

# FOREIGN DEATH IN CHINA: SYMBOLISM, RITUAL AND BELIEF IN THE OLD PROTESTANT CEMETERY IN MACAU

JOHN P. O'REGAN

From H. Kong, Canton &c, our pretty Protestant burial place here, has received many accessions to its members, from the victims of that fearful H. Kong fever, who finding that they could not recover, come here to – die.

Rebecca Kinsman (1844)<sup>1</sup>

## Introduction

In the nineteenth century there was something peculiarly Western<sup>2</sup> about meeting one's death on the South China coast; and many of the Westerners who came to Canton, