Societatis IESV cum facultate
Ordinarij, & Superiorum.
Anno 1590.

Title-page of one the earliest books printed at Macao. Compiled by Father Alessandro Valignano, the Jesuit Visitor, and written in Latin by Father Duarte Sande, S. J., this book describes the voyage of the Japanese envoys to the Pope in the 16th century.

(Courtesy of the Tenri Library, Japan)



Mural painting in the Vatican Library, depicting the arrival of the Japanese Christian envoys to Rome on March 21, 1585.

(Courtesy of the Vatican authorities)

only twenty-nine, not counting fragments of others, all of them of the utmost rarity⁽¹⁵⁾.

When Christianity was banned in Japan in 1614, the printing press was returned to Macao where it remained inactive for a few years. In 1620 there appeared at Macao:

Arte Breve da Lingoa Iapoa tirada da Arte Grande da mesma lingoa, pera os que começam a aprender os

(15) One of the first of the Orientalists to be intrigued by the subject of the old Jesuit printing press was Leon Pages, attache of the French legation, who published at Paris, in 1859, *Bibliographie Japonaise ou Catalogue des ouvrages relatifs au Japon qui ont été publiés depuis le XVII^e siècle jusqu'à nos jours*. He was followed by Sir Ernest Satow, H. B. M. Ambassador to Japan, whose *The Jesuit Mission Press in Japan, 1591-1610*, the fruit of painstaking research in the principal libraries of Europe and Japan, in 1888, was a masterly piece of work. Japanese scholars then embarked upon a study of the subject, and the names of Naojiro Murakami, Michio Takahashi, Izuru Shinmura, Masaharu Anesaki, Mikinosuke Ishida, Yeisaburo Ikeda, Sakuzo Yoshino, Shigetomo Koda, Fukaya Tokuro, Tadao Doi, Muraoka Noritsugu, M. Tominage and Yoshitomo Okamoto figure among those who have dedicated themselves to this task. The important bibliographies: H. Cordier's *Bibliotheca Japonica*, Paris, 1912; O. Nachod's *Bibliographie von Japan*, Leipzig; R. Streit's *Bibliotheca Missionum*, Aachen, all refer to these publications. Father Johannes Laures, S. J., whose *Kirishitan Bunko* first appeared in 1940, was another enthusiast who took an interest in this subject. He was given another excellent support by fellow Jesuits at Sophia University, Tokyo, and others. The catalogues of the Tenri Central Library also treat of the subject in great detail.

See Prof. C. R. Boxer's, *The Christian Century in Japan*, Berkeley, 1951, pp. 190-200; 475-477 for a scholarly resumé of the value of the books that were printed. He divides them into three groups: (a) those translated from a European language into Japanese; (b) works adapted from Japanese originals; (c) linguistic works, consisting of grammars and dictionaries. He points out that the Jesuits also printed Church calendars, catechisms, prayers (on single sheets) and pictures from wood blocks and engravings on metal.

For a list of the titles of the books copies of which have been found in modern times see Appendix I.

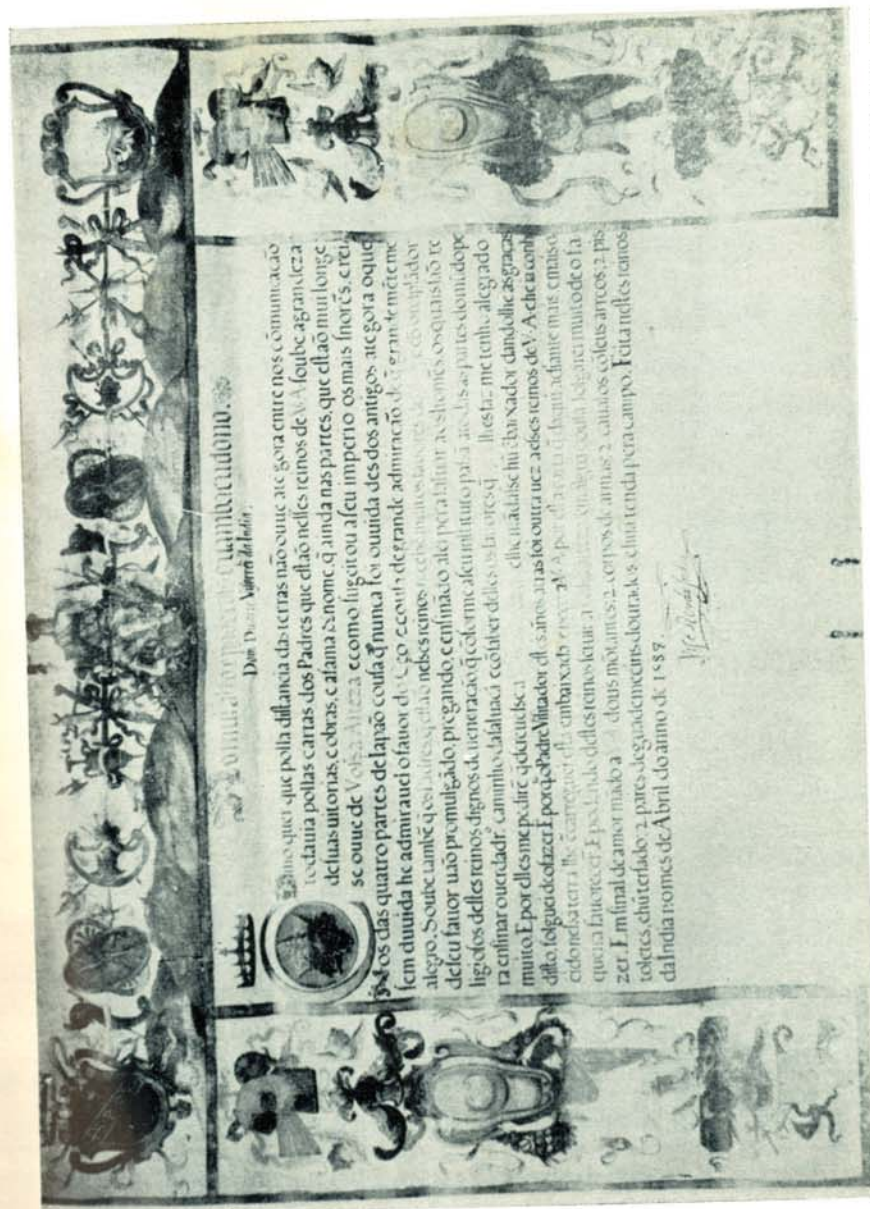
primeiros principios della ... Em Amacao no Collegio da Madre de Deos da Companhia de Iesv. Anno M.DC.XX. in-4, 4 ff. no. 96 ff. (16).

For a long time modern historians were intrigued as to the fate of the old Jesuit printing press, for Father Rodrigues' book on Japanese grammar, printed at Macao, was the last to bear the Jesuit imprint, the energetic members of the Society of Jesus not being men who would have left such a useful adjunct to missionary work idle for any length of time. It is now known that the printing press was sold to the Augustinians at Manila, as the Jesuits who were already concentrating their attention on China felt that the European type would not be needed (17).

In the year 1644 a tentative list of important books in Chinese published by the Jesuits or under their auspices, at various places in China, was drawn up at Macao. 124 titles were given but the compiler admitted that the total actually

(16) Only 100 copies were printed. Four copies have been recorded in modern times: respectively in the *Marsden Library of King's College*, London (now in the *School of Oriental and African Studies*), the *Library of the Ajuda Palace*, Lisbon, the archives of the *Santo Domingo Convent*, Manila, and the *Universidade de Santo Tomas* of the same city, (see Prof. C. R. Boxer, *Padre João Rodriguez Tczuz, S. J. and his Japanese Grammars of 1604 and 1620*, Lisbon, 1950).

(17) The printing press and equipment were stored in the houses of André Botto and Manuel Ovello in Macao until 1620. Father Rodeles states that the Jesuit press was sold to the Augustinians in Manila, but Father Schilling doubts the evidence furnished by Father Rodeles. (Cod. 49-V-5, ff. 200 of the «*Jesuitas na Asia*», collection of the Macao transcripts in the Ajuda Palace Library; Father C. Gómez Rodeles, S. J., *Imprentas de los antiguos Jesuitas en Europa, América y Filipinas durante los siglos XVI al XVII*, Madrid, 1910, pp. 29-30 and Frey D. Schilling, O. F. M., *Vorgeschichte des Typendruckes auf den Philippinen*, in «*Gutenberg-Jahrbuch*, 1937», Mainz, 1937, p. 392, *apud* Father Johannes Laures, S. J., *Kirishitan Bunko*, 3rd edition, Tokyo, 1957, pp. 24-26).



Reproduction of the letter sent by the Viceroy of Portuguese India to Hideyoshi, Written and illuminated on vellum, this document is preserved in the Temple of Myohoin, Kyoto.

(From T. Ngayama, *Collection of Historical Materials*, Nagasaki, 1924)

printed was much greater. Eventually hundreds of books in the Chinese medium were published in a number of places in China (18).

BOOKS PRINTED XYLOGRAPHICALLY IN CHINA

Of books printed xylographically by the Jesuits of the Portuguese missions in China or by others, some eighteen works have been listed by Paul Pelliot in 1924 (See *T'oung Pao*, Leiden, Vol. XXIII, pp. 356-360). Based on this study and the earlier attempt by Henri Cordier, in *L'imprimerie Sino-Européenne en Chine*, Paris, 1901, to go into this subject, Prof. C. R. Boxer has discussed eleven titles of books, which are printed wholly or mainly in a European language, in the xylographic form, omitting those with the text in Chinese characters even though the title page might have been in Latin.

Prof. Boxer's list includes:

Sapientia Sinica by Fathers Ignacio da Costa, S. J., and Prosper Intorcetta, S. J., printed at Kien-chang, in Kiangsi Province, anno 1662. (Four complete copies and one incomplete copy have been recorded by Cordier).

Sinarum Scientia Politico-Moralis edited by Father Prospero Intorcetta, S. J., printed partly at

(18) This is given in Ajuda Codex 49-V-11, ff. 519 v.-521 v. A study of this subject has yet to be made, but see Father L. Pfister, S. J. *Notices Biographiques et Bibliographiques de tous les membres de la Cie de Jesus qui ont vécu en Chine, & c.*, Chang-hai, 1868-1875, in 2 vols.

ARTE BREVE
DA LINGOA IAPOA
DA ARTE GRANDE DA M^a
lingoa, pera os que comecam a apreer
os primeiros principios della.

PELLO PADRE IOAM RODRIGUES
da Companhia de IESV Portuguez do Bispado
de Lamego. Dividida em tres
LIVROS.



COM LICENCA DO ORDINARIO
& Superior. Em Amacao no Collegio da Ma
dre de Deos da Companhia de IESV.

ANNO. CID. IDC. XX

Title-page of Father João Rodrigues' *Arte Breve da Lingoa Japoa*, printed at Macao in 1620.

(Courtesy of the Library of the Ajuda Palace, Lisbon)

Canton in 1667 and completed at Goa in 1669. (Seven copies have been recorded in various libraries).

Innocentia Victrix, probably by Father Antonio de Gouvea, S. J., published at Canton in 1671. (Seventeen copies of this book are known to exist).

Epistola P. Ferdinandi Verbiest, Peking, 1678. (Eight copies).

Relatio Sepulturas, Peking, 1700 by Father Gaspar Castner, S. J. (Fifteen recorded copies).

Brevis Relatio, Peking, 1701 (Pelliot shows that another edition was printed at Canton, 1702, and Boxer records that at least eighteen copies have been noted).

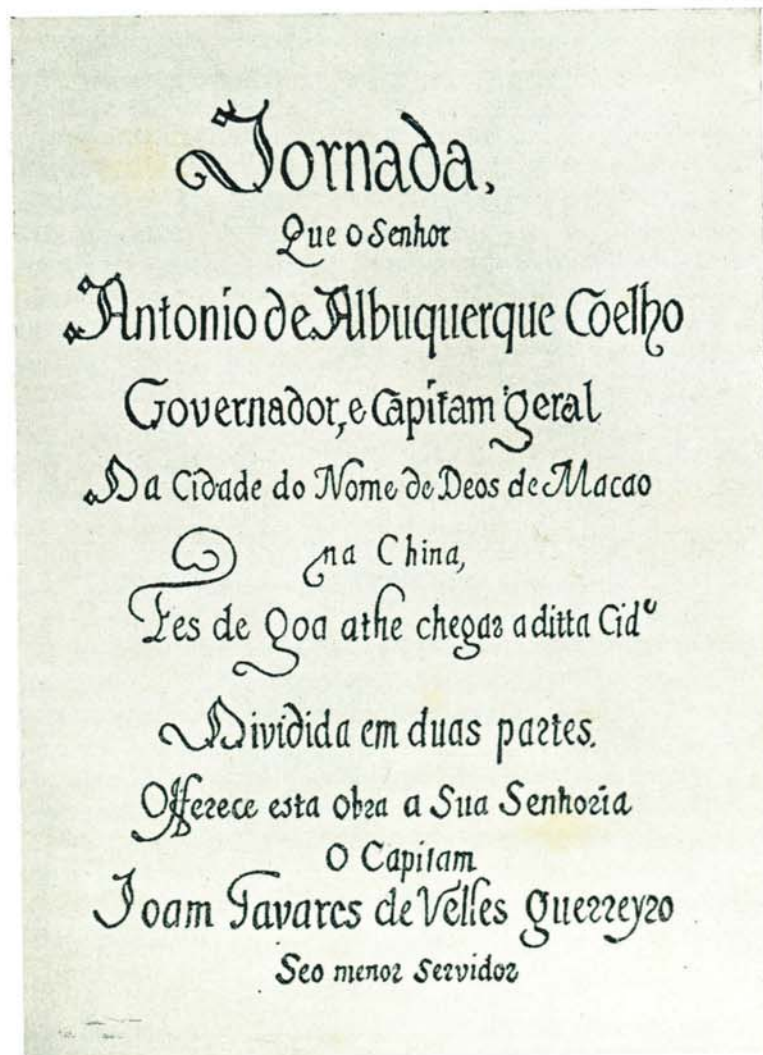
Arte de la Lengua Mandarina, Canton, 1703 based on the work by Frey Francisco Varo, O. P. (Foochow, 1682) and published by Frey Pedro de la Pinuela, O. F. M. at Canton (1703). (Fifteen copies listed).

Exemplar Epistolae, Peking, 1704. (The only known copy is in Prof. Boxer's library, A facsimile, in a limited edition, with notes by Prof. Boxer, was published at Macao in 1947).

Relation Sincera y Verdadera, Heungshan (but probably at Macao), 1712. (Prof. Boxer has traced three copies. Another copy in the library of the Visconde de Esperança at Manisola, near Evora, since acquired by the Government of Portugal, and yet another in the Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisbon).

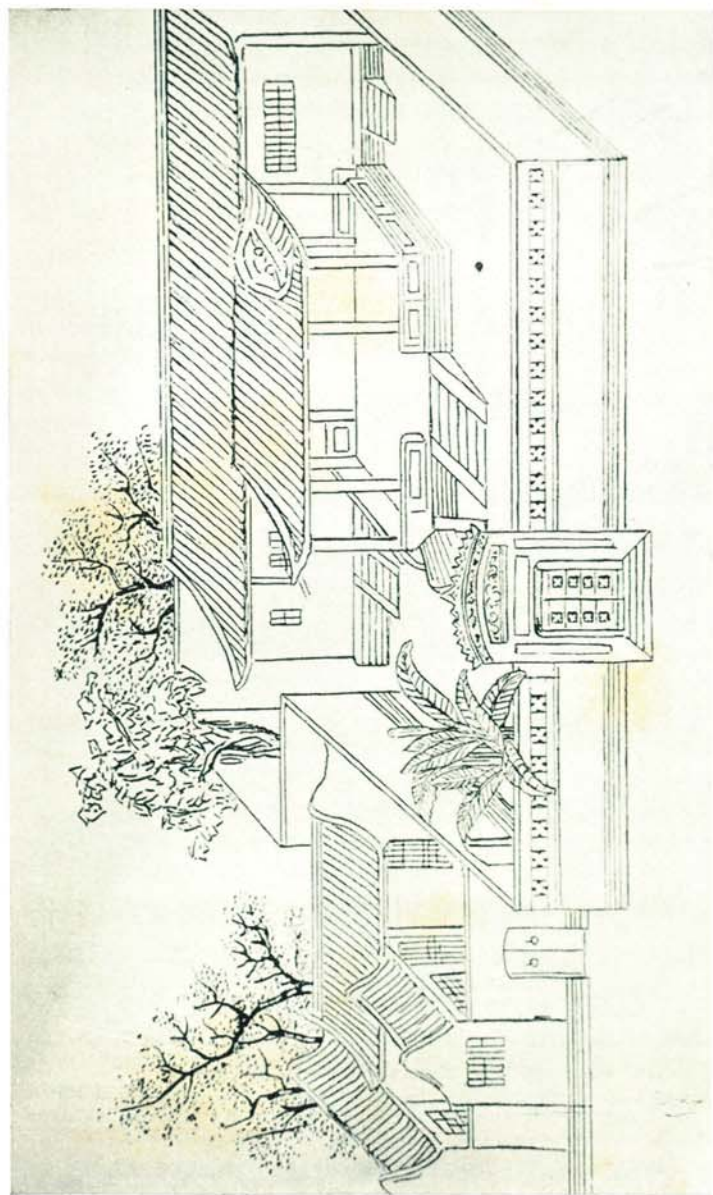
Informatio pro Veritate, Peking, 1717, edited most probably by Father Kilian Stumpf, S. J. (Seven copies recorded by Boxer).

Jornada que o Senhor Antonio de Albuquerque Coelho ... fez de Goa athe chegar a ditta Cide^e [de Macao] by João Tavares de Velles Guerreiro, Heungshan (probably Macao) 1718. (Boxer records



Title-page of a book reproduced by the xylographic process, probably at Macao, in 1718 describing the adventurous voyage of the Governor, António de Albuquerque Coelho, from Goa to Macao.

(Courtesy of Prof. C. R. Boxer)



Chinese conception of the Macao Senate Building, in the middle of the 18th century, as depicted in a Chinese book.

(Reproduced from the *Ao-Men Chi-tuck*, in the author's collection)

six copies, to which should be added one copy in the Manisola library) (19).

Then came an interregnum when no books were printed in Macao or, for that matter, in any of the Portuguese overseas provinces, due to the prohibitions by the authorities and the promulgation in Portugal, in 1736, of a law, forbidding under severe penalties printing in any form whatsoever. This explains why no books or other publications are to be found bearing the imprint of Macao on the title page, after the promising start at the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th centuries.

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FOREIGN TRADERS AT MACAO

It was not until early in the 19th century that the second phase of printing began at Macao, and it was a strange beginning. Already during the closing years of the preceding century, when the French Revolution stirred Europe to its depths, and upheavals in the name of «liberty» struck at the very roots of the social structure of the nations, Macao in common with the other Portuguese overseas territories could not participate in the polemics which raged through the medium of the printed page. In 1820 the legislators at Lisbon, during the short-lived liberal movement which broke out in Portugal, decided to lift

(19) See *T'oung Pao*, Leiden, 1924, Vol. XXIII, pp. 356-360; Prof. C. R. Boxer, *Some Sino-European Xylographic Works, 1662-1718* published in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, London, 1947, Year 1947, Parts 3-4, pp. 199-215, and the authorities quoted. (Cfr. Appendix II, reproduced *infra*, with acknowledgments, from the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*).

the ban. This was followed by the appearance in most of the Portuguese overseas provinces of newspapers, books and other printed matter. But, it is important to note, with the liberty to print, the authorities required that everything had first to be submitted to censorship. Writers were perforce prepared to accept this condition because the hunger of many to express themselves in public print was an active force which accepted the censorship regulations with little open demur. Macao had to wait, however, until 1822 before a new Portuguese printing press and fonts of type arrived to enable printing in Portuguese to be carried out in earnest ⁽²⁰⁾.

Curiously enough, the restoration of that right at Macao was anticipated, unofficially, by several years. And it was not the Portuguese who were permitted to print; they allowed it to be done by the British, for although the law did not countenance printing, the Portuguese authorities at Macao were prepared to condone what their British friends wanted to do. For a long time this subject has not merited the attention of students of history and it has been only in very recent times that anything has been written about it ⁽²¹⁾.

The special circumstances of this little known phase of Macao's activities should be better known, for too much is taken for granted in all the privileges which many have enjoyed in this little Portuguese possession, with little credit given for the benefits received by those who were able to live there ⁽²²⁾.

⁽²⁰⁾ The first publication officially approved was a weekly newspaper, *A Abelha da China* (1822-1823). See *infra* pp. 68-71.

⁽²¹⁾ *Cfr.* J. M. Braga, *Printing Press of the East India Company*, in *Renascimento*, Macao, 1944, Vol. III, pp. 520-529; 614-622 and Georges Bonnant, *The Honorable East India Co.'s Press. Une imprimerie britannique a Macao (1814-1834)* in *Arquivo de Bibliografia Portuguesa*, Coimbra, 1958.

⁽²²⁾ This aspect of Macao's contribution to privileges received by many has yet to be written, and the only writer to touch upon this subject seems to have been C. A. Montalto de Jesus, *Historic Macao*, 1st ed., Hong Kong, 1902; 2nd ed., Macao, 1926.

When in the 18th century the English East India Company succeeded in obtaining permission to trade at Canton they had to accept many restrictions imposed by the Chinese, the conditions of their sojourn at Canton being subject to many stipulations. Among the regulations promulgated by the Chinese officials was one which ruled that foreigners could not establish domicile in China. The traders were limited, therefore, to a stay of several months only each year, approximately from October to March, in houses erected for them in an area by the riverside, contiguous to the Chinese city, and known to the foreigners as «the Factories» ⁽²³⁾. At the end of each trading season they had to sail with their ships. This condition must have irked many of the traders and eventually it seems to have occurred to some of them that they might get permission to reside at Macao during the summer months, and return to Canton at the beginning of the next trading season.

However, this was easier said than done. The Portuguese were also subject to their laws. Foreigners were not permitted to live in any Portuguese territory, without the written authority of the Government in Lisbon, nor might they carry on trade in any of the Portuguese overseas provinces. This permission from Portugal was extremely difficult to obtain and was given only in very exceptional cases, such as, for instance, when a ship had met with some misadventure. The Crown and the Viceroy at Goa reminded the authorities at Macao repeatedly of the need for the observance of this law ⁽²⁴⁾.

⁽²³⁾ The terms *factory* and *factor* were adopted from the Portuguese *feitoria* and *feitor* respectively, having come from the Venetians. They were used as early as 1500 by the Portuguese when «a trading establishment at a foreign port» [of Calicut] was set up at the western coast of India. (H. Yule & A. C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson: A glossary of colloquial Anglo-Indian words and phrases*, London, 1903, pp. 345-347).

⁽²⁴⁾ *Cfr.* *Livro das Ordens Regias do Leal Senado*, Macau, ff. 48-49 (1742); *Register No. 50 of the Macao Senate*, ff. 178 v.-181 (1746); *Register No. 52 of the Macao Senate*, ff. 18-18 v. (1747), and other entries

The recapture of Calcutta by the English in 1757, after it had been wrested from them by Sirajuddaullah, the Nawab of Bengal, was followed by a remarkable trade expansion in the direction of China. Among those who decided to try their hand at the new business were some Portuguese and Goans, two or three of whom moved from Calcutta to Macao, while associates of theirs, Britons and others not employees of the East India Company, made their way by ship to Canton⁽²⁵⁾.

The English Company classified these British nationals as «interlopers», and issued injunctions for them to leave China at once, as their presence was an infringement of the monopoly which the Company enjoyed from the British Crown for trading in China. When one of these men managed to evade the regulations about leaving the China coast and proceeded to Macao, where he ostensibly entered the employ of a Portuguese associate from Calcutta, the Select Committee stormed and raged, at what they considered a breach of their privileges⁽²⁶⁾. One of the «interlopers», Capt. Robert Jackson even went so far as to proceed to Goa where he applied for Portuguese citizenship and, as a Portuguese subject, he reached South China in 1761. Three years later he took up residence at Macao⁽²⁷⁾.

The success of this stratagem led the President of the *Compagnie des Indes Orientales*, French East India Company,

covering a long period of years. See also documents in the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisbon, especially *Order from the Council at Goa*, dated April 22, 1757, addressed to the Governor of Macao, «not to admit any foreigner without express licence» issued by the Government at Goa.

(25) The gaps in the Portuguese records at Macao make it impossible to verify the dates of these permissions, so many of the old documents have succumbed to the ravages of insects and the humid climate.

(26) Hosea Ballou Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company trading to China, 1635-1834*, Oxford, 1929, Vol. V. pp. 102-103, 108, 162, 172, 180, 191, *passim*.

(27) See *Register No. 68* of the Macao Senate, ff. 340-340 v.; Morse, *Chronicles*, Vol. V, pp. 102-103.

to feel that some arrangement could be made in his favour, and in this he was successful for in 1765 he obtained the authorisation of the Portuguese Viceroy at Goa to lease a residence at Macao in which to live during the summer months, between the trading seasons at Canton.

It was not until seven years later, however, that the English East India Company succeeded in following the example of its French counterpart and, invoking most probably the old Anglo-Portuguese Alliance, they were able in 1772 to obtain permission for the members of their Select Committee to rent Portuguese houses and to spend their summers in Macao⁽²⁸⁾. They leased a fine mansion on the Praia Grande and a spacious and stately residence with a fine garden, the latter near the Church of St. Lawrence, both belonging to a Mr. António José da Costa⁽²⁹⁾.

The chartered companies of other countries tried to follow suit and eventually the same permission was given to others in similar positions, for the traditional hospitality of the people of Macao, always evident, did not fail them and by the use of the names of Portuguese gentleman it became possible for the foreigners to reside at Macao. In many cases they were even able to trade in the name of their Portuguese sponsors. They were permitted, in this way, to stay at Macao all through the spring and summer each year. Their numbers did not increase very rapidly, and there could not have been more than a dozen of these men when the English Company obtained permission to rent property at Macao, in 1772.

Some of the ecclesiastics strongly resented the newcomers, for those were times when rivalry between Catholicism and

(28) The surviving archives at Macao are silent about this; one would probably have to make a study of the archives at Goa for information from Portuguese sources.

(29) H. B. Morse, *Chronicles*, Vol. II, pp. 172-173. António José da Costa held the post of Controller of Customs at Macao for several years. He was appointed Governor of Macao in 1780 and took office, but died on November 3, 1781 before completing his term.

Protestantism in Europe and America was very evident⁽³⁰⁾. It may be fair to presume that although the senior members and writers of the big chartered companies were generally cultured gentlemen of good standing, the same cannot always be said for all the foreigners who succeeded in getting permission to live at Macao. The English Company was able to maintain establishments which were, from a social viewpoint, of considerable importance. As the volume of trade between China and Britain grew so did the Company's prestige mount, and the senior members came to spend more and more lavishly on their homes at Macao. They set a pattern which was nothing inferior to that maintained in the mansions of men of means in Europe at the time⁽³¹⁾.

ARRIVAL OF ROBERT MORRISON

By the end of the 18th century, the name of *Macao* was being mentioned with greater frequency in all sorts of circles in Europe. In England, the London Missionary Society considered the time opportune to despatch a missionary to China. They felt that it would be quite in order for their missionary to reside at Macao.

⁽³⁰⁾ In 1732 it was reported that the Chinese Government was thinking of making Macao the centre of China's foreign trade. This might have led to Macao's trade expansion, but the ecclesiastical authorities succeeded in getting the Portuguese administration to oppose the idea. (*Cfr. Arquivos de Macau*, Vol. I, p. 253). When the Portuguese authorities decided to permit foreigners to reside at Macao after 1761, the bishops again came forward to object but they were not successful on this occasion.

⁽³¹⁾ Not very much has been written about this subject, but see W. C. Hunter, *Bits of Old China*, London, 1885; Miss Katharine Hillard, *My mother's Journal: A young lady's diary... from 1829-1834*, Boston, 1900 (of which a *revox* copy may be seen in the Hong Kong University Library); C. A. Montalto de Jesus, *Historic Macao*, Macao, 1926; J. P. Braga, *The Portuguese in Macao and China*, Macao, 1944.

This was not the first suggestion that had been made for the Protestants to endeavour to carry out evangelisation in the Middle Kingdom. Well over a century earlier no less a figure than Gottfried Leibnitz had put forward the idea that it was about time that the Protestant communities of Europe should follow in the footsteps of the Catholics and he mentioned specifically the work of the Jesuits, for whom he had the greatest admiration⁽³²⁾.

But it was not until the early years of the 19th century that the first move was made by an English Society to send a Protestant missionary to China. Mr. Robert Morrison was selected for the task and, commenting on this, his widow, his second wife, later explained that Morrison justified his hopes of accomplishing something in China because «Roman Catholic missionaries had persevered amidst almost unparalleled difficulties and cruel oppressions, and had but partially succeeded in imposing popery⁽³³⁾ upon China ... where hundreds of millions of her people are still 'wholly given to idolatry'⁽³⁴⁾.

He applied to the East India Company in London for passage to China but the Directors of the Honourable Company, concerned as they were with the problems that were constantly besetting their Select Committee engaged in trade at Canton, wanted no new involvements. They felt that the appearance of a British missionary, keen on studying Chinese and on preaching, both of which would have been contrary to the regulations governing the admittance of the Westerners, would certainly lead to complications with the officials at Canton.

⁽³²⁾ As set forth in the Preface to his compilation *Novissima Sinica*, 1697. The latest study on this work by Leibnitz is Donald F. Lach's *The Preface to Leibnitz' «Novissima Sinica»*, Honolulu, 1957.

⁽³³⁾ The derogatory implication of this term, used by a person who enjoyed the hospitality of Macao during many years, would not have endeared Mrs. Morrison to her Portuguese hosts.

⁽³⁴⁾ Mrs. Eliza Morrison, *Memoirs of the Life and Labours of Robert Morrison, D.D.*, London, 1839, Vol. I, p. 86.

His request for passage on one of the Company's ships was refused. The young missionary was not to be thwarted in his intention and early in 1807 he went to America hoping to make some arrangement there. He reached New York on April 20, 1807 and there he made many friends who gave him every encouragement so much so that he sailed from New York in the *Trident* on May 13 of the same year. He landed at Macao, 113 days later, on August 30, 1807⁽³⁵⁾.

Morrison lost no time in making his way to Canton and upon his arrival there he wrote to his principals in London, explaining that he had been given accommodation with the American merchants. «It would be impossible», he explained in a letter, «for me to dwell amidst the princely grandeur of the English who reside here». He added, «I hope the Company's servants will not feel it their duty to put any stumbling block in the way of my continuance»⁽³⁶⁾.

The letters sent by him at this period are full of imagined hindrances and obstacles, but time was to prove that Morrison's pessimism was unfounded. That he had difficulties no one will deny, just as there were for everybody else, at such a great distance from home, in a trying climate and among a foreign people including a Chinese officialdom whose opinions and treatment of Westerners could at times make life unbearable. From Morrison's later letters one reads that the persons he imagined to be likely creators of difficulties proved to be his greatest benefactors.

For instance, the Hon. John Fullarton Elphinstone, member of the Company's Select Committee gave him a manuscript Latin-Chinese dictionary, compiled years before by a Catholic priest, which Morrison himself valued at £ 50 in his own

⁽³⁵⁾ Morrison's *Memoirs*, pp. 106-152.

⁽³⁶⁾ Letter from Robert Morrison to Mr. Hardcastle, Treasurer of the London Missionary Society, dated at Canton, Sept. 7, 1807, quoted in Mrs. Eliza Morrison, *Memoirs of the Life and Labours of Robert Morrison*. D.D., &c. — London, 1839, Vol. I, p. 153-4.

day⁽³⁷⁾. Sir George Thomas Staunton, Bart, Supercargo and soon to join the Select Committee, himself a student of the Chinese language of no mean ability, presented him with many of the Chinese books he would need in his studies and even engaged instructors for him, at extremely moderate wages. The principal of these tutors was a Catholic Chinese, for others at that stage might have been afraid to teach their language to a foreigner, this being against the regulations. Mr. Samuel Ball, the Company's Senior Tea Inspector, gave him a Chinese grammar in Spanish, probably Father Francisco Varo's *Arte de la Lengua Mandarina*, a book printed by the xylographic process at Canton in 1703, and not an easy book to buy⁽³⁸⁾. Dr. Alexander Pearson, the Company's physician, also gave him much help and good advice.

Mr. John William Roberts, the Chief of the Company's Select Committee in China, helped Morrison most of all. He began by using his influence at Canton and at Macao to get a residence for the newcomer, at Canton valued at that time at £ 150 a year, and encouraged him in his studies to the extent not only of approving of his intention to compile a dictionary, but by promising the Company's assistance⁽³⁹⁾.

Without telling Morrison, Roberts wrote also to the Directors of the Company proposing an appointment for the young missionary on the Company's staff in China. The Directors in London approved the suggestion and Morrison was given a post and an official status and received financial assistance, probably very much greater than anything which any other person in similar circumstances has ever obtained. Sir George Staunton was able to inform Robert Morrison that, as a member of the Company's staff, he would be paid

⁽³⁷⁾ *Memoirs*, p. 196.

⁽³⁸⁾ Extracts from Morrison's journal quoted in *Memoirs*, p. 206. For a reference to this grammar see *supra* p. 37.

⁽³⁹⁾ Morrison's letter to his father, Macao, Aug. 4, 1808, *Memoirs*, p. 222.

£ 500 a year. This was increased later to £ 1,000 and subsequently to £ 1,300. Such an appointment represented not merely the salary shown, but included quarters and other privileges. The salary he received at the end was much more than that of the Company's Writers ⁽⁴⁰⁾.

In spite of Morrison's early fears, most of which proved groundless, but which, in his letter, he did not hesitate to express frequently, and although, to quote Morrison, «the Portuguese are ordered from their own court to admit no persons but such as are connected with some of the European factories» — a difficulty which was removed as soon as Roberts secured an appointment for Morrison on the Company's staff — «my chief place of residence is at Macao». He also admits that once when his landlord declined to renew the lease of his house, two Portuguese gentlemen were good enough to speak to the Governor and he was allowed to take another house ⁽⁴¹⁾.

On one occasion Morrison even wrote to the Select Committee of the E. I. Company pointing out to them that «the Duties of Chinese Translator are attended with considerable personal hazard. I cannot help feeling an apprehension that writing or translating a Letter to His Majesty the Emperor of China, which will of course contain an impeachment of the local Government of this Province, will subject me to personal suffering from the Chinese even long after the present difference shall be arranged». The Committee in their reply to Morrison assured him that they alone would be responsible

⁽⁴⁰⁾ From Robert Morrison's letter to his father, dated at Macao, Feb. 23, 1809, *Memoirs*, p. 251; H. B. Morse, *Chronicles*, Vol. III, pp. 72 and 165. For the Company's salary scale at the time *cfr.* H. B. Morse, *op. cit.*, pp. 176-177. In order to arrive at the present-day equivalent of the amount paid to Robert Morrison it would be necessary to multiply the figures by about twenty to twenty-five.

⁽⁴¹⁾ Morrison's letters to the Missionary Society in London, written at Macao respectively on Dec. 9, 1809 and Dec. 22, 1812, *Memoirs*, pp. 285 and 356.

for anything written by him in the prosecution of his duties on their instructions ⁽⁴²⁾. The fact remains that at no time did the mandarins make any charges against Morrison for carrying out his work as translator for the Company.

INTEREST IN CHINA

Within four or five years the young missionary felt that he had made sufficient progress in his studies and that he knew enough on the subject to be able to write. He sent the manuscript of a short work to the London Missionary Society and the Directors decided to have it printed. It appeared at London in 1812, with the title: *HORAE SINICAE: Translations from the popular literature of the Chinese*, Printed for Black and Parry, 1812, pp. vi. 21 ⁽⁴³⁾.

Morrison had meanwhile arranged with a Chinese printer to bring out, carved from wooden blocks in the time-honoured xylographic manner, a translation of the *Acts of the Apostles* (based on an old Catholic manuscript in the British Museum Library and a *ms.* Latin and Chinese Dictionary, in the Royal Society, which Morrison had, with the help of a Chinese assistant, Yong Sam-tak, in England, transcribed before coming out to China) ⁽⁴⁴⁾ and a religious *Tract* and a *Chinese Catechism*, all in Chinese ⁽⁴⁵⁾. This occurred at a time when the Portuguese themselves, respecting their laws, did not do any printing at Macao.

⁽⁴²⁾ H. B. Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company trading to China, 1635-1834*. Oxford, 1926, Vol. III, pp. 210-211.

⁽⁴³⁾ A second edition was published, also at London, in 1817. Morrison, who was born in 1782, was only thirty years old when his first book was published.

⁽⁴⁴⁾ Morrison's *Memoirs*, Vol. I, pp. 77-78.

⁽⁴⁵⁾ Letter to a friend from Macao on Dec. 19, 1811, p. 302, and to the London Missionary Society on various dates, *cfr.*, *Memoirs*, Vol. I, pp. 310, 311 and 298, *passim*.

In spite of all the help which Morrison received and the courtesies extended to him at Macao, we find him writing to the headquarters of his Society beginning: «From this inhospitable land I again address you ...». This was an unfortunate phrase, for it has led many a later writer to believe that Morrison was obstructed if not persecuted in Macao, whereas the very opposite was the case⁽⁴⁶⁾.

At this period in Europe a veritable revival in matters relating to China and the Chinese had already commenced. There had existed in intellectual circles there for a number of years a steadily growing respect for Chinese culture and language, in place of the half-century or so of incredulity which had grown in the latter part of the 18th century. The foreign traders who had appeared in China during the 17th and 18th centuries, concerned as they were with commerce and its fruits, gave little thought, if any, to the real values of China. The Chinese they met were not the type to stimulate interest in China's intellectual and cultural traditions; for that matter the European sailors were not, by any stretch of the imagination, any better.

During the 16th and 17th centuries, when learning in Europe was still restricted mainly to the ecclesiastics, the books and letters written by the missionaries in the Portuguese Missions in the Far East, Portuguese priests and those of other European countries working in these missions, found only a limited public. They wrote enthusiastically of martyrdoms and evangelisation, and only more prosaically of the history and background of China and its civilisation; it was the edifying that they stressed. By the end of the 17th century, however, after the French Jesuits had been sent to Peking and when, thanks to the benefits of books, education and knowledge was steadily advancing among the middle classes in Europe, the enthusiasm which greeted the French publications, made a

⁽⁴⁶⁾ Letter to the London Missionary Society, dated Jan. 7, 1811, quoted in *Memoirs*, p. 309.

perceptible impression on the minds of European scholars and gentry alike. The liberal philosophers of France and Germany were particularly pleased with the superior Confucian morality and the ideal government which the administration of China seemed, at least in theory, to possess.

This was followed by the period of *Chinoiserie*, a fad among the wealthy of Europe, principally in France and England, which influenced furniture and gardens to a marked extent and established the pattern for European conceptions of China and the Chinese for the next three or four generations, until the drawings of William Alexander, who accompanied the Earl of Macartney to China, at the end of the 18th century, helped to correct the illusions.

French Sinology suffered, too, from the excessive adulation which writers, early in the eighteenth century, heaped on China and its government. Voltaire, Montesquieu, D'Argens, D'Alençon and others soon made use of the thought to ridicule the governments of Europe, and the decline in the interest in things Chinese set in. To a great extent this was set off by the disparaging remarks recorded by Commodore Anson on the literature and art of China and to an even greater extent, on the weak, dilatory and venal officials of this country. The observations carried back to England by the merchants of the East Indian Company, who, like Anson, had dealings with the lowest members of the social scale, served to confirm the view. Books by Hickey, Captain King and others helped to spread the impression⁽⁴⁷⁾.

But scholarship was being taken more seriously as learning spread and, at first principally in France and Germany,

⁽⁴⁷⁾ This subject has not a large bibliography but see V. Pinot, *La Chine et la formation de l'esprit philosophique en France 1640-1740*, Paris, 1932; A. Reichwin, *China and Europe: Intellectual and Artistic contacts in the eighteenth century*, New York, 1925; H. Cordier, *La Chine en France au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1910; and, more recently, W. W. Appleton, *A Cycle of Cathay*, New York, 1951 and H. Honour, *Chinoiserie: The vision of Cathay*, London, 1961.

scholars like Jean-Pierre Abel-Remusat and Heinrich Julius Klaproth were delving into Oriental studies and were writing learned books, while the embassy of the Earl of Macartney to Peking, in 1792, had been followed by several interesting books about the country. All this served to draw attention to China. Among others, Joseph Hager compiled *An explanation of the elementary characters of the Chinese*, London, 1801; and M. Raper *A Dictionary of Chinese and English carefully compiled from many others. Translated from the Latin Macao Dictionary. In 4 volumes*, London, 1807; Johann Christoph Adelung had begun printing at Berlin, in 1806, the first of his four volumes *Mithridates oder allegmeine Sprachenkunde mit dem Vater Unser als Sprachprobe in bey nahe funfhundert Sprachen und Mundarten*; Joseph de Guignes had published at Paris, in 1807, *Réflexions sur la langue chinoise*; António Montucci published at London, in 1808, *De studiis sinicis in imperiali Athenaeo Petropolitano*; Jean-Pierre Abel-Remusat published at Paris, in 1811, *Essai sur la Langue et la Littérature Chinoise. Avec cinq Planches, contenant des Textes Chinois, accompagnés de traductions, de remarques et d'un commentaire littéraire et grammatical*, to be followed three years later, in 1814, by his *Plan d'un dictionnaire chinois, avec des notices de plusieurs dictionnaires Chinois mss. et des réflexions sur les travaux exécutés jusqu'à ce jour par les Européens pour faciliter l'étude de la langue chinoise* ⁽⁴⁸⁾.

The Directors of the London Missionary Society had already felt that something should be done by themselves, for Mr. Joshua Marshman of the English Baptist Mission was hard at work in Serampore on the study of Chinese. He published at the same place, in 1809, his *Dissertation on the Character and Sounds of the Chinese language*. When the London Missionary Society began its activities in 1795 and

⁽⁴⁸⁾ For titles and particulars of these and similar publications see H. Cordier, *Bibliotheca Sinica*, Vol. III, Cols. 1639, 1710, 1711, 1712, *passim*.

launched its programme of missionary endeavour in many places, the Directors realised, just as the Catholic missions had felt centuries earlier, how eminently desirable it was that the printed word should be an important factor in the spread of the Message to the world they were hoping to convert.

However, owing to the difficulties attending the introduction of a printing press at Canton where Morrison found, on his own admission, that it was impossible to show that he was engaged in missionary work, the Society considered the convenience of setting up a printery at some place not too far distant from China. For instance, the work being carried out at Serampore was noted for the volume of printing in Chinese done there. Marshman had published his *Clavis Sinica* in 1813, a work which met with the approbation of Orientalists in Europe. He also announced that he was preparing a translation of the Bible in Chinese. But the London Missionary Society and the Baptist elders in England felt that the rivalry between Marshman and Morrison had to stop. They decided in favour of Morrison ⁽⁴⁹⁾. The London Mission Society thereupon decided to set up a small printing press at Malacca.

Meanwhile Morrison at Macao was busily engaged in his studies and translations. In 1814 he ordered from a Chinese printer at Macao 2,000 copies of the *New Testament* (at a cost of \$3,818). This work was based in part on the early Chinese version by a Catholic missionary, which Morrison had seen in London and of which he had had a transcription made ⁽⁵⁰⁾. He also ordered from the Macao Chinese printer 10,000 *tracts* and 5,000 copies of the Catechism he had compiled ⁽⁵¹⁾.

⁽⁴⁹⁾ This is Dr. G. Bonnant's conclusion, *cfr.* G. Bonnant, *op. cit.* p. 7 see also. Cordier, *Bibliotheca Sinica*, Vol. III. Col. 1662.

⁽⁵⁰⁾ See *supra* p. 47. See L. Ride, *Robert Morrison: The scholar and the man*. Hong Kong, University Press, pp. 45-48, where some information is given of Morrison's original transcript, now in the Hong Kong University Library.

⁽⁵¹⁾ Entry in Morrison's *Journal* forwarded to the Missionary Society in 1814. *Memoirs*, Vol. I, pp. 375-6.

THE BRITISH PRINTING PRESS

The senior members of the East India Company's staff in China decided that they, too, might give further tangible assistance to Robert Morrison, and proposals were sent by Mr. Roberts, in 1812, to the Directors in London to send out a whole printing outfit, with a competent printer to run it, so that Morrison might have, in Macao, the benefit of this printing press to further his work. The Court of Directors acceded to the request and in 1813 a printer named Peter Perring Thoms, with a press and fonts of type and all the necessary equipment, was sent from England to Macao. The Court in London did not hesitate to support the Committee in China who felt that the work on the dictionary, on which Morrison was working so assiduously, justified the expense⁽⁵²⁾. Morrison himself felt that «the expenditure to be incurred by the printing of the Dictionary was more than a religious society without ample means could encompass, the Honourable East India Company at length undertook the work, and determined to conduct the enterprise with the liberality for which that influential body is so eminently distinguished»⁽⁵³⁾.

The Chinese authorities at Canton were strict to the point of fanaticism in all that represented the introduction of new thought into China. They might not have opposed the introduction of Christianity, as a religion, but what they feared was the introduction of the new ideas which were part of this religion — ideas that would have conflicted with all the age-old traditions, the classical system of learning and their customs and usages, so closely associated with their system of government. Thus, they would never, at that time, have permitted a printing press run by foreigners at Canton or elsewhere in Chinese territory, and it was kept therefore at Macao. Owing to the friendly relations subsisting between the senior members

⁽⁵²⁾ Morse, *Chronicles*, Vol. III, pp. 178-9; 209 and 240.

⁽⁵³⁾ Morrison's *Memoirs*, Vol. I, pp. 382-3.

of the East India Company's staff and the Portuguese officials at Macao, the latter decided to behave generously and to close an eye, since they could not give their formal consent, all printing in the Portuguese overseas territories being, as has been shown, absolutely prohibited. The Company rented premises for the printing press, and for Mr. Thoms⁽⁵⁴⁾.

Although the Portuguese were not able to enjoy the blessings of printing themselves at Macao, they did, nevertheless, make up their minds to be agreeable to their British friends. By not preventing Morrison's work in the printing of books, therefore, the Portuguese assisted, by winking at the laws in force, although the Portuguese clergy must have deprecated his presence in Macao. In this way the Macao authorities helped Protestantism at Macao, at a time when Catholicism was the state religion of the Portuguese nation.

The value and importance of this friendly gesture should be appreciated, not by the standards and liberal ideas of more recent times, but by the narrow provincialisms and prejudices which prevailed all over Europe and the West at that time. The Gordon Riots in London against Catholicism had taken place not so long before (1780) and the causes of that disturbance were still fresh in men's minds. Nevertheless, here in Macao Catholic officials were giving liberal assistance to a Protestant missionary by allowing the setting up of a printing press which the members of the British community wished to use at Macao.

The Catholic clergy could not have viewed the printing press with any favour, but they did not obstruct it. They might very easily have opposed it, and the law would have been on their side. In their personal relations with Morrison some of them were quite friendly and the Protestant missionary

⁽⁵⁴⁾ No record seems to have been kept of the address of the printery. It seems, from references in the Macao archives, to have been at one time just off Rua Central, in a house owned by Mr. Gonçalo da Silveira.

mentioned, in later letters, that he had made the acquaintance of a Catholic priest, who had called on him and with whom he got on well. And considering that the press set out to assist a Protestant missionary in a field which the Catholics had for two and a half centuries considered their own, it speaks volumes for the tolerance of the officials that no active steps were taken to stop it.

Further help was available from the people of Macao. In the early stages it seems that an attempt was made to employ only Chinese assistants in the printery, but when this proved to be impracticable a number of Portuguese were engaged to help in the cutting of the matrices for the Chinese characters and cast the types for use in the new press. Two or three young Portuguese were also taught typesetting. Unfortunately the names of these assistants do not seem to have been recorded⁽⁵⁶⁾.

With all these encouraging signs it is not surprising that the London Missionary Society thought of sending somebody from London to assist Robert Morrison. Without first verifying whether this was a practical idea they made their decision and Morrison was surprised to find that Mr. William Milne, accompanied by his wife, had turned up one day at Macao. Morrison was pleased with the prospect but he must have known that there would be fresh problems. He thought, possibly, that the East India Company might be willing to help Milne; but he was quickly disillusioned.

The Governor of Macao, Senhor Bernardo Aleixo de Lemos Faria, asked Morrison to call to see him and told him that it would not be possible for Milne to stay in Macao. Morrison pleaded with the Governor but Senhor Lemos Faria told him, to use Morrison's own words: «I have been appealed to against you, for publishing books in Chinese at Macao, but from motives of friendship I forbore...» The Governor went to

⁽⁵⁶⁾ The same may be said with regard to the Portuguese personnel of the East India Company and those of the dozens of foreign businessmen at Macao and Canton.

explain that it was not for want of friendship, therefore, that he could not allow Milne to live in Macao, for he had been ordered by his own Government in Portugal [at the request of the British authorities], not to admit any Europeans in Macao excepting those connected with the Companies, and that the Directors of the English East India Company had themselves requested the Government of Portugal not to allow any Englishman in Macao but those employed by the Company. He concluded by saying that the Macao Senate had addressed him reminding him of these conditions and that the Bishop had drawn his attention to the arrival of William Milne⁽⁵⁶⁾.

Robert Morrison then called upon Mr. J. W. Roberts, the Superintendent of the Company's Select Committee, and asked him to do something, hoping possibly that the Company would give Milne an appointment on the staff, as they had previously done in his case. Roberts expressed his regrets, confessing that he had not the power to do as Morrison requested. It became necessary for Milne to proceed to Canton, where accommodation was provided for him in one of the buildings of the Foreign Factories⁽⁵⁷⁾.

In their Report for the year 1814, the Directors of the London Missionary Society commented on the situation at Macao and after announcing that «the East India Company had sent out a suitable person to print it [the Dictionary] at their expense» went on to state that Milne had arrived at Macao and that Robert Morrison had rejoiced at the prospect of having a companion but that at «the instigation of the Roman Catholic clergy, the Portuguese government ordered

⁽⁵⁶⁾ Extract from Morrison's *Journal*, entry for July 9, 1813, cf. Morrison's *Memoirs*, pp. 365-6.

⁽⁵⁷⁾ *Memoirs*, pp. 366-8, *passim*. The Chinese authorities declined to let Milne remain in Canton and he settled at Malacca. Here he founded the Anglo-Chinese College and set up a printing press, bringing out two magazines, one in English and one in Chinese. Death claimed him seven years later (1822). His biography was written by Morrison and published at Malacca in 1824.

Milne to quit [Macao] in ten days.»⁽⁵⁸⁾ The report also mentioned that as the Chinese did not permit European women to reside at Canton, Mrs. Milne had been allowed to stay at Macao. Mr. Milne had therefore «been separated from his wife». The Report added that «the Society cannot sufficiently lament the wretched bigotry which should render this removal unavoidable.»⁽⁵⁹⁾ Had the Society taken the trouble to make inquiries they would have ascertained the difficulties and they could have spared Milne the vexations to which he had been subjected. Not one word about the real circumstances or the difficulties facing the Portuguese authorities at Macao!

FIRST BOOKS FROM THE E. I. COMPANY PRESS

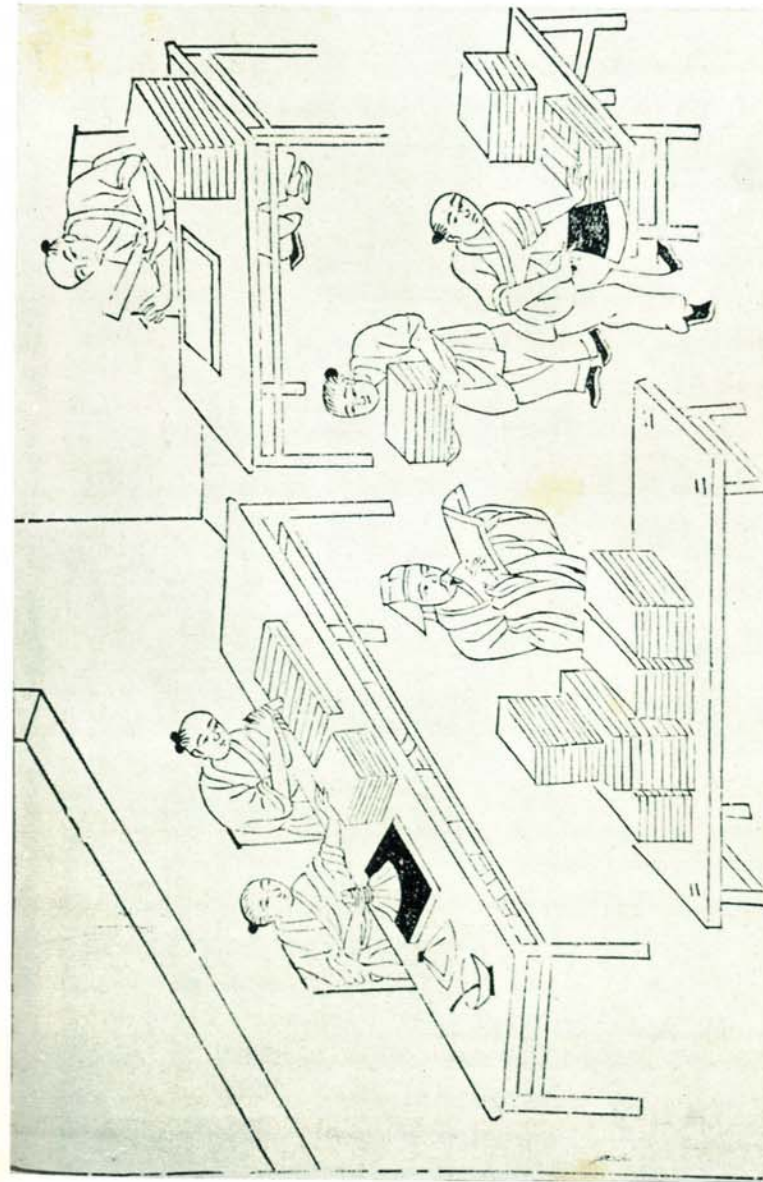
It did not take long for Thoms to begin printing, and early in 1815 the first fruits of his efforts at the new press were ready for distribution. In the case of the English Company's press the Portuguese did not enforce either the press law or the censorship regulations, and the East India Company and, subsequently, other British and American printers, when these followed, enjoyed a privileged immunity against all the restrictions to which the subjects of the King of Portugal had invariably to submit⁽⁶⁰⁾.

The East India Company's servants, seeking to relieve their hosts at Macao of any inconveniences, often, especially in the early stages, omitted the name «MACAO» from the title-pages of their books printed there, but Morrison was not

⁽⁵⁸⁾ Extract from *Report for 1814 of the London Missionary Society*, quoted in *Memoirs*, p. 392.

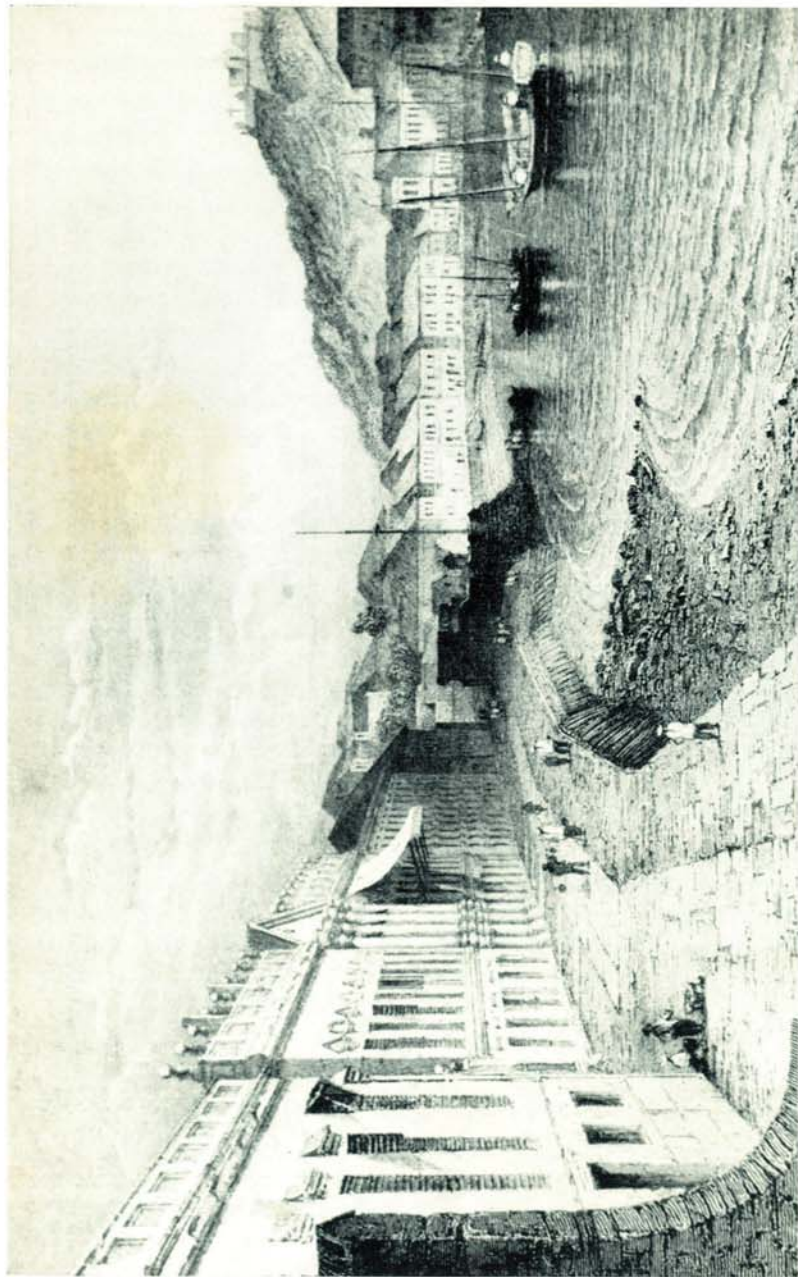
⁽⁵⁹⁾ *Memoirs*, p. 393.

⁽⁶⁰⁾ The value of this privilege was not a small thing, but it never seems to have been appreciated by those who received it. The only writer to mention the friendliness shown by the Portuguese was Rev. Walter Henry Medhurst. (See note 81 *infra*).



Chinese illustration depicting printing by the xylographic process and the binding of books.

(From an ancient Chinese work, in the author's collection)



Picture showing the offices of the English East India Company on the Praia Grande, Macao.

(From *Views in India & China* by Robert Elliott, London, 1834)

so considerate, regardless of the serious difficulties which might have been created in Portugal for the officials at Macao who did not prevent this printing by the foreigners in contravention of the royal decrees. The very first books printed at Macao by Mr. Thoms for his employers show how this happened to be the case. Later, when Portugal had been apprised of the situation there was no longer any need for this precaution.

To John Francis Davis, a member of the East India Company's staff ⁽⁶¹⁾, goes the credit for the first book that came from the press:

San Yu-Low: or the Three Dedicated Rooms.
A tale translated from the Chinese. By J. F. Davis ⁽⁶²⁾.

The paper used for the books produced at Macao was generally bought in China, for it was found that a quality could be obtained locally which was quite serviceable. Copies of the books which have survived are now showing signs of their age, but the paper used at the time filled a distinct need.

The little book written by Mr. Davis was followed by a short work by Robert Morrison, entitled:

Translations of extracts from the Peking Gazette,
from the original Chinese with notes. By Robert Morrison.

Morrison made progress meanwhile on his dictionary and the Select Committee in China were soon able to report to the Directors of the East India Company in London that a

⁽⁶¹⁾ Later, as Sir John Davis, he was Governor of Hong Kong from 1844 to 1848. He had a distinguished career in the service of the East India Company, and was a good Chinese scholar. The last book completed by the E. I. Company's printing press, printed in 1834, was by Mr. Davis. (See *infra* p. 108.)

⁽⁶²⁾ For full titles of this book and the other products of the East India Company's press at Macao see Appendix III.

beginning had been made with the printing. Late in the year 1815 the printer announced the completion of the first volume, and it must have been a proud Mr. Thoms who handed the finished product to his superiors and to Robert Morrison. The book was a bulky one, containing the strange signs of the Chinese characters side by side with the English text.

The East India Company's officials in China reported to their head office that they were sending «six hundred copies to London — 100 for the Company and 500 for Mr. Morrison.»⁽⁶³⁾

Particulars of the book which has been given such a high place in the story of Protestant endeavour in China have appeared in a number of works:

A DICTIONARY OF THE CHINESE LANGUAGE, in three parts. Part the first, containing Chinese and English, arranged according to the Radicals. By the Rev. Robert Morrison. Vol. I. Part. I. Macao: printed at the Honourable East India Company's Press, by P. P. Thoms, 1815, in-4.°, XVIII, 930 pp.⁽⁶⁴⁾

The enthusiasm of all those who were in any way connected with the production of the book must have been considerable. One admirer has gone so far as to exclaim that «there is no finer monument of human perserverance than the dictionary of Dr. Morrison.»⁽⁶⁵⁾

The East India Company did not stint in the matter of the dictionary or, for that matter, of the printing press. The company's accounts show that they disbursed £120 a month on

⁽⁶³⁾ M. B. Morse, *Chronicles*, Vol. III, p. 240.

⁽⁶⁴⁾ *Cfr.* H. Cordier, *Bibliotheca Sinica*, Vol. III, Cols. 1592-94.

⁽⁶⁵⁾ *Cfr.* E. H. Hayes, *Robert Morrison: China's Pioneer*, London, 1925, p. 87. Adulation of their hero has not been so extravagantly expressed by other writers, but it is curious to observe that Protestant writers, until recent years, have practically ignored the pioneering work of the members of the Portuguese mission in China.

字典

DICTIONARY
OF THE
CHINESE LANGUAGE,

IN THREE PARTS.

PART THE FIRST, CONTAINING

CHINESE AND ENGLISH, ARRANGED ACCORDING TO THE RADICALS;

PART THE SECOND,

CHINESE AND ENGLISH ARRANGED ALPHABETICALLY;

AND PART THE THIRD,

ENGLISH AND CHINESE.

BY THE REV. ROBERT MORRISON.

博雅好古之儒有所據以為考究斯亦善讀書者之一大助

THE SCHOLAR WHO IS WELL READ, AND A LOVER OF ANTIQUITY, HAVING AUTHENTIC MATERIALS SUPPLIED HIM TO REFER TO AND INVESTIGATE;—EVEN THIS, IS A VERY IMPORTANT ASSISTANCE TO THE SKILFUL STUDENT. WANG-WOO-TAO.

VOL. I.—PART I.

MACAO:

PRINTED AT THE HONORABLE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S PRESS,

BY P. P. THOMS.

1815.

Title-page of the first volume of Robert Morrison's Dictionary, printed at Macao in 18...

(Courtesy of the University of Hong Kong)

running the printery, besides Mr. Thom's salary (£300 a year) to which has to be added the cost of production, including paper, new materials and type from London, the cutting of matrices for casting the Chinese characters at Macao, travelling and other expenses.

By this time, on the instructions of the British authorities in India, only Portuguese and Bengalis were employed at the printery⁽⁶⁶⁾. A huge sum was laid out before the dictionary was completed; close on £15,000, according to one authority. (The present-day equivalent of this sum would probably be between £300,000 and £400,000). Yet the Company has been accused of giving meagre assistance to evangelisation. One prominent modern writer has even stated that the Company did little else as a body during its long life to help the cause of civilisation in China, but had put every obstacle in the path of missionary enterprise in the country!⁽⁶⁷⁾

As for Macao's part, Macao's generous part, one looks in vain for any acknowledgement. That Robert Morrison was permitted to publish books in the Portuguese settlement, in contravention of Portuguese law, without having to be subjected to censorship, and in opposition to Chinese decrees against Christian evangelisation, thereby prejudicing Macao trade, if not its very existence, if the Chinese officials had chosen to adopt an aggressive view, is completely ignored.

On the other hand much has subsequently been made of passages in Morrison's letters criticising the Portuguese. In one of his early letters, for instance, he says, «the Romish clergy at Macao are considerably alarmed by my coming out. There is every reason to fear that their influence will be exerted

⁽⁶⁶⁾ Morse, *Chronicles*, Vol. III, p. 327, Vol. IV, p. 98 *passim*.

⁽⁶⁷⁾ F. Wells Williams, *The Life and Letters of Samuel Wells Williams*, New York, 1889, p. 73. This expression by the son of the great American missionary, who spent many years in Macao and who was very moderate in his language, is all the more remarkable for this very reason.

⁽⁶⁸⁾ Morrison's *Memoirs*, Letter to Dr. Waugh, dated at Canton, Jan. 5, 1808, Vol. I, p. 214.

against me.»⁽⁶⁸⁾ This was a strange presumption for nothing happened. Not long after the earlier letter, he admitted, «the do negatively what they can against me.»⁽⁶⁹⁾ No evidence can be found anywhere in any records to bear out this assertion by Morrison. Passages such as those have, unfortunately, misled later writers into exclaiming that, in Macao, «Morrison was surrounded by Roman Catholic hostility.»

Dr. W. W. Cadbury and Miss M. H. Jones, writing at Canton, seem to be the only ones to have noticed «Macao's historical importance» in this connection. «She was,» they observe, «the bridge to the almost hermetically sealed city of Canton. Had Macao not belonged to a foreign country, it is safe to say that Christianity and western medicine would not have come into China until a much later date. Because Macao had enjoyed the benefits of medicine for two centuries, western doctors and dispensaries were permitted; Christianity was not stamped out as a barbarian religion and foreigners were not treated as uncivilized creatures. Canton has proved to be the commercial gateway of China but Macao has been the back door at which have stood Pearson who introduced vaccination into China, Morrison who was the first Protestant missionary to the Chinese and the first translator of the Bible into their language, and Colledge, who started an ophthalmic dispensary first in Macao and then in Canton, and who became president of the Medical Missionary Society, the first medical missionary society in the world.

«These three men would not have been able to start their work in Canton which was open for commerce and nothing more... But Macao provided a place where these men could stand while they were knocking at the gate of China. It opened a little way for them, and once started it could never be barred again.»⁽⁷⁰⁾

⁽⁶⁸⁾ Letter to «a friend», presumably in England, dated Dec. 9, *Memoirs*, p. 285.

⁽⁷⁰⁾ W. W. Cadbury and M. H. Jones, *At the Point of a Lancet*, Shanghai, 1935, pp. 6-7.

TRUCULENT MANDARINS

During this period there occurred a revival of anti-Catholic movements in China, leading to persecutions in several places, and although there had not yet been anything tangible which might lead to a clash, growing antagonisms were seeping slowly into Sino-foreign relations. Against Morrison's work too, there was a directive condemning it⁽⁷¹⁾. But the juniors among the Chinese officials knew that as these produced no material benefits to the mandarins concerned in carrying out anti-Christian measures, especially at Canton, such restrictions would not last long. Nevertheless the Court of Directors of the East India Company in London considered that the reports were ominous enough and they took alarm; they gave instructions to the Select Committee in China to dispense with Morrison's services for carrying on Christian evangelisation. The Company's Committee in China knew, however, that the anti-Christian movement was only ephemeral and they did not put the order into effect. They withdrew Morrison's name, it is true, for a time from the Company's books as an employee, but his salary was paid and there was no diminution in the help which had already been promised to him⁽⁷²⁾.

Here was a case in which the experience of the men on the spot enabled them to understand the true situation of affairs, as far as they could observe it. The European traders had dealings with the merchants; they had nothing in common with the cultured classes in the country. Nor had the conduct of some of the Europeans much in it calculated to arouse feelings of friendliness among the Chinese. The subordinate officials had, however, come to learn that pressure brought

⁽⁷¹⁾ In a letter to the London Missionary Society, Robert Morrison referred to a new edict against Christianity in which Europeans were expressly forbidden to print books «in order to pervert the multitude». — *Memoirs*, Vol. I, pp. 334-337, quoting letter dated April 2, 1812.

⁽⁷²⁾ Morse, *Chronicles*, Vol. III, pp. 134-35.

to bear upon the foreigners, for any infractions of the regulations, could be made a fruitful source of income.

It was in the activities of the Company's printery at Macao that the Chinese officials saw an opportunity for obtaining perquisites and, by invoking the regulations which prohibited the preaching of Christianity and those regarding the teaching of Chinese to any foreigner, they sent men to carry out a search of the shop in which the metal types for the Chinese characters were being made. The workmen were detained, but no charge seems to have been laid against them, for «the application of a *douceur* to the clerks in the office» was sufficient to secure their release, and a local settlement was made, satisfactory to the mandarins. The Company's linguist was punished as the scapegoat and transported to Kansu province ⁽⁷³⁾.

An incident took place not long afterwards which might have been more serious. It appears that a quarrel had broken out among Morrison's Chinese workmen, one of whom to revenge himself on some of his colleagues among the type-cutters sent a sheet of the Dictionary, then being printed, to the District Magistrate, who had thereupon to transmit the matter to his superiors in Canton. This was the *Kunming Fu* at Canton ⁽⁷⁴⁾ who was, fortunately for the British, more interested in the maintenance of trade relations than in carrying out the imperial regulations in what seemed to him to be a purely local matter. He sent word confidentially to the members of the *Co-Hong*, the group of merchants permitted to trade with the foreigners at Canton, that a search was about to be made of the printery, presumably with the hint

⁽⁷³⁾ H. B. Morse, *Chronicles*, Vol. III, pp. 240-241. The Company paid some compensation to the man and, we may presume, to his family.

⁽⁷⁴⁾ *Kunming Fu* appears in Morrison's original, but it has not been possible to trace the term in available reference books. From the context this must have been one of the judiciary officers in Canton. In his own *View of China*, Macao, 1817, Robert Morrison does not seem to have listed an officer with this title.

that precautions should be taken and more discretion exercised. In due course, some weeks later, after the wheels of justice had ground along, about twenty-five Chinese soldiers appeared at the East India Company's printery at Macao declaring that «they came with the authority of the *Tso-tang* [the District Magistrate]». They took away some printed sheets and some specimens of the Chinese type and they arrested one of the Chinese employed at the Press ⁽⁷⁵⁾.

The Viceroy at Canton could not ignore the matter entirely. The Portuguese complained to the Chinese authorities of the violation of Portuguese territory, a complaint which was ignored, and the Select Committee of the Company appealed to the Viceroy for clemency, their plea being granted and the prisoner released. The charge must have been squashed for the Viceroy seems to have treated the affair lightly. Nevertheless he must have hinted, through the Chinese merchants, that the Company should avoid any semblance of infraction against the law that prohibited the teaching of the Chinese language to foreigners, for the Company was breaking the law by printing books in Chinese. This led the Select Committee to decide to replace the Chinese workmen by Portuguese assistants to go on with the work, a ready solution to the difficulty. But the Company also decided to get Bengalis from Serampore, men who had had some experience in cutting Chinese types at the Mission press there. They wrote to Lord Moira, the Governor-general of Bengal, and he acceded to the request, sending four of the men who had been doing this work in India, and the Company obtained permission from the Portuguese for them to stay in Macao ⁽⁷⁶⁾.

And what were Macao's feelings in the matter? Unfortunately for the Portuguese authorities, here was a case in which Chinese workmen were helping a British concern to do

⁽⁷⁵⁾ Morrison's letter to Dr. Waugh, Feb. 24, 1817, *Memoirs*, pp. 473-474.

⁽⁷⁶⁾ H. B. Morse, *Chronicles*, Vol. III, pp. 251-252.

something against the Chinese law. This was being done in Portuguese territory, however, and the authorities must have felt most embarrassed by the conduct of the mandarins, even though these men acted on an accusation lodged by disgruntled members of Morrison's staff against their own colleagues. They had long realised, just as the Select Committee of the English Company knew when they agreed to «the application of a douceur to the clerks in the office», that the only thing to do was to try to avoid unpleasant incidents, and principally by the avoidance of any act which might lead to any cause for action by the mandarins (77).

It was an unfortunate method, but to understand the reason why it prevailed one must appreciate the great gulf between the European and the Oriental viewpoints of life and morals during that period of international relations. Most important it is necessary to remember the methods adopted by the materialistically-minded officials of the Chinese administrative system and the growing volume of corruption with which the Chinese civil service was saddled, a terrible plague of peculation which was undermining the country and which brought such disaster to the nation. For many years, Macao had had to accept the inevitable and bow before the force which the Chinese officials could bring to bear. Far from help, or even the hope of help, at a time when the Portuguese monarchy was absent in Brazil and a British military junta ruled the country following the Napoleonic wars, Macao had, all too often, to knuckle down before the corrupt mandarin, always on the look out for some means of exploiting their positions to make money (78).

(77) The old records of the office of the Procurator of Macao, the official in charge of dealings with the Chinese, disappeared long ago, eaten by bookworms and white ants, which explains many of the gaps in Macao's history of its relations with the mandarins.

(78) C. A. Montalto de Jesus stresses this repeatedly in his *Historic Macao*, Macao, 1926, pp. 41-3; 50; 52; 76; 117-18; 122; 124-5; 174; 179-80, *passim*. A serious study of this subject has yet to be undertaken, Foreign

Excepting for this incident the East India Company's printery had no trouble in the matter of printing at Macao, and the work went on steadily and without interruption for another twenty years. This was an advantage which the English enjoyed (79).

The Portuguese ecclesiastical authorities now asked that they should also be given permission to print and they were allowed, without official authorisation, to publish books in Chinese for evangelical purposes. This was done at St. Joseph's College where, in 1815, a collection of the lives of the Saints in 24 volumes was printed. This was followed by a number of books of an apologetic nature, in Chinese, all printed xylographically from wooden blocks. Even for this the authorities at Macao felt that it would be well to obtain the King's approval. Letters were sent therefore to Rio de Janeiro, the capital in exile of Portugal during the Napoleonic invasions and for several years after, and formal permission was granted in 1819.

sources contain many references to the extortions practised by the mandarins, and H. B. Morse, *The Chronicles of the East India Company trading to China, 1635-1834*, Oxford, 1926-1929 (5 vols.) gives many instances of reports sent by the Select Committee in China to the Court of Directors in London. See also R. Montgomery Martin, *China: Political, Commercial and Social*, London, Vol. I, pp. 129-30; S. Wells Williams, *The Middle Kingdom*, New York, 1883, Vol. I, pp. 294-5; A. Krausse, *China in Decay*, London, 1900, pp. 57-69; E. H. Parker, *China: Her History, Diplomacy and Commerce*, London, 1917, pp. 207-9; to name only a few references by foreign students of Chinese history. Macao was particularly vulnerable to the rapaciousness of the mandarins and the archives, depleted though they have become, contain abundant evidence of a long succession of demands made by the Chinese officials. See *Archivos de Macau*, Macau, 1929-30 (3 volumes); A. F. Marques Pereira, *As Alfandegas Chinesas de Macau*, Macau, 1870; Bento de França, *Subsídios para a História de Macau*, Lisboa, 1888; Eudore de Colomban, *Histoire Abregee de Macau*, Peking, 1928, etc.

(79) In due course, after printing had been officially authorised in 1822, others were also permitted to do printing at Macao, among them private individuals not only Portuguese but other British and American missionaries.

It was not until 1828, however, that Portuguese books were printed at St. Joseph's College in Macao ⁽⁸⁰⁾.

The Portuguese had to submit their books and newspapers for approval by the censors, but the foreigners were not compelled to do the same. By this time the Chinese officials had got used to seeing the Portuguese and foreign printeries at work, and what had once been an innovation which was against their laws, especially when Chinese books and pamphlets circulated among the Chinese people, became commonplace. Foreign books and even Chinese books printed by foreigners came, in time, to be ignored, and printing at Macao was not the object of their self-righteous zeal. Protestant missionaries enjoyed, therefore, in the little Portuguese settlement considerable freedom of action in this connection ⁽⁸¹⁾.

⁽⁸⁰⁾ *The Chinese Repository*, Macao, 1833, p. 504. These booklets and others printed then at Macao are all now extremely rare.

For the correspondence on the subject of permission for printing to be carried out at St. Joseph's College see Appendix IV.

⁽⁸¹⁾ Rev. Walter Henry Medhurst was one of the missionary authors whose books were so printed, and from him came acknowledgment of the benefits they enjoyed at Macao. He was Morrison's successor as lexicographer in China and, writing in 1838, he comments on the advantages which residence at Macao offered: «The houses all belong to the Portuguese»; into the dwellings of Europeans, the Chinese never enter, not even to apprehend offenders of their own nation. Thus, a foreigner has only to rent the dwelling of a Portuguese citizen, and that house is his castle, where he may print books, in any quantities, without danger of interference from the mandarins; he may even have a Chinese school, and retain a number of writers and teachers about him, so long as these do not put themselves in the way of the native police. A missionary who intends carrying on Chinese printing, in Macao, should be somewhat acquainted with the language and employ principally foreign servants, so that no natives may be implicated in vexatious proceedings, on his account. He may then open his doors to any poor or enquiring Chinese, who may come to him for relief or advice, while he shuts them against all police officers, who are, in China, the least respectable part of the population». W. H. Medhurst, *China: Its State and Prospects*, London, 1838, p. 283.

The publication of the first volume of Morrison's dictionary was followed by energetic efforts on the succeeding volumes. While this work went on, Morrison plodded away enthusiastically with his Chinese assistants as translators, while Mr. Thoms with his Portuguese and Bengali assistants was able to devote a little time to the printing of other books. Some, if not all of these, have been recorded in the standard bibliographies of China, and are occasionally met with in booksellers' catalogues.

One of these was by Robert Morrison:

Dialogues and Detached Sentences in the Chinese Languages: with a free and verbal translation in English.

The book was brought out under the supervision of Mr. James Bannerman, a member of the staff of the East India Company and a student of Chinese ⁽⁸²⁾. This was necessary as Robert Morrison with other members of the Company's staff in China was absent from Macao, accompanying Lord Amherst, H. B. M. Ambassador, on his embassy to the Emperor of China. Among the others, also in the capacity of interpreters, were Messrs. Francis Hastings Toone, John Francis Davis and Thomas Manning. Mr. Samuel Ball, senior Tea Inspector, also joined the entourage of Lord Amherst ⁽⁸³⁾.

As a result of the embassy several books were written. One of these was by Robert Morrison, but it was published at

⁽⁸²⁾ *Cfr.* Preface; William Milne, *A retrospect of the first ten years of the Protestant Mission to China*, Malacca, 1820, p. 186.

⁽⁸³⁾ Morse, *Chronicles*, p. 295.

Enthusiasts in London soon began to display considerable interest in China and the rest of the Far East, and a monthly publication, the *Asiatic Journal* was launched at London, in 1816. It appeared regularly until 1843.

London⁽⁸⁴⁾. One, a pamphlet, by Samuel Ball was printed on the Company's press at Macao:

Observations on the Expediency of opening a Second Port in China.

Dated July 2, 1816 the booklet contains an observation that it was «Written on the occasion of Lord Amherst's Embassy to Peking». A few copies were printed at the Company's Press at Macao, early in the year 1817, for private circulation only⁽⁸⁵⁾.

In the same year Mr. Thoms decided to issue a prospectus calling the attention of those who might be interested to the value of Robert Morrison's *Chinese Dictionary*:

The public are hereby respectfully informed that there is now published at Macao, in China, a *Dictionary of the Chinese Language*; to consist of three parts...

(84) Morrison's book describing the Embassy was entitled *A Memoir of the Principal Occurrences during an Embassy from the British Government to the Court of China in the year 1816*. — London, 1819, in-8, pp. 68. This was followed by an edition in 1820, also published at London, while one by Sir G. T. Staunton appeared in 1824, and one by J. F. Davis was undated. The account by Henry Ellis appeared in 1817, that by Clarke Abel in 1818, that by J. Wolcott in 1817. One by W. A. Kentish was undated.

(85) In his booklet Mr. Ball urges the advantages of trading at a port closer to the Chinese tea-producing districts and he suggested that the Company should endeavour to make arrangements to set up establishments at Fukien. The Select Committee commented on the idea and felt it was a good one, but since the Chinese authorities at Canton would have opposed any change in the commercial set-up in Kwangtung nothing was done to press the point. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. VI, pp. 182-221; Morse, *Chronicles*, Vol. III, pp. 313-314.

The Author of the above work, the Rev. R. Morrison, has directed his attention to the collection of materials for it during the last ten years...

Printed by P. Thoms, Macao, 1817⁽⁸⁶⁾.

Robert Morrison also decided to publish separately some material which he had gathered, of an informative nature, on the history, geography, administration and aspects of Chinese culture and philosophy, or connected with China, which he had originally intended incorporating in his dictionary. He felt that this could very well be used as a short work of reference, with this information carefully set out, and that it would be welcomed by those keen on obtaining a *vade-mecum* of this nature. He decided, therefore, to ask the Select Committee to approve the idea, and the book appeared in 1817:

A View of China, for Philological Purposes; containing a Sketch of Chinese Chronology, Geography, Government, Religion & Customs. Designed for the use of persons who study the Chinese Language.

The book proved to be popular and there was an instant demand for copies in the United Kingdom, the U. S. A., and elsewhere⁽⁸⁷⁾.

(86) According to Henri Cordier a copy of this Prospectus, which also contains a list of the subscribers, may be seen in the Vatican Library. (H. Cordier, *Bibliotheca Sinica*, Col. 3901). A notice concerning the publication of the Dictionary also appeared in *The East India Register and Directory for 1817* a facsimile of which appears in L. Ride, *Robert Morrison: the Scholar and the Man*, Hong Kong, 1957, p. 14.

(87) In London, Antonio Montucci, an Italian Orientalist who, like Morrison, was interested in compiling a Chinese dictionary, published a study to which he gave the title: [*Urh-Chih-Tsze-Teen-Se-Yin-Pe-Keaou*]; being a Parallel drawn between the two Intended Chinese Dictionaries: by the Rev. Robert Morrison, and Antonio Montucci, LL. D. ... together

Another little book appeared in 1818. It was written by Robert Morrison and although some bibliographers have stated that it was printed at Macao, there is good reason to believe that it was printed at Malacca:

Familiar Lectures on the Philippians, delivered at Macao by Robert Morrison. [n.p., n.d.] — in-12, pp. v. 280.

Morrison went on steadily with his Dictionary and Thoms was kept busy at the printing press with the material which was turned over to him. In 1819, the first volume of Part II of the Dictionary appeared. It was somewhat bulkier than Part I, and bore the title:

A Dictionary of the Chinese Language, in Three Parts. Part the Second. Chinese and English, arranged phonetically.

Like its predecessor this book was accepted as an important contribution to the study of Chinese. The author was encouraged to greater efforts and had the satisfaction of

with Morrison's Horae Sinicae, a new edition, with the Text to the Popular Chinese Primer San-Tsi-King. London: printed for the Author ... 1817. This book does not seem to have created a stir among scholars, and Montucci's projected dictionary was probably never completed.

A small book by J. F. Davis, of the East India Company's establishment in China, appeared at London, (*Lao Sing Urh*): «An heir in his old age». *A Chinese drama, translated from the original Chinese: to which is prefixed a brief view of the Chinese drama and of their theatrical exhibitions.* — London, 1817 — in-8, pp. 164.

This year (1817) also saw the beginning of the *Indo-Chinese Gleaner*, edited by Wm. Milne and printed at Malacca. It appeared irregularly until 1822, 20 numbers in all. Milne and Morrison were the principal contributors. Many of its papers were reprinted in *The Chinese Repository* (see pp. 96-97 *infra*).

seeing the second volume of this part completed a year later. The printer kept pace with the author's assiduity and the new book appeared in the same year ⁽⁸⁸⁾.

In order to be able to carry out his work more effectively Mr. Thoms had himself been taking an interest in the study of Chinese and had made such progress that he was able to translate a Chinese story into English. This he did so commendably that the book proved to be quite popular at the time among those interested in the subject:

The Affectionate Pair, or the History of Sun-kin. A chinese tale. Translated from the Chinese by P. P. Thoms.

This little book was printed at Macao.

Five years had elapsed since the first volume of the Chinese Dictionary had appeared and thirteen years since Robert Morrison had arrived in China. From 1817 all those connected with the publication of the Dictionary had been concentrating wholeheartedly on the work, and Thoms had the satisfaction of finishing the last three volumes during the years 1822 and 1823, thus completing the six-volume set of the Dictionary ⁽⁸⁹⁾.

MACAO'S FIRST NEWSPAPERS

Late in 1821 word reached Macao that changes had taken place in Portugal and that the British High Command, which had been governing the country during the Napoleonic War

⁽⁸⁸⁾ A reprint of the Second Part of Morrison's *Dictionary* was made by the London Mission Press, at Shanghai in 1865, in 2 vols.

⁽⁸⁹⁾ A short book of a different nature appeared at London in 1820. By John Slade, it was entitled, *Notices on the British Trade to the Port of Canton*, in-8, pp. 104.

and for over a decade after its conclusion, had had to relinquish control of Portugal. A Portuguese constitutional assembly was convoked and provision was made for a monarchy with only suspensory powers, while reforms of many kinds were announced. Among these was the right to print not only in the Mother Country but in all the overseas provinces as well.

The tussle for power dragged on, however, and finally there emerged two parties: the *Constitutionalists* (Conservatives), who favoured the restoration of the old King John VI and his son Pedro, and the *Absolutists*, who were on the side of the anti-British Prince Miguel, the younger son of King John. The latter party was also known as the *Miguelistas*.

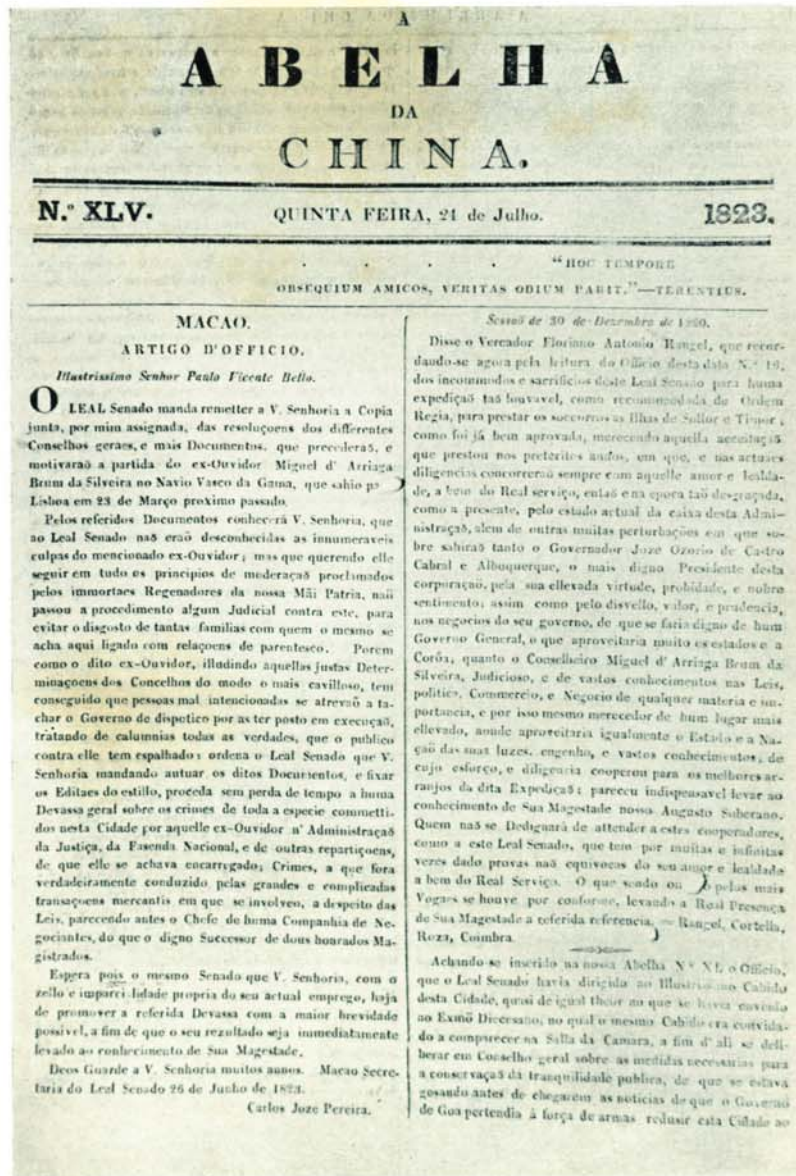
At Macao the *Conservatives* were turned out of office by the adherents of the Absolutist party, under Major Paulino da Silva Barbosa, and they maintained themselves at the head of affairs for about a year.

Under this party the first newspaper in Macao was published. It went under the name of:

A ABELHA DA CHINA (90).

The first number appeared on Thursday, Sept, 12, 1822, and it was born, like its sponsors, in an atmosphere of political disquiet, its career being punctuated by quarrels involving the people of Macao. The members of the group which ran this

(90) Translated literally this would read: «The Bee of China». No reason seems to have been given as to why this title was chosen, but there was a newspaper with a similar name in Portuguese India. It has been suggested somewhat sarcastically by C. A. Montalto de Jesus, *Historic Macao*, Macao, 1926, p. 279: that this newspaper went «buzzing with the characteristic turbulence of that [the Dominican] monastic order, the *Abelha* proved a veritable wasp for the conservative party». There is nothing to show, however, that the idea of stinging their opponents to anger motivated the choice of the title, the bee being noted also for its industry.



One of the issues of Macao's first newspaper, *A Abelha da China*, 1822-1823.

(From the author's collection)

A
VIEW OF CHINA,
FOR
PHILOLOGICAL PURPOSES;
CONTAINING
A SKETCH
OF
CHINESE CHRONOLOGY, GEOGRAPHY,
GOVERNMENT, RELIGION & CUSTOMS.
DESIGNED
FOR THE USE OF PERSONS WHO STUDY THE
CHINESE LANGUAGE.

BY THE REV. R. MORRISON.

MACAO: PRINTED
AT THE HONORABLE THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S PRESS,
BY P. P. THOMS.
PUBLISHED AND SOLD BY BLACK, PARRURY, AND ALLEN, BOOKSELLERS TO THE
HONORABLE EAST INDIA COMPANY, LONDON.

1817.

Title-page of an early product of the English East India Company's printing press at Macao.

(From the author's collection)

paper attempted, through its columns, to impose upon the people of Macao the opinions and feelings of the men who sought to rule the little settlement in those days.

Published weekly, *A Abelha da China* was generally of 4 pages. In size it was a quarto sheet, printed in small type on Chinese-made paper and, owing to the quality of the paper used, it is surprising that any copies have survived. It had for editor the hot-tempered prior of the Dominican order at Macao, Frey António de S. Gonzaga de Amarante.

This journal printed not only the views and orders of the political party in power but, when short of material, also reproduced a number of contemporary documents, including Chinese documents in Portuguese translation. When there was lack of material a few older documents and miscellaneous information also appeared in its columns. So far as it has been possible to ascertain complete collections of this paper are not known to exist now in any library⁽⁹¹⁾.

Among articles of interest published in *A Abelha da China*, during the short-lived existence of this journal, may be mentioned:

Notes and Information sent by the Secretary of State for Overseas' Affairs in connection with instructions to be drawn up at Goa for the guidance of the Bishop of Peking as regards dealings with the Chinese respecting Macao.

This document had been sent by the Viceroy to the Governor of Macao, Senhor Bernardo Aleixo de Lemos

(91) A complete collection was to be found, with other early Macao newspapers, in the Macao Club Library. Another complete collection was in the office of the Procurator of Macao, and Mr. Aureolano Jorge, Macao, is reported to have had a collection which was believed to be almost complete. These collections have disappeared, having fallen victims to white ants and other insects. An incomplete collection is said to exist in the Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, at Lisbon.

Faria, in 1784. The Macao original has not survived but a copy may be seen at Lisbon.

View on Counsellor Miguel de Arriaga Brum da Silveira and the state of his affairs.

A scathing attack on the judge, who, leader of the Conservative party, had escaped to Canton. It held up the Judge to ridicule for engaging in business and for the sorry results which followed. It was written by Francisco José da Paiva and appeared on November 14, 1822.

Letter from the Governor of Portuguese India to the Leal Senado (the Municipal Government) of Macao.

These letters were dated at Goa April 11, 1823, April 20, 1823 and April 24, 1823, respectively. They were published on June 26, 1823.

Supplement to «A Abelha da China», dated July 10, 1823.

contains correspondence exchanged with the Chinese authorities regarding the presence of the Portuguese frigate *Salamandra*, transcriptions of documents connected with a public meeting held at the Leal Senado on June 16, 1823, and extracts from the «Gazeta de Goa», dated March 1, 1823 and April 12, 1823, regarding the political situation at Macao.

Letters exchanged between the Leal Senado and several citizens.

Among the letters published were those by Baron S. João do Porto Alegre, Counsellor Manoel Pereira,

Domingos Pio Marques, Rev. Father José Joaquim Pereira de Miranda, Rafael Bottado d'Almeida, Cláudio Adriano da Costa, Ludgero Joaquim da Faria Neves and others.

Minutes of Council Meetings and correspondence on the political situation at Macao.

Published on July 24, 1823.

Letters from the Governor-General of Goa, dated April 24, 1823 and various papers bearing on the situation at Macao and in Portugal.

Published on August 21, 1823.

Extracts [so-called] from newspapers published at Paris, London and New York on the political situation in Portugal and other matters.

Published on August, 28, 1823.

Every issue of *A Abelha da China*, bore the words: «Visado pela censura» (Passed by the censorship), or «Printed at the Government Printery». This requirement in the case of every Portuguese and Chinese publication at Macao has been maintained to the present day⁽⁹²⁾. As has been stated repeatedly, the foreigners at Macao were not required, until modern times, to get prior approval for their books and newspapers, although censorship was, and still is, the law in Portugal and its provinces overseas.

⁽⁹²⁾ Excepting for a short period from August 11, 1842, when the Government Council at Macao abolished the Board of Censors, until 1844, when Governor José Gregorio Pegado, on instructions from Lisbon, reintroduced it, and after the establishment of the Portuguese Republic, 1910, for a short time.

When the «absolutist» party was overthrown, the editor and others connected with this journal escaped to Canton (Sept. 23, 1823) and thence to India. The newspaper then became the organ of the «Conservatives», with Mr. António José da Rocha nominated as editor⁽⁹³⁾.

The Conservative party, when it returned to power, called the newspaper «an aggressive journal», although Robert Morrison, then living at Macao, and without knowing much about the political background, called it «a liberal attempt which the restoration of legitimate power has suppressed.»⁽⁹⁴⁾

The last number appeared on Dec. 27, 1823, when it was replaced by the more moderate,

GAZETA DE MACAO

the first number of which appeared on Jan. 3, 1824, the last number on Dec. 30, 1826.

Printed at the Senate, this paper was of a semi-official character, but it contained social news and other material of a serious nature. The nominal editor was António José da Rocha but the paper was directed by Frey José da Conceição, prior of the Augustinian monastery, where the editorial office was situated.

This newspaper served as the vehicle for the publication of governmental orders and important news from Portugal, and Portuguese translations of correspondence exchanged with the Chinese officials, on subjects like the foreign traders (principally British) at Canton, on the anchoring of foreign ships at Lintin Island, the opium traffic, &c.

⁽⁹³⁾ Frey S. Gonzalo de Amarante with Domingos José Gomes and João Nepomuceno Maher managed to get away to Canton where they took ship for Calcutta some months later. The «aggressive» number, dated August 28, 1823, was, by order of the Court, burned at the gate of the Provincial Court of Justice.

⁽⁹⁴⁾ Morrison's *Memoirs*, Vol. II, p. 383.

The subject of trade at Macao was also favoured in this paper's early days. An important item of news was the reference to the arrivals and departures of ships, with the names of their captains and often those of the passengers and particulars of some of the goods carried. Beginning with the issue of March 20, 1824, price lists of merchandise on sale at Canton were published. Particulars of goods listed in the Macao Customs were also given.

Correspondence between the authorities and some of Macao's citizens was published. Among these were Counsellor Miguel Arriaga, Simão Vicente da Roza, Barão de S. João de Porto Alegre and João de Deus de Castro.

When material of local interest was difficult to get, long extracts from European newspapers, from places like Lisbon, Madrid, Paris, London, Barcelona, St. Petersburg, Rome, and even Trieste, Odessa, Cadiz, Bayonne, Gibraltar and other places found their way into the columns of *Gazeta de Macao*. News items from the United States of America and South American countries were also published in the Macao newspaper. Among articles of historical interest were some about the Portuguese in Japan and Burma, but these were few and far between.

The editors seem to have run out of material of local interest by the end of 1825 and this newspaper was generally filled with extracts from newspapers from places all over the world. It is not surprising that the public lost interest and the newspaper closed down for want of support.

The printing press was subsequently lent to the College of St. Joseph, where it did very useful work in the printing of several books and for training Portuguese lads as printers and compositors. This training stood the young men in good stead, later, in Hong Kong, where for many years the only printers and compositors were Portuguese from Macao.

With the closure of the *Gazeta de Macao*, the Portuguese reading public at Macao were left without a newspaper in Portuguese published locally for nearly eight years.

Mention must also be made of a number of small publications, and in Robert Morrison's *Memoirs* may be seen references to several other papers, some being transcribed *in extenso*. But as it is not clear whether they were in manuscript form or from printed copies, these are not included in the present list of titles of books published at the East India Company's printing press at Macao⁽⁹⁵⁾.

Among the books which were certainly published at Macao may be mentioned:

A Grammar of the English Language. For the use of the Anglo-Chinese College. By Rev. Robert Morrison⁽⁹⁶⁾.

(Hien Wun Shoo) — Chinese Moral Maxims, with a free and verbal translation; affording examples of the Grammatical Structure of the Language. Compiled by J. F. Davis.

⁽⁹⁵⁾ Morrison, *Memoirs*, Vol. II. Appendix, pp. 7-10; 11-32; 33-39; 39-42; S. Kidd, *Critical Notices of Dr. Morrison's Literary Labours*, as an appendix in *Memoirs*, Vol. II.

⁽⁹⁶⁾ As the title indicates, this was a small textbook, and should not be confused with an earlier work by Morrison, *A Grammar of the Chinese Language by the Rev. Robert Morrison. Printed at the Mission Press, Serampore, 1815*, in-4, pp. vi, 280. (Sent by the East India Company's Select Committee to India in 1811, publication did not take place until 1815). According to H. Cordier, *Bibliotheca Sinica*, Vol. III, Col. 1661-2, the original manuscript was to be found [in October, 1873] among the books in the Hong Kong City Hall Library, a copy book of 168 pp., signed: «Macao, April 2nd, 1811». It is not known if this manuscript was still in the City Hall Library when formal authorisation was given in 1914 for this library to be transferred to the custody of the Hong Kong University; it is not in the University Library now.

A little spate of books appeared at London in 1822/23, when the following are recorded: J. F. Davis, *Chinese Novels, Proverbs, etc.*; London, 1822; G. T. Staunton, *Miscellaneous Notices of China*, London, 1822; G. T. Staunton, *Corrected Speeches on the China Trade*, London, 1822; Peter Dobell, *Narrative of a residence in China*, London, 1823.

With the completion of the Chinese-English Dictionary, Mr. Thoms' agreement with the Honourable East India Company ended, and the Select Committee, having received instructions from the Directors in London to limit their expenditure on the printing press to not more than 1,500 taels (about £450) a year, had no alternative but to inform Mr. Thoms that he should return to England by one of the ships leaving for England in 1823. This gentleman asked, however, to be permitted to remain in China for another year, undertaking to run the printing press for the sum to which the Company had been restricted⁽⁹⁷⁾.

There are quite a number of references in the records of the East India Company to the printing press and its work, as well as to P. P. Thoms. From these references it can be seen that the expenses generally amounted annually to:

| | |
|-----------------------------------|---------|
| Mr. Thoms' salary | \$1,250 |
| House rent | 125 |
| Other expenditure (average) | 5,253 |

which was not low, for in endeavouring to arrive at its modern equivalent we have to multiply this by about twenty to twenty-five. It is obvious that the sums indicated do not include other

⁽⁹⁷⁾ H. B. Morse, *Chronicles*, Vol. III, pp. 209, 240, 251-2, 313, 327, 343 *passim*.

The publication by F. Kelly of *Oriental Meteorology* at London, in 1822, and by John White of *History of a voyage in the China Sea* at Boston, in 1823, served to draw the attention of many to what was going on at the South China coast, of useful work by a small group of enthusiasts. Further evidence of this came from a small book, printed at the Mission Press, Malacca, lauding the services of William Milne and written by Robert Morrison: *Memoirs of the Rev. William Milne, late Missionary to China and Principal of the Anglo-Chinese College: compiled from Documents written by the Deceased; to which are added occasional Remarks* — Malacca, 1824. A short sketch based on this work appeared at Dublin in 1825: *Memoir of Rev. W. Milne, late missionary at Malacca*. (See note 57 *supra*).

expenses in England, passages and other items which must have been lumped together with other disbursements ⁽⁹⁸⁾.

Mr. Thoms brought out two more books before leaving the Far East:

A Vocabulary containing Chinese words and phrases peculiar to Canton and Macao and to the Trade of those Places; together with the titles and address of all the Officers of Government, Hong Merchants, etc., etc. Alphabetically arranged, and intended as an Aid to Correspondence and Conversation in the Native Language.

The author's name does not appear in the book but it is known that it was written by J. F. Davis. This was a useful little work, and has served as the model for later books on the same lines ⁽⁹⁹⁾.

Another book by Mr. Thoms himself completes this printer's direct connection with printing at Macao:

Hwa Tsien (the Flower's Leaf), Chinese Courtship. In verse. To which is added an Appendix treating of the Revenue of China, etc., etc. By Peter Perring Thoms.

The printed story is accompanied by the text, and although it is written in heptameters in the original, it is a very prosaic composition. An appendix of forty pages contains many notices of the revenue of China and other matters ⁽¹⁰⁰⁾.

⁽⁹⁸⁾ Morse, *Chronicles*, Vol. IV, pp. 89 and 98.

⁽⁹⁹⁾ H. Cordier, *Bibliotheca Sinica*, Vol. III, cols. 1595-6.

⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ In London several books about China were published in 1824. Robert Morrison was the author of a book which was published, entitled *Translation of a Singular Proclamation issued by the Fooyuen of Canton*, London, in-4. Other books appearing in the same year were M. Breton's

A WIDENING HORIZON

From the East India Company's records, so painstakingly edited by H. B. Morse, it can be seen that «Mr. Thoms, the printer, returned to England by the Company's ship *London* in March, 1825». As he sailed from the Pearl River, Thoms must have stood at the railing as the vessel swept past Macao, and as he took his last look at the place where he had spent some of the best years of his life, the printer might have given a thought to his contribution, albeit an important one, to a chapter in Macao's and the Western impact on the Far East ⁽¹⁰¹⁾.

In this humble printer, Morrison had a loyal hero-worshipper, for Thoms' interest in Robert Morrison's work did not cease with his departure from Macao. After the missionary's death, when Mrs. Eliza Morrison — Robert Morrison's second wife, who did not know a very great deal about the details of his early career at Macao — was compiling the *Memoirs*, she turned to Thoms not only to print the book but also for information for the commentaries on the letters and other papers in her task ⁽¹⁰²⁾.

China, its Costumes, Arts, &c., in four volumes and *China: Dialogues between a Father and his two children concerning the history and present state of that country*. By an Anglo-Chinese, [Robert Morrison] in-24, pp. 120.

⁽¹⁰¹⁾ Morse, *Chronicles*, Vol. IV, p. 98.

⁽¹⁰²⁾ The book appeared at London, in 1839, in two volumes, printed by «P. P. Thoms, at 12, Warwick Square». The full title of this book reads:

MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE AND LABOURS OF ROBERT MORRISON, D. D. F. R. S., M. R. A. S., Member of the Society Asiatique of Paris, &c. &c. compiled by his widow; with critical notices of his Chinese works, by Samuel Kidd, and An Appendix containing Original Documents, («He being dead yet speaketh» — Heb., XII, 4), in two volumes. London: London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longmans. MDCCCXXXIX.

With the departure of Mr. Thoms there appears to have been a slackening of interest in the Honourable Company's printing press for a few years, although it is possible that books were actually printed but have not been recorded in the standard bibliographies of early Western printing in the Far East (¹⁰³).

The year 1824 marks yet another important event in the story of the bibliography of Macao by the publication at Lisbon of a book dealing exclusively with Macao after a silence of nearly two centuries. The last recorded book having to do with a subject solely about Macao and published was Father João Marques Moreira's *Relação da magestosa, misteriosa, e notavel aclamaçam, que se fez a Magestade d'El Rey Dom Joam o IV nosso Senhor na Cidade do nome de Deos do grande Imperio da China, & festas que se fizerão pelos Senhores do Governo publico, & outras pessoas particulares. Lisboa, Domingos Lopes Rosa, 1644*. Other books published had contained references to Macao, including xylographic works printed in China, but these were passing references.

(¹⁰³) After completing the *Dictionary* Robert Morrison visited Malacca and then returning to Macao he sailed for England. He arrived there early in 1824. His reputation had been made and he had already in 1818, been made a Doctor of Divinity. In England the Royal Society elected him a Fellow and he spent two years in the country, preaching, attending meetings of learned societies, consulted by many, and writing a great deal about China. A book, started during his voyage home, *China: Dialogues, &c.* (See p. 81 *supra*) was published soon after arrival, and in 1826 another book by the same writer appeared: *A Parting Memorial: consisting of Miscellaneous Discourses, written and preached in China; at Singapore; on board Ship at Sea, in the Indian Ocean; at the Cape of Good Hope; and in England. With Remarks on the Missions, &c., &c.* By Robert Morrison, D. D., F. R. S., M. E. A. S., President of the Anglo-Chinese College; Member of the Société Asiatique of Paris; Author of a Chinese Dictionary; Translator of the Sacred Scriptures &c., London, W. Simpkin & Marshall, 1826.

Written by José Ignacio Andrade, a merchant trading between Macao and British India, the new book was entitled:

Memoria sobre a destruição dos piratas da China, de que era chefe o celebre Cam Pau sai; e o desembarque dos Inglezes na cidade de Macao e sua retirada. Impressão Régia, Lisboa, 1824. 83 pp. (¹⁰⁴).

It appeared first as an article, written anonymously, which appeared in *Mnemosine Lusitana*, Lisbon, 1817, Vol. II, N.º 4.

This book gave to the Judge, Senhor Miguel de Arriaga, the credit for the arrangements with the Chinese authorities which led to the surrender of the pirates under the leadership of Cheung Pao-tsai. This band of miscreants had terrorized the South China seas, operating out of Hong Kong and Lantao waters for nearly a generation, and the Chinese had approached the Portuguese for their co-operation in carrying out a naval operation. This operation had proved successful, but a dispute had raged at Macao over the circumstances of the operations. The Governor, Senhor Lucas Alvarenga, felt slighted over Andrade's book and published his own version of the matter in a book which appeared in Brazil:

Memória sobre a expedição do governo de Macao em 1809, e 1810, em socorro ao Império da China contra os insurgentes piratas chineses, principiada, e concluído em seis mezes pelo Governador e capitão general daquela cidade, Lucas José Alvarenga, autenticada com documentos justificativos. Escrita por Lucas José Alvarenga em Dezembro de 1827. Rio de Janeiro, 1828.

(¹⁰⁴) A new edition, greatly expanded, was published, also at Lisbon, in 1835.

One of the first books, if not the first, to appear since Father Rodrigues' book in 1620, printed at Macao appears to have been a peculiar pamphlet, published in 1827. It bears no title, name of author or date of publication, but from internal evidence it can be seen that it was printed in 1827:

Questão entre dois boticários, iii, 10 pp. and iv, 10 pp.

Curiously enough, it appeared in Portuguese and English. The subject, at this distance of time, does not seem important, but to the protagonists of the dispute between the contending parties, over the right to operate a pharmacy, it appears to have been a matter of moment.

Meanwhile the number of foreigners in China and Macao increased, as more and more private merchants, looking for trade opportunities in South China, got permission to live in Macao. It was left to one of the private merchants to think of bringing out another printing press, and to Mr. Alexander Matheson, brother of Mr. James Matheson, and like the latter a partner of Magniac & Co., the foreign community was indebted for the facilities which led to the setting up, in 1827, of the first newspaper in English.

This was a weekly known as

THE CANTON REGISTER

the first number of which appeared on November 8, 1827. Started at Canton, this newspaper removed to Macao when the foreign merchants had to leave at the end of each trading season. It was printed, thus, at Canton for six months of the year and at Macao during the other six. When there were difficulties with the mandarins at Canton, however, the printing press remained at Macao.

For editor, the paper had Mr. W. W. Wood, an American from Philadelphia, «son of the famous tragedian of that city».

He arrived in 1825 and «was quite equal to Chinnery in wit and metaphor, while over their mutual disfigurement each one insisted that he was the most marked of the two.»⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ He was not only editor but also compositor. The paper was of a commercial and social character, publishing in addition to important references to the occurrences of the time, articles on China and the Chinese, and even at times on Macao and the Portuguese⁽¹⁰⁶⁾.

Robert Morrison was asked to write for the paper, being paid £75 a year for his contributions «to be bestowed on any benevolent institution he chose.» «To-day», commented Morrison, «I have written about three sheets for the *Canton Register*. Mr. Wood and Mr. ... have no knowledge of Chinese; nor do they seem to have any talent in collecting information from the natives. I have nothing to do with the paper beyond sending a paragraph. I think it right to encourage the thing.»⁽¹⁰⁷⁾

«In addition to a full register of the mercantile transactions of Canton, it contains a great variety of notices of the manners, customs, etc. of the Chinese and other eastern nations. Almost every page of the *Register* has been filled with original matter; and it is this which has given it particular value abroad, where it has done much to direct public attention to the Chinese.»⁽¹⁰⁸⁾

⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ William C. Hunter, *Bits of old China*, 1911, pp. 270-1, where Wood is described as being «awfully pock-marked; his face resembled a pine cone, but his expression was one of very good humour and full of intelligence. He was besides well educated and a most gentlemanly fellow».

⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ The Macao issues of the paper were printed at the office of Magniac & Co., to be known after 1832 as Jardine, Matheson & Co., at No. 1, Rua do Hospital. The house was a fine one and could be seen until 1944 when it was pulled down to avoid collapse.

⁽¹⁰⁷⁾ H. Cordier, *Bibliotheca Sinica*, Vol. III, cols. 2285-6; *Morrison's Memoirs*, Vol. II, p. 384.

⁽¹⁰⁸⁾ *The Chinese Repository*, Vol. II, 1833, pp. 6-7.

In 1831, Wood resigned from the *Register* to join Russell & Co. Printers' ink was in his blood, however, and he started the *Chinese Courier and Canton Gazette* the first number of which appeared on July 28, 1831⁽¹⁰⁹⁾. Mr. John Slade joined *The Canton Register* as editor in succession to Mr. Wood, staying with the paper as its editor until 1843.

The Canton Register had a commercial supplement known as the *Canton General Price Current*, which began in 1833 and appeared at intervals⁽¹¹⁰⁾.

At Canton the Chinese officials ignored the printing press, which was turning out a newspaper for the British and other foreigners. This opened the way for other presses when these came to be set up. In Macao the Portuguese authorities also chose to look the other way, nor did they require the publishers of these foreign newspapers to toe the line in the matter of the censorship regulations. It was, thus, after the E. I. Company's printery, the second foreign printing press to carry on printing freely at Macao.

By this time the Portuguese priests were busy with their printing at St. Joseph's Seminary, on the press which had been lent to them early in 1827 after the *Gazeta de Macao* closed down. Among the priests at the Seminary was Father Joaquim Afonso Gonçalves, who had dedicated himself to the study of Chinese. He was no longer a young man when he reached Macao, but by dint of careful attention to the subject

⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ The *Courier* came out subsequently every Saturday. A few copies for the year 1833 may be seen in the Hong Kong University Library. (See p. 93 *infra*).

⁽¹¹⁰⁾ *The Canton Register* continued with this name until it was transferred from Macao to Hong Kong when the paper was changed to *THE HONG KONG late CANTON REGISTER*, appearing on June 20, 1843 with Mr. John Cairns as its publisher and editor. The last number appeared on Dec. 31, 1859 when Mr. Robert Strachan was editor. The supplement was known as *Hong Kong Register: The Overland Register and Price Current*, which began on August 30, 1845. (Cordier, *Bibliotheca Sinica*, Vol. III, Cols. 2285-6).

and very hard work he made steady progress and gained considerable proficiency. He set himself the task of producing text-books in Chinese for Portuguese students, with the object of encouraging young men to take up the study of the language. In this he was successful and several young Portuguese learned to be good interpreters.

The first of Father Gonçalves' books to appear was:

Grammatica Latina, ad usum Sinensium Juvenum post longam experientiam redacta, a J. A. Gonçalves Congregationis Missionis presbytero post longam experientiam redacta et Macao in regalo collegio Sancti Joseph Facultate regia typis mandata. — Tipografia do Seminário, Macao, 1828 — in-8, pp. 232.

This was followed by an excellent book by the same priest:

Arte China, constante de alfabeto e grammatica, comprehendendo modelos das diferentes composições, composta por J. A. Gonçalves. Sacerdote da Congregação da Missão. Impressa com licença régia real collégio de S. José, Macao, Anno de 1829⁽¹¹¹⁾.

Meanwhile arrangements were made to give new life to the East India Company's printing press. H. B. Morse makes no mention of this in the *Chronicles* but on at least five title-pages there appear the names «G. J. Steyn and Brother» as working at the East-India Company's Press. The names of these two printers do not figure in any lists of foreign

⁽¹¹¹⁾ A version in French of the second of these two books appeared at Paris in 1876, while a Franco-Chinese book of dialogue based on the same book was published in 1878, also at Paris.

In both these books the words, respectively, «Facultate Regia» and «com licença régia» indicate that they had been approved by the censorship.

residents having to do with that period which we have been able to consult. Several other books and pamphlets bearing no printers' names have also been recorded.

Thus, after an interval of four years, the East India Company's printing press came to life again, and we find:

Vocabulary of the Canton Dialect. By R. Morrison. Part I—English and Chinese; Part II—Chinese and English; Part III—Chinese words and phrases. Macao, China. Printed at the Honourable East India Company's Press by G. J. Steyn and Brother.

An interesting little book about Macao appeared in Portugal in 1828, *Memória sobre Macao*, written by Colonel José de Aquino Guimarães e Freitas; it was published at Coimbra. This officer had served in the garrison at Macao from 1815 to 1822 and had taken sufficient interest in the place to make notes of much that he had observed. His book is not a comprehensive work but it possesses the merit of being one of the earliest of its kind to deal with the little Portuguese outpost in the Far East ⁽¹¹²⁾.

There is another silence for three years, both at the East India Company's press and St. Joseph's Seminary, for bibliographers do not seem to have recorded any new publications as appearing until 1831.

⁽¹¹²⁾ A second edition followed in the same year.

Interest in China's trade had been growing steadily in Britain and an important little book appeared at London in 1829: *Facts relating to Chinese Commerce in a Letter from a British Resident in China to his friend in England*.—London, J. M. Richardson, 1829, in-8, pp. viii, 66. In London, too, there appeared J. F. Davis' *The Fortunate Union. Translated from the Chinese*, 2 vols., London, 1829, in-8; and *On the poetry of the Chinese*, by the same author, London, 1829; Sir G. T. Staunton's *Miscellaneous Notices of China*, Part II, London, 1828; Sir G. T. Staunton's *Remarks on the British Relations with China and the Proposed Plans for improving them*, London, 1830, in-8, pp. 43. W. W. Wood's *Sketches of China*, Philadelphia, 1830, in-12, pp. 250 should also be mentioned.

Father Gonçalves published another work in this year:

Dicionário Portuguez-China, no estylo vulgar mandarim, e clássico geral, composto por J. A. Gonçalves, Sacerdote da Congregação da Missão, M. R. A. S.

A book made its appearance at Rio de Janeiro in 1831, describing the grounding at Balabak Island, in the East Indies, of a Macao ship, the *Nova Aurora*, on her way from Batavia to Macao, on September 23, 1827. The vessel was attacked by some 200 Malays in sixteen praus, but the crew managed to beat off the attempted boardings. Eventually the officers and men escaped in the ship's boats and, after various adventures, reached Singapore, not before several of them succumbed to their injuries and privations. The author of this little tome was Bartholomeu António Tavares, one of the officers ⁽¹¹³⁾.

The East India Company's printing press was also busy and produced, in 1831, one book, a few pamphlets, and began the publication of a very interesting magazine. The book:

The Anglo-Chinese Kalendar and Register, for the year of the Christian AERA 1831, corresponding with the Twenty-eighth year of the Chinese cycle of sixty years.—Printed at the East India Company's Press, by G. J. Steyn and Brother, Macao, China, 1831. in-8.

The compiler of this book, John Robert Morrison, son of Robert Morrison, was only seventeen years old when he brought out this effort. He had returned to Macao after seven years

⁽¹¹³⁾ *Historia do naufragio acontecido em 1827 ao navio portuguez NOVA AURORA da praça de Macao do proprietario e capitão Vicente Francisco Baptista. Aventuras dos naufragos, e outros successos que experimentarião em onze mezes, e dezoito dias ate chegarem a Sincapura.—Rio de Janeiro, na Typografia Nacional, 1831.*

of schooling in England and, under the guidance of his father, he began at an early age a short but useful career in Macao, Canton and, later, Hong Kong ⁽¹¹⁴⁾.

The preface to the book reads: «A comparative English, Chinese and Malayan Kalendar was contemplated by the late Dr. Milne of the Anglo-Chinese College, a short period previous to his death, but no individual of that institution has, since that much lamented event, fulfilled his intention. The work now published was commenced some months back with a view merely to private distribution; but Mr. Marjoribanks, the President of the Select Committee of the British Factory, having liberally offered the use of the Honourable Company's Press, it is now printed for more general circulation, in the hope that, imperfect as it is, it may prove useful to those who visit the Ports of the Eastern Archipelago and of China.»

A number of notifications came from the Company's press at this time, among them:

NOTICE. Com.^{ce}: «Several recent acts of the Chinese Government have compelled the President...»

(Sd.) «R. Hudleston, Secretary,
British Factory,
Macao, 20th May, 1831» ⁽¹¹⁵⁾

RESOLUTIONS
of the
British Merchants of Canton
Canton, 30th May, 1831 ⁽¹¹⁶⁾

⁽¹¹⁴⁾ Young Morrison learned Chinese quickly and, upon his father's death, this young man became Interpreter to the H. B. M. Superintendent of Trade in China, continuing to serve the British authorities when Hong Kong was established. His untimely death at Hong Kong on August, 29, 1843, brought to an end a life full of promise.

⁽¹¹⁵⁾ Reproduced by H. B. Morse, *Chronicles*, Vol. IV, pp. 301-303.

⁽¹¹⁶⁾ Reproduced by H. B. Morse, *ibid.*, pp. 310-312.

NOTICE. Com.^{ce} «The President, etc., Select Committee on the 20th Ultimo gave public notice...»

(Sd.) «H. H. Lindsay, Secretary,
British Factory,
Macao, June 10th, 1831.» ⁽¹¹⁷⁾

The magazine brought out at the East India Company's press was a monthly effort and was entitled

THE CANTON MISCELLANY

The first number appeared in June, 1831 and the last was dated May, 1832; there were ten numbers in all. In appearance it was a booklet, of about 80 pages octavo, and each number was finely bound in silk. The prime mover was Mr. C. Marjoribanks, President of the Company's Select Committee in China, ably seconded by Mr. J. F. Davis.

This journal was of quite a good literary standard, but the contributions were all anonymous. The articles were varied in nature, including verse as well as prose. Among the articles of special interest to Macao were «Brief Notice of Early Foreign Intercourse with China» and «Of the Portuguese Settlements in China, principally of Macao.» Though unsigned it is clear from internal evidence that these were written by Andrew Ljungsetdt, Chief of the Swedish East India Company, because, somewhat enlarged, they were subsequently published at Canton in the form of a small book, in 1832, with Ljungsetdt's name as the author ⁽¹¹⁸⁾.

⁽¹¹⁷⁾ Reproduced by H. B. Morse, *ibid.*, pp. 312-313.

Young Morrison had a book published at London, under his name, *Chinese Charms, Talismans, &c.*, London, 1831, in-4, while C. F. Neumann published, also at London, *History of the Pirates who infested the China Sea, from 1807 to 1810*, London, 1831.

⁽¹¹⁸⁾ See p. 94 *supra*.

Other articles of interest included: «Extracts from an Unpublished Journal of the Last Embassy [Lord Amherst's] to Peking in 1816»; «Sketches of the Court of Solo»; «Analysis of the Geography of the Province of Canton»; «Observations on the Meaou-tsze Mountaineers»; «Reflections on India»; «A Writer's Farewell to China» (verse); «The Boatman of Macao» (verse), etc.

The local periodical press was added to by the appearance of a weekly which bore the name of:

CHINESE COURIER AND CANTON GAZETTE

It made its debut on Thursday, July 28, 1831, with Mr. W. W. Wood of Russell & Company, an American concern, as its editor. The newcomer was greeted by the community with interest for it provided some entertainment, with its witty comments on people and events. «The *Courier* has pursued a course different from that of its 'contemporary' [The *Canton Register*]. Its pages have been occupied partly with European intelligence, and partly with local news and notices of mechanical arts, manufactures, and such like, among the Chinese.»⁽¹¹⁹⁾

On April 14, 1832 the name was changed to *THE CHINESE COURIER*, with no change in the tone of the paper. The last number appeared on September 23, 1833⁽¹²⁰⁾.

⁽¹¹⁹⁾ *The Chinese Repository*, Vol. II, 1833, p. 7.

⁽¹²⁰⁾ «The *Canton Courier* had rather a short life. It criticised somewhat severely certain measures of the East India Company, upon which the Company stopped taking the 24 copies for which it had subscribed, and the *Courier* collapsed. For, in those days, there were few or no advertisements to supplement the income from subscriptions». (S. W. Williams' *Recollections of China* in «Journal, North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, New Series», No. VIII, p. 17).

The activity of the printeries continued, thus, into 1832 and several books have been recorded. Among these was a booklet:

A Catalogue of the Library of the British Factory at Canton. — Macao, 1832, the contents of which are indicated by the title. The library, a splendid and costly one, had been got together and maintained at the expense of the East India Company for the convenience of its staff and their friends. It has been frequently referred to. Upon the closure of the Company's establishment in China, in 1834, the books were dispersed⁽¹²¹⁾.

The Anglo-Chinese Kalendar and Register, for the year of the Christian A Era 1832. Corresponding with the Twenty-ninth year of the Chinese Cycle of Sixty Years, which 29th year commences on the 2d. of February, 1833. With a Companion — Macao, China: Printed at the East-India Company's Press, by G. J. Steyn and Brother.

Like its predecessor, it was compiled by young Morrison. That for the year 1833 was also printed at the Company's press⁽¹²²⁾.

⁽¹²¹⁾ A short description of the library and its contents is to be found in *The Chinese Repository*, Vol. IV, June, 1835, p. 97.

⁽¹²²⁾ *The Chinese Repository* commented on this publication: «This work, the first of the kind ever printed in China, has appeared regularly for three successive years; but the number of Copies being small they were all soon disposed of» (Vol. III, May, 1834, p. 44; H. Cordier, *Bibliotheca Sinica*, Cols. 564-5).

There were subsequent editions of the «Kalendar» and its «Companion». That of 1834 was printed at Morrison's *Albion Press*, to be followed by editions printed by the *Canton Register*, compiled by the editor of this newspaper. Beginning in 1842 it was brought out by *The Chinese Repository* until 1855.

Another little book which appeared in the same year was:

Companion to the Anglo-Chinese Calendar, 1832.

It was a supplement to *The Anglo-Chinese Kalendar*, and took the form of a booklet in-12.

From the Company's printing press a book of particular interest to the Portuguese appeared:

Contribution to an Historical Sketch of the Portuguese Settlements in China, principally of Macao, of the Portuguese Envoys and Ambassadors to China, of the Roman Catholic Missions in China and of the Papal Legates to China. By A. L., Kt., Macao, 1832.
— in-8, pp. xiv, 174.

The initials are those of Andrew Ljungstedt and the initial «Kt.» refers to a decoration «of the Swedish order of Wasa» which had been conferred on him by his government. The book was an expansion of the articles, already referred to, contributed by this writer to *The Canton Miscellany*. Only 100 copies of this book were printed⁽¹²³⁾.

⁽¹²³⁾ Two years later this book was split into two and, with some modifications, appeared as articles in *The Chinese Repository* from which reprints were made: *Portuguese in China: a Contribution to an Historical Sketch of the Roman Catholic Church at Macao*; and *The Domestic and Foreign Relations of Macao*, Canton, 1834. This was a continuation of the earlier book printed at Macao (See *The Chinese Repository*, Vol. III, pp. 289 ff.). A second print appeared, also at Canton. Subsequently a new and greatly revised edition was published at Boston entitled: —

An Historical Sketch of the Portuguese Settlements in China, and of the Roman Catholic Church and Mission in China. By Sir Andrew Ljungstedt, Knight of the Swedish Royal Order of Wasa.—Boston: James Munroe & Co., 1836.

Portions of *The Historical Sketch* were printed at Macao but the book was completed, after Ljungstedt's death, at Boston. This book is

A more important work was:

A Dictionary of the Hok-keen Dialect of the Chinese Language, according to the reading and colloquial idioms: containing about 12,000 characters, the sounds and tones of which are accurately marked; and various examples of their use, taken generally from approved Chinese authors. Accompanied by a short historical and statistical account of Hok-keen: a Treatise on the Orthography of the Hok-keen Dialect; the necessary indexes, &c. By W. H. Medhurst, Batavia. Printed at the Honourable East India Company's Press, by G. J. Steyn and Brother, Macao 1832. — in-4, in 2 columns, pp. 1, xiv, 860.

The printing of this book began under the auspices of the East India Company's press, the title-page being printed at the same time, but work stopped when some 320 pages had already been finished, as the Company's offices were closed down in April, 1834. The second half of the book was completed at the expense of Messrs. Olyphant & Company, at *The Chinese Repository* press. Dr. S. Wells Williams directed, at Macao, the publication of the second stage of this book, and it was completed by him on «1st June, 1837»⁽¹²⁴⁾.

The year 1832 was notable for the inauguration of

most unfair to Macao and the Portuguese. Montalto de Jesus adds, «to a great extent the *Historical Sketch* is the outcome of painstaking researches on the part of two Portuguese scholars. From Professor Miranda e Lima, who once projected writing a history of Macao himself, Ljungstedt obtained valuable papers; and from Bishop Saraiva, access to a mass of documents of great historic interest». (C. A. Montalto de Jesus. *Historic Macao*, Hong Kong, 1902, pp. 22-3; Cordier *Bibliotheca Sinica*, Vol. 8, Cols. 2310-11).

⁽¹²⁴⁾ Cordier, *Bibliotheca Sinica*, Vol. III, Cols. 1596-97.

THE CHINESE REPOSITORY

one of the «most valuable serials ever published in China». The founder and first editor was the Rev. Elijah Coleman Bridgman, first American missionary to China, through the help and financial support of the American merchant Mr. D. W. C. Olyphant, who provided premises and paid for the press and equipment, at Canton, and guaranteed the publication against loss ⁽¹²⁵⁾.

The first number appeared in May, 1832, printed at its own press. «This famous periodical had as its purpose the dissemination among foreigners not only of missionary news but of information concerning the laws, customs, history, literature and current events of the [Chinese] Empire. It performed the useful task of interpreting China to Westerners who lived within her gates and who were all to often grossly and contemptuously ignorant of her» ⁽¹²⁶⁾.

It was a repository, therefore, not only of events connected with Protestant missionary work but was «a medium of information in matters relating to the extreme East» while it served the purpose of «enlightening those who are the patrons of the great work.» In terms of dollars and cents *The Chinese Repository* was far from being a success but «its value as a contemporary chronicle of an important period in China's external relations cannot be disputed.»

Begun at Canton this paper and its printery were moved to Macao in 1835, owing to threats from Chinese rowdies. As with the printing presses of other foreigners, the Portuguese authorities did not require its registration; in the same way the censorship regulations were not enforced in its case.

⁽¹²⁵⁾ Olyphant was an enthusiastic supporter of the Protestant missionaries in China. He it was who provided Morrison with a passage from New York to Macao, in one of his ships, in 1807. (See p. 46 *supra*).

⁽¹²⁶⁾ K. S. Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, New York, 1932.

Dr. Samuel Wells Williams joined the paper in 1833 and edited it until its closure in 1851 (the year in which Mr. Olyphant died), while Mr. Bridgman helped to manage the paper till 1847. The contributors included several Orientalists, among them Robert Morrison, Sir G. Staunton, J. F. Davis, James Legge, John Bowring and others ⁽¹²⁷⁾.

When conditions were favourable, the printing press of the *Repository*, went to Canton, and it was there that it closed down. The stock of the *Repository*, a large one, was destroyed in the fire in the Foreign Factories (December 14, 1856). The final number contained a complete index covering the whole series of 20 volumes ⁽¹²⁸⁾.

Father Gonçalves had been working very assiduously on his dictionaries and in 1833 the printing press of St. Joseph's Seminary published:

Diccionario China-Portuguez, composto por J. A. Gonçalves, Sacerdote da Congregação da Missão.

as the complement of the Portuguese-Chinese dictionary compiled by the same priest in 1831 ⁽¹²⁹⁾.

⁽¹²⁷⁾ It is interesting to record that during the year 1838, for several months, the *Boletim do Governo de Macao* was printed at the «Typographia Macaense». This was the name adopted by Dr. Wells Williams for the printing press at Macao, to give it legal status, with M. M. D. Pegado as the nominal manager of the establishment. The name of the *Boletim* was then absorbed into the *Gazeta de Macao*, (which used the same title as its earlier namesake) the first 22 numbers of which, in 1838-39, were printed at Dr. Wells Williams' printery.

⁽¹²⁸⁾ A reprint of *The Chinese Repository* was made by the Maruzen Co., Ltd. of Tokyo, with a Japanese translation. Unfortunately the stock was destroyed when the publishers' premises were bombed during the recent War. Vols. 1 to 15 have survived as reprints.

⁽¹²⁹⁾ This priest continued to work on books of a similar nature and among his published works printed subsequently were *Vocabularium Latino-Sinicum* (1836), *Lexicon Manuale Latino-Sinicum* (1839), *Lexicon Magnum Latino-Sinicum* (1841). He left, in manuscript, a *Diccionario*

THE AFFAIR OF «THE ALBION PRESS»

For nearly twenty years, the printery of the Honourable E. I. Company went on doing its good work. News of the impending closure of the Company's office in China had already, in September, 1832, been received but no instructions had been issued by the Company's Select Committee with regard to the printing press. Nevertheless, Robert Morrison felt that it would be prudent to acquire a complete printing outfit from England, and this he did in the same year. Unfortunately nobody seems to have warned him that the Macao authorities were giving the foreigners a very special concession to allow them to do printing at Macao, and he seems to have taken it for granted that no permission was required. In fact Morrison was so badly informed about the position that when, in 1822, the Portuguese authorities at Lisbon decided to permit printing in the overseas provinces and *A Abelha da China* started in Macao, Morrison reported to London that «the Honourable Company's press at Macao has emboldened the New Portuguese Government to establish a press, and they venture to print and publish Chinese news».

To justify the inauguration of his new printery, Robert Morrison wrote, in association with Bridgman, for distribution in Europe and America, a short review of the first twenty-five years of the Chinese Mission, pointing out the value of printing as an aid to evangelical work: «The London Missionary Society's press, at the Anglo-Chinese College, Malacca, and Mr. Medhurst's at Java, have sent forth millions of pages, containing the truths of the everlasting Gospel... The Hon. E. I. Company's press, to print Dr. Morrison's Dictionary, was the first [non-Catholic foreign printery in China]; and now, both English and Americans endeavour, by the press, to draw attention to China, and give information concerning it and the

Sinico-Latino and a *Versão do novo testamento em lingua china*. Both these *mms.* were kept at St. Joseph's Seminary College at Macao.

surrounding nations... Preachers, and teachers, and writers, and printers, in much larger numbers are wanted...»

The importance of printing as the means for spreading Christian truths is referred to in several places in the sketch: «...the Scripture Lessons... were printed in China... extracts from Morrison and Milne's Chinese version of the Bible... were carried through the press, Christian Protestant merchants in China subscribing the necessary funds... Leang-Afa has printed nine tracts... Kew-Agang has printed Scripture sheet tracts...» etc. ⁽¹³⁰⁾.

Robert Morrison decided also to commence the publication of a journal, and to this he gave the name of

EVANGELIST AND MISCELLANEA SINICA

to be published at indefinite periods. He stated that he was «desirous of bringing before the Christian [Protestant] community, in China, principles of a more decidedly evangelical character than he considered either [*The Canton Register* or *The Chinese Repository*] was calculated to convey.»

To the printing press was given the name *Morrison Albion Press* and, besides the «Evangelist», Morrison printed several books, pamphlets, prayers and hymns in Chinese, for «as facilities increased for distributing christian books among the natives, by means of European ships going along the coast, he eagerly availed himself of this means...».

The English missionary reprinted as a tract:

A Sermon preached on board the American ship «Morrison» — Macao, 1833.

The «Evangelist and Miscellanea Sinica» was started in May, 1833, with the name of young J. R. Morrison as editor.

⁽¹³⁰⁾ Morrison's *Memoirs*, Vol. II, pp. 470-474.

Unfortunately the paper published references to the Catholic faith which the Reverend Capitulary Vicar at Macao held to be inconvenient, when he was informed of the nature of the contents of the «Sermon», as well as the «Evangelist». He wrote to the Governor, Senhor João Cabral de Estifigue, pointing out to him that inasmuch as Catholicism was the state religion of Portugal it would be desirable to suppress the printing press in a Portuguese possession, since it had not been authorised.

Dated May 25, 1833, the Vicar's letter pointed out to the Governor of Macao that

«an Englishman Robert Morrison, a member and preacher of one of the various anti-Catholic sects that exist in England, has for many years past lived in Macao, residing in one of the houses of Gonçalo da Silveira, where he uses an unregistered printing press, without obtaining any permission from any competent authority. Here he publishes, by means of this press, among other works, some that are opposed to the Doctrine of the Catholic Church, and manifestly heretical, for they attack the most essential dogmas of our Religion, with evident contumely of the laws of Portugal and of the Civil and Ecclesiastical Authorities of this Territory. This is also in complete disregard of the prohibition recently issued by the Directors, in London, of the Honourable Company, to their employees in China, among which number he belongs, as an Interpreter of the Chinese language.

«As Capitulary Vicar of this Diocese, I am compelled in this capacity to protect the Lord's Flock from feeding on Doctrines of a pernicious nature and as such condemned by the Holy Councils and Beliefs of the Universal Church. I have also to prevent, as far as possible, the scandal which would be caused to good Catholics to see, in this Dominion of His Most

Faithful Majesty, a foreigner who, in promoting his religion, owns an unregistered printing press; and who makes use of it with impunity to dogmatise and attack the Apostolic Roman Catholic Religion (to which the Portuguese nation belongs exclusively). And I have a document in my possession to show this.

«I bring to Your Excellency's knowledge the enormity of this attack [on our religion], so that as Governor of this City, you may be pleased to make use, without delay, of the Authority which has been confided in you to remedy [the situation], which the Laws so strictly prohibit and proscribe, for I am certain that Your Excellency is so filled with zeal to please such a pious and orthodox Sovereign, as His Majesty our sovereign is, that I shall have the consolation of knowing that your good offices will be used to the extent that is to be expected from a Portuguese governor.

«May God guard Your Excellency for many years.

«(Signed) Ignacio da Silva,
«Capitulary Vicar.

«Macao, May 24, 1833.

«To His Excellency the Governor and Captain General.» (131)

The Governor seems to have mentioned the matter to the Select Committee of the East India Company, but Morrison paid no attention to the warning and brought out another number of the «Evangelist». This caused Father Ignacio da

(131) *Register of Communications and Letters from 1832 to 1834*. Codex 84 of the Macao Senate Archives, ff. 14-14 v.

Silva to write on this occasion to the Senate, and in the course of his letter he stated:

«It has come to my attention that an English preacher named Morrison has caused Antichristian Doctrines to be published, by means of an English printing press, in this City and Bishopric. This is undoubtedly against our Country's laws, and he is not impeded [from so doing]. On the 25th day of May I wrote to Their Honours the Governor and the Chief Justice in accordance with the Royal Orders relating to similar abuses, for the purpose of bringing about the measures wished for, which is the cessation and suppression of such publications.

«I now also make the same request of Your Honours, as the Authority possessing the obligation to supervise the foreigners, and I trust that the well known zeal which Your Honours have in the service of God and His Majesty will lead you to act, to suppress as quickly as possible such publications so that from now onwards this preacher will not practice the said abuses, nor may any other printery which may be permitted here do the same.» ⁽¹³²⁾

This letter was dated June 1, 1833. The Senate deliberated on it and decided to move in the matter. They wrote to Father Ignacio da Silva in the following formal terms:

«To the Illustrious and Most Reverend
Capitulary Vicar, Ignacio da Silva.

«The Loyal Senate has received the communication written by Your Honour on the 1st of June and,

⁽¹³²⁾ Codex No. 84 of the Macao Senate Archives: *Register of Communications and Letters from 1832 to 1837*, ff. 15-15 v.

having taken note of its contents, will take the measures which are considered necessary.

«May God guard Your Honour for many years.

«Written in Macao, at a Meeting of the Aldermen,
June 8, 1833.

«I, José Joaquim Barros, Recorder of the Municipal Council, have ordered this to be written,

«(Signed) António Severino Vidigal de Almeida
Claudio Ignacio da Silva
António Joaquim Cortella
Francisco José de Paiva
José Baptista de Miranda e Lima

«(Sd.) José Joaquim Barros.» ⁽¹³³⁾

There must have been verbal discussions among the various Portuguese authorities and the English Company's officers, but the archives are silent as to what steps, if any, were being taken to put the Vicar's protests into effect. It is from the records of the East India Company that one is able to read that the Governor of Macao wrote to the Committee, on June 20, in the following terms:

«I am informed by the Most Reverend Capitulary Vicar of this Diocese that Mr. R. Morrison has in his house of this City, a Press which he uses for the Publication of certain Works contrary to the Doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church. But as the use of the Press is prohibited in the Portuguese Territories, within which it cannot be made use of without the Royal sanction of his Most Faithful Majesty and under the restrictions of a previous censorship; I have therefore to request that as Chief of the British Factory in China, to which the said Mr. Morrison belongs, you will direct him to abstain

⁽¹³³⁾ Codex No. 84 of the Macao Senate Archives: *Register of Communications and Letters from 1832 to 1837*, ff. 15 v.

from all further use of the above mentioned Press is this City.»⁽¹³⁴⁾

Mr. Morse adds that the Committee had no wish to oppose the censorship of the Bishop or of the Governor and on June 20, 1833 instructed their Secretary to inform Mr. Morrison of their views. A letter was accordingly sent to Dr. Morrison.

A copy of this letter was returned by Dr. Morrison to the Company, to which he added his own caustic observations. It is reproduced in *Memoirs of the Life and Labours of Robert Morrison*, with his «comments on its several paragraphs... which he appended to the Committee's letter»:

«I am directed by the President, and Select Committee, to transmit to you the enclosed copy of a letter, which has been addressed to the President by the governor of Macao, from the contents of which you will perceive he has been informed, by the vicar general of this diocese, that you possess a printing press at your house, at which certain works are published contrary to the doctrines of the Roman Catholic church^(a), and that as the use of a printing-press is prohibited in the Portuguese territories^(b) by the royal authorities, except under the restriction of a previous censorship^(c), his Excellency requests you may be directed to discontinue the employment of your press in this city.

«In conformity with these regulations of the Portuguese government, I have received instructions from the President and Select Committee to desire^(d) that you will suspend the issue of any further publications from the printing press in your house at Macao.

«I have the honour to be, Sir,
«Your most obedient servant,
(Sd.) «H. H. Lindsay, Sec.»

⁽¹³⁴⁾ H. B. Morse, *Chronicles*, Vol. IV, pp. 346-347.

^(a) «Certainly the doctrines of my sermon were not conformable to those of the Romish Church — but they contained no attack upon it; nor did the *Evangelist*.

^(b) «It has been fully proved that Macao belongs to China, and is no part of the territories of the king of Portugal; the claim therefore is usurpation.

^(c) «The English Company has had for nearly twenty years, and still has, a press in Macao, at which whatever they please to print is issued in Macao, without any previous censorship.

^(d) «In what capacity do the President and Committee desire this? regarding me simply as a British subject, or as in the Company's employ? Conformity to these regulations would require a censorship, not a discontinuance. Do the Committee mean to submit their press to censorship or to discontinue it? Neither.

«I therefore protest against the whole proceeding, as an act of usurped authority, tyranny and oppression, on the part of both Portuguese and English, at the bidding of a Popish priest.

R. Morrison»⁽¹³⁵⁾

«June 20th, 1833.»

Robert Morrison decided to remove the offending printery to Canton and there he brought out two more numbers of the *Evangelist*. This printing press was also used for producing the *Anglo-Chinese Calendar* for 1834 and its supplement, the *Companion*, as well as the first *Commercial Guide*, the work of J. R. Morrison⁽¹³⁶⁾. Various tracts in Chinese were also printed at this press.

Not satisfied with having to remove his printery to Canton, Robert Morrison contributed an article to the *Canton Register* in which he set out his views on censorship generally

⁽¹³⁵⁾ *Memoirs*, Vol. II, pp. 479-480.

⁽¹³⁶⁾ See *supra*, pp. 85-86.

and the liberty of the press. In the course of this article he observed: «If the Portuguese have not this taste; if they choose to defer to their priests or vicars-general, whether they shall read or not, let them do so. But, on the other hand, they have no right to interdict the production of books or newspaper for that numerous class frequenting China (and Macao is an integral part of the Chinese empire) who read the English language.»⁽¹³⁷⁾.

This article must have come to the notice of the Portuguese authorities, although no reference seems to exist in the Macao archives, but they did not make any other move against the English missionary, nor did they interfere with his residence at Macao. He continued to come and go without hindrance.

Nevertheless, in a letter to the Secretary of the Religious Tract Society in London, Morrison mentions the incident:

«Last year I procured from England, at my own expense, a good press for the use of my son, Mr. John R. Morrison; and this season, I have gone to very considerable expense in cutting Chinese moveable types for the printing of small tracts. Our first effort was small sheet tracts, containing passages of Scripture, which an officer on board one of the Merchantmen distributes extensively among the Chinese who visit the ship...

«...I printed also in English a sermon I preached to seamen, on board the American ship *Morrison*, at Whampoa, as a small tract, and four numbers of a religious newspaper, called 'The Evangelist and Miscellanea Sinica'. It consisted chiefly of extracts. The Sermons and the Evangelist were brought by somebody to the notice of the Roman Catholic Vicar-General of Macao, an old man who cannot read

⁽¹³⁷⁾ Morrison's *Memoirs*, Vol. II, pp. 481-2.

English. He wrote against me and the publications, saying they were not conformable to the doctrines of the Romish church. The Governor wrote to the Company's Committee requiring the suppression of these publications, with which I was compelled to comply. Although the English Company has had a press here for twenty years without the Portuguese interfering, they now assail the Albion Press which put forth these publications. The continuance of the press in Canton is also very precarious. ...

«...I have long abstained, but it appears to me now necessary to show the Chinese that the traditions and usages of the Romish church, are not scriptural Christianity. ...»⁽¹³⁸⁾

It is difficult for us, so far removed in time from the events which took place at Macao in 1833, to get a proper perspective of the conflicting emotions that led to the removal of the *Albion Press* from Macao. The Catholic clergy could not at any time have been happy over Morrison's presence in Macao; the stand they took when Milne tried to join Morrison in 1813 shows how they felt. Morrison, on the other hand, took a firm stand in the matter of scriptural interpretation. These were the principal moods prevailing at the period. Morrison gave the Macao clergy the opportunity to protest against his activities, when he printed, at Macao, without registering his printing press and by not complying with the censorship regulations, books and other publications of a non-Catholic religious nature. So long as the foreign printing presses did not openly publish religious propaganda they were left alone, both before and after the *Albion Press* was interdicted, but when Morrison began to invade what the Catholics had for so long considered their own, they took steps to stop his printing at Macao.

⁽¹³⁸⁾ Morrison's *Memoirs*, pp. 491-494, transcribing letter written at Canton on October 10, 1833.

In the matter of Portuguese sovereignty, Morrison based his views on the shameful distortion by Ljungstedt of the facts, which this Swedish writer had written into the history he had culled from the manuscript material gathered by Miranda e Lima and Bishop Saraiva over a period of a number of years. This acceptance by Morrison of Ljungstedt's misrepresentation of Macao's rights was a most unfortunate stand to take, and must have served to antagonise the Portuguese all the more.

One must not be too critical of Morrison. He was already getting on in years, living under a strain, in an unpleasant climate, with all sorts of irritations connected with his work as translator for the East India Company, when tempers could be easily frayed. The Company's days were ending and the uncertainty with regard to his future — for no provision had been made for him by the Company — must have worried him not a little⁽¹³⁹⁾. He did what he felt was right; the Vicar-General also felt it his duty to do as he did. Such a conflict was bound to bring unpleasantness. If Morrison had refrained from printing religious matter the affair would probably have been allowed to die down; but that would have been against his principles.

In less than a year. Dr. Morrison was dead and the *Albion Press* was acquired by Dr. Wells Williams and merged into that belonging to *The Chinese Repository*. This journal has provided us with some particulars of the foreign printing presses at Macao and Canton. Referring to the year 1833 it states that:

«There are now five English presses in China; two are in Macao, and three in Canton. Three of these

⁽¹³⁹⁾ When Lord Napier arrived in China as Chief Superintendent of British Trade he appointed Robert Morrison to his staff in July, 1834, relieving him thereby of the need to worry about financial matters, for he was paid a salary of £ 2,000 a year.

presses are from England, and two are from America. The Honourable E. I. Company's press with a printer arrived in China in 1814⁽¹⁴⁰⁾. Morrison's *Dictionary of the Chinese language*, his *Vocabulary of the Canton dialect*, and his *View of China*; the translation of a novel by Mr. Thoms; and the *Canton Miscellany*, in a series of numbers published in 1831 — are the principal works which have appeared from that press. A Chinese dictionary of the Fukkeen dialect by Mr. Medhurst of Batavia, is now being printed. The next press arrived here in 1825; from which the first number of the *Canton Register* appeared in November, 1827. We have before us a complete series of this paper up to the present time. A third press arrived in 1831, and a second periodical, the *Chinese Courier*, appeared shortly after. The two other presses [*The Chinese Repository* and the *Albion Press*] reached China during the last year. All these presses are in operation and are supported solely by foreigners.»⁽¹⁴¹⁾

A year later there was a further reference to the same subject, in the course of which it was mentioned that:

«With respect to the foreign presses in China, but few changes worthy of notice have taken place during the last twelve months. The Honorable Company's press continues in operation at Macao, being chiefly employed, we believe, with Mr. Medhurst's *Dictionary of the Fukkeen dialect*⁽¹⁴²⁾. *The Albion Press*, which was interdicted last June by Portuguese

⁽¹⁴⁰⁾ As we have seen P. P. Thoms arrived in 1814 and left in 1825. His place was taken by G. J. Steyn and his brother, in 1828.

⁽¹⁴¹⁾ *The Chinese Repository*, Vol. II, 1833, pp. 6-7.

⁽¹⁴²⁾ See p. 87 *supra*.

authority, has been removed to Canton, and is at present employed on a commercial guide. The oldest press in Canton, which has sent forth six volumes of the *Register*, has not only maintained its own ground, but has united with itself that of the late *Courier*. This latter paper was discontinued early last summer; and the *Register*, since the commencement of the current year, has appeared every week, instead of semimonthly as formerly. Our own establishment continues in *statu quo*, except some small additions to the fonts of type, which in Chinese words will enable us to mark the intonations, etc. Thus in the course of the year five printing establishments have been reduced to four, one of which is in Macao, and three in Canton. There are also two lithographic presses in Canton. At Macao, and connected with the College of St. Joseph, there is also a Portuguese Press, which is furnished with a font of Chinese moveable types. From these presses several small publications have been issued during the year» (143).

During the year the printing press of the East India Company closed down (144). Before ending its life of usefulness, however, it brought out one more book, a short tome by J. F. Davis:

(*Poeseos Sinensis Commentaru*) — *On the Poetry of the Chinese (from the Royal Asiatic Transactions) to which are added, translations and detached pieces.*
By J. F. Davis (145).

(143) *The Chinese Repository*, Vol. III, May, 1834, pp 43-4.

(144) Like the *Albion Press*, the East India Company's printery, type and equipment were acquired by *The Chinese Repository*.

(145) A reprint, with additions, of the book, *On the Poetry of the Chinese*, published at London in 1829 see *supra* p. 81.

So it happened that the first and the last of the books printed by the Press should have been by the same person, as it wound up its activities and disappeared.

In the same year, John Robert Morrison published at Canton the first edition of

A Chinese Commercial Guide consisting of a Collection of Details respecting foreign trade in China.
By J. R. Morrison. Printed at the Albion Press, and sold at the Canton Register Office, 4, Danish Hong, Canton, 1834. — in-8, pp. xii, 116 (146).

Interest in the affairs of China and the Far East was growing in Britain, and several books were published at London and elsewhere. Among these books were, *Observations on the China Trade*, by Sir J. B. Urmston, London, George Woodfall, 1833, in-8, pp. 149; *Notices concerning China and the Port of Canton, the affair of the frigate «Topaze», and the fire of Canton*, by Robert Morrison, Malacca, 1833, in-8, pp. 97; *Letter to the Rt.-Hon. Charles Grant, on the present state of British Intercourse with China*, by C. Marjoribanks, London, 1833, in-8, pp. 66; *Remarks on British Relations and Intercourse with China*, by «An American Merchant», London, 1834; and *A Sketch of Chinese History, ancient and modern, comprising a retrospect of the foreign intercourse and trade with China*, London, 1834 (in 2 vols.) and *Three voyages along the coasts of China in 1831-32-34*, London, 1834, both by Rev. C. Gutzlaff; *Journal of a Residence in China and the Neighbouring Countries, from 1829 to 1833*, by David Abeel, Boston, Crocker & Brewster, 1834.

(146) This book was intended to be a supplement to the *Anglo-Chinese Calendar*. A second edition appeared in 1844 revised by S. Wells Williams who also directed other editions in 1848, 1856 and 1863. The last mentioned was quite a large book.

With the closure of the East Company's printing press we may be permitted to bring to an end the story of this phase of printing at Macao. The story of the part played by this press in the bibliography of Macao is a commendable one, and it is to be hoped that in the record of this printery's contribution to the spread of Western civilisation in the Far East, Macao's liberality to the foreigners who sought to reside at the little Portuguese outpost at the coast of China, and who were made welcome by the people of Macao, will not be easily forgotten.

APPENDIX I

BOOKS PRINTED IN MACAO AND JAPAN BY THE JESUIT PRESS

The following are the titles of the books of which printed copies have been found in modern times:

- 1 — *ORATIO HABITA* à fara D. Martino Iaponio, suo & sociorū nomine, cum ab Europa redirēt, ad Patre Alexādrū Valignanū Visitatore Societatis Iesv, Goae in D. Pauli Collegio, pridie Non. Iunij, Anno Domini 1587. Cvm Facultate Inquisitorū &, Superiorum Goae Excudebat Constātinus Dourat° Iaponius in aedibus Societatis Iesv. 1588.

(An address by Martin Hara, at Goa. The printer was a Japanese christened Constantino Dourado).

The only surviving copies are in the Spanish Embassy to the Vatican and in the archives of the Society of Jesus in Rome.

- 2 — *CHRISTIANI PVERI INSTITVTIO*, Adolescentiae qve persugium: autore Ioanne Bonifacio Societatis Iesv. cum libri unius, & rerū accessione plurimarū. Cum facultate Superiorum Apud Sinas, in Portu Macaensi in Domo Societatis Iesv. Anno 1588.

(A new edition of João Bonifacio's book on Christian education, first published at Salamanca in 1575, followed by an edition at Burgos in 1586).

Only one copy has survived. It is in the Ajuda Palace Library, Lisbon.

- 3 — *DE MISSIONE LEGATORVM IAPONESIUM AD ROMANAM CURIAM, REBUSQ;* in Europa, ac toto itinere animadversis Dialogvs ex Ephemeride Ipsorum Legatorvm Collectvs, & in

Sermonem Latinvm Versvs ab Eduardo de Sande Sacerdote Societatis Iesv. In Macaensi portu Sinici regni in domo Societatis Iesv cum facultate Ordinarij, & Superiorum. Anno 1590.

(An account, in dialogue form, of the experiences of the Japanese envoys on their journey from Japan to Rome and back).

Copies of this book have been recorded at the Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa (2 copies); the archives of the Torre do Tombo, Lisbon; the Library of the Ajuda Palace, Lisbon; the Évora Public Library, Évora, Portugal; the British Museum Library, London; the Bibliotheca Casanatense, Rome; the Library of the University of Seville; the Pei t'ang Library, Peking; the Oliveira Lima Collection of the Catholic University of America (Washington, D. C.); the Library of the late Prof. Shigetomo Koda, and an incomplete copy (dated 1589) in the Coimbra University Library, Coimbra, Portugal.

- 4 — *SANCTOS NO GOSAGVEO-NO VCHI NVQIGAQI* quan dal ichi, Fiiieno Cvni Tacacvno Gvn Iesvs no Companhia Collegio Gazzusa ni voite Superiores no von yuruxi uo comuri core uo fan to nasu mono nari. Goxuxxe irai MDLXXXI.

サントスの御作業の内抜書

(Compendium of the Acts of the Saints, volume the first. Printed at Katsusa, 1591).

The only known copy of the original is in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

- 5 — *FIDES NO DOXITO* xite P. L. Luis de Granada amaretaru xo no riacu. Core uo Companhia no Superiores no go faicacu vomotte Nippon no cotoba ni vasu. Iesvs no Companhia no Collegio Amacusa ni voite Superiores no go men qio toxite core uo fan ni qizamu mono nari. Go xuxxe yori MDLXXXII.

ヒデスの導師

(An adaptation of Frey Luis de Granada's *Quinta parte de la Introduction del Symbolo de la Fe* in Japanese translation. Printed at Amacusa, 1592)

The only known copy is in the Library of Leyden University.

- 6 — *NIPPON NO IESVS* no Companhia no Superior yori Christan ni soto no cotouari uo tagaino mondo no gotoqu xidai uo vacachi tamo Doctrina. Iesvs no Companhia no Collegio Amacusa ni

voite Superiores no von yuru xi uo comuri, core uo fan to nasu mono nari. Toqini go xuxxe no Nenqi, 1592.

ドチリナ・キリシタン

(This is known as *Doctrina Christiana*, the earliest of these to be printed in Japan. Printed at Amakusa, 1592).

This book was discovered in 1903 by Naojiro Murakami in the Passos Manuel Lyceum, Lisbon. Later it was lost, to turn up in a Spanish booksellers' catalogue. In 1917 it was acquired by Baron Iwasaki for the Toyo Bunko (Oriental Library), Tokyo, where a facsimile reproduction was made.

7—DOCHIRINA KIRISHITAN

どちりいな・きりしたん

(This is the earliest book of Christian Doctrine in Japanese characters. The title page is missing. It has been dated 1592, and is believed to have been printed at Amakusa, 1592).

Sir Ernest Satow discovered the only known printed copy in the *Biblioteca Barberini* (Vatican Library).

8—

ばうちずもの授けやう

(neither the title nor the date has survived, but the first heading of the books indicates that it gives «salutary advice on the method of administering Baptism and exhorting the sick to receive the Sacrament of Penance. It is said that this book must have been published at Amakusa in 1593).

Said to have been at one time in the Passos Manuel Lyceum, Lisbon, this book was acquired at London by Chozo Ito. It is now in the Tenri Central Library. No other copy is known to exist.

9—THE NEXT VOLUME CONSISTS OF THREE BOOKS:

NIFON NO COTOBA TO. Historia no narai xiran to fossvru fito no tameni xeve ni yavaragvetarv Feiqe no Monogatari. Iesvs no Companhia no Collegio Amacusa ni voite Superiores no go menqio to xite core uo fan ni qizamu mono nari. Go xuxxe yori MDLXXXII

口訳平家物語

(Feiqe Monogatari—a Japanese historical classic—explained in colloquial for the study of the language and history of Japan).

ESOPO NO FABVLAS. Latinuo vaxite Nippon no cuchito nasu mono nari—Iesvs no Companhia no Collegio Amacusani voite Superiores no gomenqio toxite coreuo fanni qizamu mono nari. Goxuxxe yori MDLXXXIII.

伊曾保物語

(Aesop's Fables, translated from Latin into Japanese. 1953), followed by a new title: *Xixo Xixxo* nadono vchiyori nuqi idaxi, quincuxuto nasu mono nari. Vocata soresoreni chusuru mono nari.

金句集

(A collection of proverbs extracted from the Four Books and the Seven Books, etc).

This volume is in the British Museum Library. In recent years several editions have been published in Japan.

10—EMMANVELIS ALVARI E SOCIETATE IESV DE INSTITVTIONE GRAMMATICA, Libri Tres. Coniugationibus accessit interpretatio Iaponica. In Collegio Amacvnsi Societatis Iesv. Cvm Facultate Sveriorvm. Anno MDXCIII.

拉丁文典

(Father Manuel Alvares' celebrated Latin grammar, in an abridged form, adapted to the needs of students in Japan). One copy in the *Biblioteca Angelica*, Rome, and one in the Evora Public Library.

11—DICTIONARIVM LATINO LVSTANICVM, AC IAPONICVM, ex Ambrosii Calepini volumine depromptum: in quo omissis nominibus proprijs tam locorum, quàm hominum, ac quibusdam alijs minùs vsitatis, omnes vocabulorù significationes, elegantioresq; dicendi modi apponuntur: in vsum, & gratiam Iaponicae iuuentutis, quae Latino idiomi operam nauat, nec non Europaeorù, qui Iaponicù sermonem addiscunt. In Amacvsa in Collegio Iaponico Societatis Iesv cum facultate Superiorum. Anno MDXCV.

拉葡日対訳辞典

(Based on Ambrosio Calepino's Latin dictionary). Copies have been found in the Bibliothèque de l'Institut, Paris;

the Bodleian Library, Oxford; the Library of the University of Leyden; the British Museum Library; the Marsden Library at King's College (now the School of Oriental and African Studies); the Pei-t'ang Library, Peking (2 copies); and one contemporary transcript in the Ajuda Palace Library, Lisbon.

- 12 — *CONTEMPTVS MUNDI JENBU*. Core yo vo itoi, Iesv Christono gocoxeqiuo manabi tatematguru michiuo voxiyuru qio. Nippon Iesvsno Companhia no Collegio nite Superiores no goguegiuotte coreuo fanni firaqu mono nari. Toqini goxuxxeno nenqi, 1596.

コンテンツス・ムンヂ

(A Japanese translation of *The Imitation of Christ* by Thomas a' Kempis. According to Japanese scholars the idiom makes it one of the best pieces of religious literature in Japan, both Christian and non-Christian). One copy in the *Bodleian Library*, Oxford and another in the *Bibliotheca Ambrosiana*, Milan.

- 13 — *EXERCITIA SPIRITVALIA IGNATIJ DE LOYOLA*. Cum facultate Superiorum. In Amacvsa in Collegio Iaponēsi Societatis Iesu. MDXCVI.

精神の鍛錬

(This book is the so-called *versio vulgata*, in Latin, of the Spanish original). The only known copy is in the possession of Count Oppersdoff, Oberglogau, Upper Silesia, Germany.

- 14 — *COMPENDIVM SPIRITVALIS DOCTRINAE* ex varijs Sanctorum Patrum sententijs magnā ex parte collectum: Avtore Reverendiss. P. F. Bartholomeu de Martyribus, Archiepiscopo Bracharenis, & Hispaniarum Primate. In Collegio Iaponico Societatis Iesu cum facultate Ordinarij, & Superiorum. Anno 1596.

精神修養の提要

(A work on the spiritual life, written by the Venerable Frey Bartolomeu dos Martires, Archbishop of Braga, first published at Braga, Portugal, in 1564. It was a popular work and several editions were printed in various places in Europe).

For a long time the very existence of this book was not known to scholars until a copy was found in the old Portuguese Mission's library at Peking, the *Pei-t'ang Library*. Another copy was found soon after at the Augustinian Convent, Manila (not destroyed during World War II as it was sent to the Convent of the order in Valladolid) and a copy was offered for sale by a New York bookseller in 1949, to be acquired eventually by the Tenri Library, Japan.

- 15 — *SALVATOR MVNDI*: Confessionarivm in Collegio Iaponico Societatis Iesv. Cum facultate Superiorum. MDXLVIII.

サルワトール・ムンヂ

(A work on confession, in cursive Chinese characters and hiragana symbols). A copy, the only one known, is in the *Biblioteca Casanatense*, Rome.

- 16 — *RACVYOXV*. In Collegio Iaponico Societatis Iesv. Cum facultate Superiorum. Anno MDXCVIII.

落葉集

(A dictionary in three parts, containing Chinese characters in the first part, with the Japanese *kana* syllabary in the second. These two parts are dated 1598. A third part, published in 1599, classifies the characters according to their radicals with *on* and *kun* readings). The only copy to contain the three parts is in the British Museum, while copies with the first two parts are to be found in the Leyden University Library; the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris and the Archives of the Society of Jesus in Rome.

- 17 — *GVIA DO PECADOR*. In Collegio Iaponico Societatis Iesv. Cum facultate Ordinarij, & Superiorum. Anno MDXCIX.

きや・じ・ぺかどる

(An abridged version in Japanese of the well known work by the Dominican Frey Luis de Granada, of which a large number of editions have appeared in several European languages. It appears that a later edition was printed in 1602). Quite a number of copies are known to exist, some, however, as fragments, which makes it difficult to tell whether they are from the 1599 or 1602 edition. Copies have been recorded at

the British Museum Library, London; the Escorial Library, Spain; the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; the Bibliotheca Barriani (Vatican Library), Rome; the Library of King Manuel, Vila Viçosa, Portugal; the archives of the Society of Jesus, Rome; the Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, Portugal; the Tenri Central Library, Japan; and the library of Prof. C. R. Boxer.

- 18 — *DOCTRINA CHRISTAN*. In Collegio Iaponico Societatis Iesv. Cum facultate Ordinarij & Superiorum. Anno 1600.

トネリナ・キリシタン

(This is an enlarged edition of the early book printed in 1592, in Latin).

Only one copy of this book is known to exist, it is in the library of the Marquis Tokugawa, at Mito, Japan.

- 19 — *DOCTRINA CHRISTAN*. Nagasaqui ex Officina Goto Thome Soin typographi Societatis Iesv. Cum Facultate Ordinarij, & Superiorum. Anno 1600.

どちりな・きりしたん

(Another edition of the *Dochirina Kirishitan*, 1592. The name of Goto Thomas Soin appears at the printer, and bears out the reported change mentioned by Father Gabriel de Matos, in 1603, that the Jesuit press began working in two separate departments, one for books in Latin and the other for Japanese texts).

The only known copy in Biblioteca Casanatense, Rome.

- 20 — *ROYEI-ZAFITSU*. In Collegio Iaponico Societatis Iesv. Cum facultate Ordinarij, & Superiorum. Anno 1600.

倭漢朗詠集卷之上

(An anthology of poems for recital, on subjects such as the perishableness of human life, on Japanese heroes and various prayers).

Only one copy, in the Escorial, Spain.

- 21 — *DOCTRINÆ CHRISTIANÆ RUDIMENTA*, cum alijs pijs Orationibus. Nagasaqui ex Officina Goto Thome Soin typographi Societatis Iesv. cum facultate Ordinarij, & Superiorum, 1600.

おらしよの籠訳

(A prayer book and catechism in Japanese and Latin).

The only known copy was acquired by the Tenri Central Library, Tambaichi, Japan, in 1941.

- 22 — *APHORISMI CONFESSARIORVM EX DOCTORVM SENTENTIJS COLLECTI*. Avtore Emanuele Sa Doctore Theologo Societatis Iesv. In Collegio Iaponico eiusdem Societatis, cum facultate Ordinarij, & Superiorum. Anno Domini, 1603.

金言集

(A reprint of the book on theology by Father Manuel Sa, S. J., the first edition of which was published at Venice in 1595. The Japanese edition was an exact reprint of the Manila edition of 1600.

The only copy was discovered by Father Henri Bernard-Maitre, S. J., in the Pei-t'ang Library, Peking, in 1936.

- 23 — *VOCABVLARIO DA LINGOA DE IAPAM* com a declaração em Portugues, feito por algvns Padres, e Irmãos da Companhia de Iesv. Com licença do Ordinario, & Superiores em Nangasaqui no Collegio de Iapam da Companhia de Iesvs. Anno MDCIII.

日葡辞典

(A Japanese-Portuguese dictionary containing about 30,000 words, based on the Latin-Portuguese-Japanese Dictionary of 1595).

Only five copies have been found in modern times: Bodleian Library, Oxford; the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; the British Museum Library, London; the Biblioteca Pública de Évora, Évora, Portugal; and the Dominican Convent, Manila. A handwritten contemporary copy in the Ajuda Palace Library, Lisbon.

- 24 — *ARTE DA LINGOA DE IAPAM* composta pello Padre Rodriguez Portugues da Cõpanhia de Iesv diuidida em tres Livros. Com licença do Ordinario, e Sveriores em Nangasaqui no Collegio de Iapão da Companhia de Iesv. Anno 1604.

日本文典

(Printing began in 1604 but was completed in 1608, according to the colophon).

Two copies have survived, one in the Bodleian Library, Oxford and the other in the library of the Earl of Crawford.

25—

太平記抜書

- 26—*MANVALE AD SACRAMENTA ECCLESIAE MINISTRANDA*. D. Ludouici Cerqueira Iaponensis Episcopi opera ad vsum sui cleri ordinatum, Cvm Approbatione, et Facultate. Nangasaquij, in Collegio Iaponico Societatis Iesv. Anno Domini, MDCV.

sacrament 提要

(A ritual in Latin adapted to the needs of the churches in Japan).

Copies are to be found in the archives of the Society of Jesus, Rome; the British Museum, London; the Toyo Bunko (East Asiatic Library), Tokyo; the Library of Sophia University, Tokyo; the Public Library of Toulouse, France; three copies in the Pei-t'ang Library, Peking.

- 27—*SPIRITVAL XVGVIO NO TAMENI YERABI ATÇUMURU XU-QUANNO MANUAL*. Core Iesvsno Companhia ni voite amitaçuru mono nari. Svprioriesto, Ordinariono yuruxino comuri, Nagasaqi Iesvsno Companhiao Collegioni voite fanni firaqu mono nari. 1607.

スピリツアル修業鈔

(A manual of meditations, in three parts, chosen with regard to the Spiritual Exercises).

One copy has survived in the Cathedral of Nagasaki, and another copy was discovered in the Franciscan Convent at Manila, in 1941 (but was lost during the War), before the war. Another copy was sent to the Franciscan College in Valladolid.

- 28—*FLOSCVLI EX VETERIS, AC NOVI TESTAMENTI*, S. Doctorvm, et Insignivm Philosophorvm Floribvs Selecti. Per Emanuelem Barretum Lusitanum, presbyterum Societatis Iesv. Cum facul-

tate Ordinarij, & Superiorum. Nangasaquij. In Collegio Iaponico eiusdem Societatis. Anno Domini MDCX.

聖教精華

(An anthology, compiled from the Bible and the Christian philosophers and other, on the virtues and vices, written by Father Manuel Barreto).

One copy in the Toyo Bunko (East Asiatic Library), Tokyo and one purchased after the War by Paul C. Blum in Italy. A third copy is to be seen in the Biblioteca Pública in Oporto, Portugal.

- 29—*CONTEMPTVS MVNDI*. Miaci ex Officina Farada Antonii. Cum facultate ordinarij, et Superiorum. Anno 1610.

こんとむつす・むん地

(A shortened edition of the earlier edition of 1596, by Thomas a Kempis, in Latin and Japanese. The printer seems to have been a Japanese Christian layman).

The only surviving copy was in the hands of Mr. Ikenaga before the war, but has been acquired by the Tenri Central Library in Japan.

- 30—*FIDES NO QVIO*. Nagasaqui ex Officina Goto Thomae Soin Typographi Societatis Iesv. Cum facultate Superiorum, & Ordinarij. Anno Domini 1611.

ひですの経

(A version in Japanese and Latin of Frey Luis de Granada's Introduction del Symbolo de la Fe, first published at Salamanca in 1582. It differs from the earlier book printed in Japanese in 1599).

The only known copy was reported to be in private hands in the U. S. A.

31—

太平記抜書・卷第二

- 32—*ARTE BREVE DA LINGOA IAPOA* tirada da Arte Grande da mesma lingua, pera os que começam a aprender os primeiros

principios della. Pello Padre Ioam Rodrigues da Companhia de Iesv Portuguez do Bispado de Lamego. Diuidida em tres Livros. Com licença do Ordinario, & Superiores. Em Amacao no Collegio da Madre de Deos da Companhia de Iesv. Anno MDCXV.

(This is an abridgement of the large grammar of 1604-08).

Copies in the School of African and Oriental Studies, London University and the Library of the Ajuda Palace, Lisbon; and a contemporary manuscript copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

Besides these books, of which copies are known to exist, Father Johannes Laures, S. J., cites at least 37 titles of books and sheets which are believed to have been printed, according to contemporary writers, but have not been traced. Besides these, old manuscript transcripts of over 30 books and documents have been found. All these have been listed and described in full by Father Johannes Laures, S. J., in *Kirishitan Bunko*, Tokyo, 1940; *Supplement to Kirishitan Bunko*, Tokyo, 1951, and the 3rd, revised, edition of the same book, published at Tokyo in 1959, quoting earlier authorities and newer sources.

APPENDIX II

The following is a list of the fuller titles of the xylographic works printed at Macao or in China, referred to and described by Prof. C. R. Boxer in his article in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1947, Parts 3 & 4, pp. 199-215, with acknowledgements to the author and the Committee of the Royal Asiatic Society.

1. *Sapientia Sinica, Exponente P. Ignacio a Costa Lusitano Soc. Ies. a P. Prospero Intorcetta Siculo eiusd. Soc. orbi proposita. Kien cham in urbe Sinaru Provinciae Kiam Si. 1662. Superiorum permissu.* [Kien-chang 1662].

Boxer quotes Cordier to list copies in:

British Museum, London
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
Imperial Library (former), Vienna
National Library, Palermo, Italy
Siccawei Jesuit College, Shanghai (incomplete copy)

2. *Sinarum Scientia Politico-Moralis... P. Prospero Intorcetta Siculo Societatis Iesu in Lucem edita.* [Canton, 1667 — Goa, 1669].

According to Cordier and Pelliot copies in:

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
National Library, Palermo, Italy
Imperial Library (former), Vienna
School of Oriental Studies, London
Vatican Library, Rome
Academia de la Historia, Madrid

and Boxer saw a copy in:

National Library, Peking

3. *Innocentia Victrix sive Sententia Comitiorum Imperij Sinici pro Innocentia Christianae Religionis Lata Juridice per Annum 1669. Ivssu R. P. Antonij de Govvea Soc^{ti} Iesu, Ibidem V. Provincialis Sinico-Latine exposita In Quam cheu metropoli provinciae Quam tum in Regno Sinarum. Anno Salvatis Hvmanae MDCLXXI.* [Canton, 1671].

According to Cordier and Pelliot copies in:

Vatican Library, Rome (4 copies)
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (3 copies)
Academia de la Historia, Madrid (2 copies)
School of Oriental Studies, London
British Museum, London
University Library, Munich
Copy sold by Quaritch, London, in 1898
Copy in the library of Sir Leicester-Harmsworth

and Boxer records copies as follows:

Lenox Collection of the New York Public Library
Bibliotheca Lindesiana
Copy in Boxer's library
Imperfect copy disposed of by Boxer

4. *Epistola P. Ferdinandi Verbiest Vice-Provincialis Misstonis Sinen-sis, anno 1678 die 15 augusti, ex Curia Pekinensi in Europam ad Socios missa.* [Peking, 1678].

According to Cordier and Pelliot copies at:

Brussels (2 copies)
Vatican Library, Rome (2 copies)
Siccawei Jesuit Library

and Boxer records copies in:

Bollandist's Library
Jesuit Archives, Rome
National Library, Peking

5. *Relatio Sepulturae Magno Orientis Apostolo S. Francisco Xaverio erecte in Insula Sanciano anno saeculari MDCC. [? Peking, 1700].*

According to Cordier and Pelliot copies at:

Brussels (3 copies)
School of Oriental Studies, London
British Museum, London
Toyo Bunko, Tokyo
Cordier's copy
Pelliot's copy
Copies offered in Maggs Bros. catalogues (2 copies)
Truncated copy of Mr. Norris
Acquired at Paris by the Japanese in 1922
Academia de la Historia, Madrid

Boxer records:

National Library, Peking
Bodleian Library, Oxford
Mensing Collection in the Scheepvaart Museum, Amsterdam

6. *Brevis Relatio eoru, quae spectant ad Declarationem Sinaru Imperatoris Kam Hi circa Caeli, Cumfucij, et Auoru cultu, dalam anno 1700. Accedunt Primatu, Doctissimoruq. viroru, et antiquissimae Traditionis testimonia. Opera PP. Societ. Jesu Pekini pro Euangelij propagatione laborantium. [Peking, 1701; and Canton, 1702].*

According to Cordier and Pelliot copies at:

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (2 copies)
Academia de la Historia, Madrid (2 copies)
British Museum, London

Vatican Library, Rome
National Library, Palermo, Italy
Bollandist Library
University of Petrograd
Pelliot's copy
Offered by Hierseman, Leipzig
Maggs Brothers, London

Boxer records:

University Library of Gottingen
Scheepvaart Museum, Amsterdam
Maggs Brothers sold in 1946
Boxer's copy
Bodleian Library, Oxford (4 copies)

7. *Arte de la Lengua Mandarinina compuesto por el M. R^o, P^o, Fr. Francisco Varo de la sagrada Orden de N. P. S. Domingo, acrecentado, y reducido a major forma, por N^o, H^o, Fr. Pedro de la Pinuela P^or y Comisario Prov. de la Mission Serafica de China. Anadiose un Confesionario muy util, y provechoso para alivio de los nuevos Ministros. Impreso en Canton ano de 1703. [Canton, 1703].*

According to Cordier and Pelliot (*apud* Boxer) the following have been recorded:

Montucci-Klaproth copy sold by Hiersemann, Leipzig
Father J. B. d'Illiceto-Fourmont
De Guignes-Landresse
University of Munich
University of Kazan
Asiatic Museum, Leningrad
Vatican Library (2 copies)
Imperial Library (former), Vienna
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
School of Oriental Studies, London
Bibliotheca Lindesiana (Lord Crawford's copy)
Offered by Quaritch in 1886
Offered by Maggs Brothers in 1931

8. *Exemplar Epistolae R. P. Fr. Dominici Navarrete sacri Ordinis Praedicatorum data Cantone 29 Septembris anni 1669. Ad R. P. Antonium de Gouwea Societatis Jesu. Vice Prouincialem V. Prouvinciae Sinensis.*

Juxta Originale, quod asseruatur Pekini in Collegio eiusdem Societatis. [Peking, 1704].

The only recorded copy is in Boxer's collection; a facsimile limited edition at Macao in 1947.

9. *Relacion sincera, y verdadera De la justa defension De las Regalias, y privilegios de la Corona de Portugal En la Ciudad de Macao, Escrita Por el Doctor D. Felix Leal de Castro, en la misma Ciudad A 4 de Febrero de 1712. Impressa en Hiang Xan con las Licencias necessarias.* [Heungshan, 1712].

Based on Pelliot, Boxer records:

Sir Leicester Harmsworth (sold in 1946)
Sold by Maggs Brothers in 1921 to Japan
Pelliot's copy

to which should be added:

Manisola Library of Visconde de Esperança
Library of Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisbon

10. *Informatio pro Veritate contra iniquiorem famam sparsam per Sinas cum calumnia in PP. Soc. Jesu, & Detrimento Missionis. Comunicata Missionariis in Imperio Sinensi. Anno 1717.* [Peking, 1718].

Boxer, based on Cordier and Pelliot, records:

British Museum, London (2 copies)
Vatican Library, Rome (2 copies)
National Library, Palermo
Bibliotheca Corsali, Rome
Maggs Brothers catalogue in 1921
Boxer's library

11. *Jornada, que o senhor Antonio de Albuquerque Coelho Governador, e Capitam Geral Da Cidade do Nome de Deos de Macao na China, Fes de Goa athe chegar a ditaa Cid^a Dividida em duas partes. Offerece esta obra a Sua Senhoria O Capitam Joam Tavares de Velles Guerreyro Seo menor Servidor.* [? Heungshan, 1718].

According to Boxer:

Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon
Torre do Tombo, Lisbon
Library of the Ajuda Palace, Lisbon (2 copies)
British Museum, London
Boxer's library

and a copy in:

Manisola Library of Visconde de Esperança.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Henri Cordier. *L'Imprimerie Sino-Européenne en Chine. Bibliographie des ouvrages publiés en Chine par les Européens au XVII et au XVIII siècle* (Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1901).
2. — *Bibliotheca Sinica. Dictionnaire Bibliographique des ouvrages relatifs à l'Empire Chinois. Deuxième édition, revue, corrigée, et considérablement augmentée*, 5 vols. (Paris, 1904-1924).
3. Paul Pelliot. Articles in *T'oung Pao. Archives concernant l'Histoire, les langues, la Géographie et l'ethnographie de l'Asie Orientale*. Vol. XXIII, No. 5. pp. 355-372 (Leiden, 1924) and Vol. XXVI, p. 48 (Leiden, 1927).
4. R. Streit and J. Dindinger. *Bibliotheca Missionum*, Vol. V (Aachen, 1929) and Vol. VII (Aachen, 1931).
5. *Bibliotheca Lindesiana. Catalogue of Chinese Books and Manuscripts* (privately printed: Aberdeen University Press, 1895).
6. Maggs Bros., Ltd. Sale Catalogues Nos. 403 [1921]; 452 [1924]; 521 [1929]; and 555 [1931] (London, 1921-1931).

APPENDIX III

Books published at Macao from 1815 to 1834. Those with an (*) were printed at the printing press of the English East India Company.

* 1. San Yu-Low: or the Three Dedicated Rooms. A tale translated from the Chinese. By J. F. Davis, Esq. of the Honble. Company's China Establishment, Canton, China. Printed by order of the Select Committee; at the Honourable East India Company's Press, by P. P. Thoms, 1815, pp. 56, in-8°.

* 2. Translations of extracts from the Peking Gazette, from the original Chinese with notes. By Robert Morrison, Canton, China. Printed by order of the Select Committee at the Honourable East India Company's Press, by P. P. Thoms. Macao, 1815, — pp. 42 in-8°.

- * 3. A DICTIONARY OF THE CHINESE LANGUAGE, in three parts. Part the first, containing Chinese and English, arranged according to the Radicals. By the Rev. Robert Morrison, Vol. I. Part I. Macao: printed at the Honourable East India Company's Press, by P. P. Thoms, 1815, in-4°, XVIII, 930 pp.
- * 4. Dialogues and Detached Sentences in the Chinese Language; with a free and verbal translation in English. Collected from various sources. Designed as an initiary work for the use of students of Chinese. By Rev. Robert Morrison. — Printed at the Honourable East India Company's Press, by P. P. Thoms, Macao, 1816 — in-8°, pp. viii, 262.
- * 5. Observations on the Expediency of opening a Second Port in China, addressed to the President and Select Committee of Supracargoes for the Management of the Affairs of the Honourable East India Company in China. — 1817, in-8°, pp. 42.
- * 6. The public are hereby respectfully informed that there is now published at Macao, in China, a Dictionary of the Chinese Language; to consist of three parts... The Author of the above work, the Rev. R. Morrison, has directed his attention to the collection of materials for it during the last ten years... Printed by P. Thoms, Macao 1817.
- * 7. A View of China, for Philological Purposes; containing a Sketch of Chinese Chronology, Geography, Government, Religion & Customs. Designed for the use of persons who study the Chinese Language. By the Rev. R. Morrison. — Macao. Printed at the Honourable East India Company's Press, by P. P. Thoms. Published and sold by Black, Parbury and Allen, Booksellers to the Honourable East India Company, London, 1817. in-4, pp. vi. 141.
- * 8. A Dictionary of the Chinese Language, in Three Parts. Part the Second. Chinese and English, arranged phonetically. Vol. I. By the Rev. Robert Morrison. — Printed at the Hon. East India Company's Press by P. P. Thoms, Macao, 1819. in-4, pp. xx, 1,090.
- * 9. The Affectionate Pair, or the History of Sun-kin. A Chinese tale. Translated from the Chinese by P. P. Thoms, Printed in the service of the Hon. East India Company, China. — Printed for Black, Parbury, and Allen, London, 1820. in-12, pp. iv, 104.
10. A ABELHA DA CHINA. The first number of this journal appeared on Thursday, Sept. 12, 1822.

11. GAZETA DE MACAO, the first number of which appeared on Jan. 3, 1824, the last number on Dec. 30, 1826.
- * 12. A Grammar of the English Language. For the use of the Anglo-Chinese College. By Rev. Robert Morrison. — Printed at the Honourable East India Company's Press, by P. P. Thoms, Macao, 1823, in-8, pp. 97.
- * 13. (Hien Wun Shoo) — Chinese Moral Maxims, with a free and verbal translation; affording examples of the Grammatical Structure of the Language. Compiled by J. F. Davis — Printed at the Honourable Company's Press, by P. P. Thoms, Macao, 1823. in-8, pp. viii, 199.
- * 14. A Vocabulary containing Chinese words and phrases peculiar to Canton and Macao and to the Trade of those Places; together with the titles and address of all the Officers of Government, Hong Merchants, etc., etc. Alphabetically arranged, and intended as an Aid to Correspondence and Conversation in the Native Language. — Printed at the Honourable Company's Press by P. P. Thoms, Macao, China, 1824. in-8, pp. 77.
- * 15. Hwa Tsien (the Flower's Leaf), Chinese Courtship. In verse. To which is added an Appendix treating of the Revenue of China, etc., etc., by Peter Perring Thoms, London, Parbury, Allen & Kingsbury; Macao, Printed at the Honourable East India Company's Press, 1824, in-8, pp. XVI — 339.
16. Questao entre dois boticarios, n.p., Macao; n.d. 1827, in-8, pp. iii, 10 and iv, 10.
17. THE CANTON REGISTER. The first number appeared on November 8, 1827. Started at Canton, this newspaper removed to Macao when the foreign merchants had to leave at the end of each trading season. It was printed, thus, at Canton for six months of the year and at Macao during the other six. When there were difficulties at Canton, the printing press remained at Macao.
18. Grammatica Latina, ad usum Sinensium Juvenum post longam experientiam redacta, a J. A. Gonsalves Congregationis Missionis presbytero post longam experientiam redacta et Macao in regali collegio Sancti Joseph Facultate regia typis mandata. — Tipografia do Seminario, Macao, 1828. — in-8, pp. 232.

19. *Arte China, constante de alphabeto e grammatica, comprehendendo modelos das diferentes composições, composta por J. A. Gonçalves. Sacerdote da Congregação da Missão. Impressa com licença regia no real collegio de S. Jose, Macao, Anno de 1929.* — in-4, pp. viii, 503, 48. Indice, correções e addições.

* 20. *Vocabulary of the Canton Dialect.* By R. Morrison. Part I — English and Chinese; Part II — Chinese and English; Part III — Chinese words and phrases. Macao, China. Printed at the Honourable East India Company's press by G. J. Steyn and Brother, 1828. — in-8, pp. 138.

21. *Diccionario Portuguez-China, no estylo vulgar mandarim, e clasico geral, composto por J. A. Gonçalves, Sacerdote da Congregação da Missão, M. R. A. S.* — Impresso com licença regia no Collegio de S. Jose, Macao, Anno de 1831. — in-4, 2 cols. pp. iii, 872.

* 22. *The Anglo-Chinese Kalendar and Register, for the year of the Christian Aera 1831, corresponding with the Twenty-eighth year of the Chinese cycle of sixty years.* — Printed at the East India Company's Press, by G. J. Steyn and Brother, Macao, China, 1831. in-8.

* 23. *NOTICE. Com.^o: «Several recent acts of the Chinese Government have compelled the President...».* R. Hudleston, Secretary, British Factory, Macao, 20th May, 1831.

* 24. *RESOLUTIONS of the British Merchants of Canton, Canton, 30th May, 1831.*

* 25. *NOTICE. Com.^o: «The President, etc., Select Committee on the 20th Ultimo gave public notice...».* H. H. Lindsay, Secretary, British Factory, Macao, June 10th, 1831.

* 26. *THE CANTON MISCELLANY.* The first number appeared in June, 1831 and the last was dated May, 1832.

27. CHINESE COURIER AND CANTON GAZETTE.

* 28. *A Catalogue of the Library of the British Factory at Canton.* — Macao, 1832.

* 29. *The Anglo-Chinese and Kalendar Register, for the year of the Christian Aera 1832. Corresponding with the Twenty-ninth year of the Chinese Cycle of Sixty Years, which 29th year commences on the 2d. of February, 1832. With a Companion — Macao, China: Printed at the East-India Company's Press, by G. J. Steyn and Brother.*

* 30. *Companion to the Anglo-Chinese Calendar, 1832.*

* 31. *Contribution to an Historical Sketch of the Portuguese Settlements in China, principally of Macao, of the Portuguese Envoys and Ambassadors to China, of the Roman Catholic Missions in China and of the Papal Legates to China.* By A. L. Kt. Macao, 1832. — in-8, pp. xiv, 174.

* 32. *A Dictionary of the Hok-keen Dialect of the Chinese Language, according to the reading and colloquial idioms: containing about 12,000 characters, the sounds and tones of which are accurately marked; and various examples of their use, taken generally from approved Chinese authors. Accompanied by a short historical and statistical account of Hok-keen: a Treatise on the Orthography of the Hok-keen Dialect; the necessary indexes, &c.* By W. H. Medhurst, Batavia. Printed at the Honourable East India Company's Press, by G. J. Steyn and Brother, Macao, China, 1832. — in-4, in 2 columns, pp. 1, xiv, 860.

33. THE CHINESE REPOSITORY.

34. *Diccionario China-Portuguez, composto por J. A. Gonçalves, Sacerdote da Congregação da Missão. Impresso com licença regia no Real Collegio de S. Jose, Macao, Anno de 1833.* — in-4, 2 cols. pp. iii, 1026, 2 and 126.

35. *Evangelist and Miscellanea Sinica.*

36. *A Sermon preached on board the American ship «Morrison» — Macao, 1833.*

* 37. (*Poesos Sinensis Commentaru*) — *On the Poetry of the Chinese (from the Royal Asiatic Transactions) to which are added, translations and detached pieces.* By J. F. Davis. Printed at the Honourable East India Company's Press, by G. J. Steyn and Brothers, Macao, China, 1834. in-8, pp. 199.

APPENDIX IV

Copies of the correspondence authorising the setting up of the printing press at the Seminario de S. José may be seen in *«LIVRO da Cópia legal dos Alvaras, Avizos, Cartas Regias, & e mais papeis pertencentes»*.

centes a Camara Episcopal de Macao in the Ecclesiastical Archives at Macao, ff. 90-94, (kindly furnished by Father B. Videira):

«To His Excellency Joze Joaquim da Silva Freitas,
«Illustrious and Excellent Sir,

«December 29, 1818.

«Enclosed is a Copy of the representation made by the new Superior of the Royal College of St. Joseph, in continuation of that of his predecessor, which showed how difficult it is not to have the services of a printing press for translations of Chinese Books needed for the work of the missionaries. A request was made that permission be granted in this College, where Father Joaquim Affonço Gonçalves, who is sufficiently (only sufficiently) able to undertake this work, with the help of manuscripts (old manuscripts, among them possibly the dictionary, still inedited, of the Jesuit Father Semedo) which should be availed of.

«It seems to me that this proposal is all the more interesting because it will not be a charge on the Royal Exchequer, as the Royal College has undertaken to take this upon it self as well as the supervision of the work, for they have more than one person capable of undertaking its proper supervision and I do not hesitate to bring this to your Honour's attention to convey to the Royal Presence of His Majesty, in expectation that he will instruct as His Royal Intelligence decides for the protection, preservation and improvement of his Royal Patronage of Missionary Services.

«May God preserve you for many years.

«(Sd) Miguel de Arriaga Brum da Silveira

«Macao, December 29, 1818»

* * *

«ROYAL NOTIFICATION REGARDING ST. JOSEPH'S PRINTERY
«1819 — October, 1

«Most Excellent and Most Reverend Sir,

«The communication from the Chief Justice of the City of Macao enclosing Your Honour's letter was presented to His Majesty and His Majesty has designed to grant the per-

mission asked for, on the terms of the reply given to the said Chief Justice, copy of which I also forward to Your Honour, to show that His Majesty being desirous of promoting, by every means, the healthy objectives of the Missions, has not wished to prevent the success of your work and has permitted the use of the printing press, the supervision of which His Majesty commits to your zeal and care.

«May God guard Your Honour,

«(Sd) Conde dos Arcos

«at the Palace of Rio de Janeiro,

«October 1, 1819

«To the Bishop of Macao»

* * *

«Honoured Sir,

«Your communication of December 29 of last year was presented to His Majesty and he has approved the request made by the Priests of the College of St. Joseph, and permits the use of the printing press for the papers and books needed in their missionary work. His Majesty has considered fit to approve the request, and orders that this be entrusted to this institution, in the care and under the direction of the priests of the said College, exclusively for the purposes mentioned, and under the supervision of the Diocesan Prelate. This is transmitted to Your Honour for your information.

«May God guard Your Honour,

«(Sd.) Joze Joaquim da Silva Freitas

«Conde dos Arcos, Secretary of State,

«At the Palace of Rio de Janeiro, October 1, 1819.

«To Senhor Miguel de Arriaga Brum da Silveira.»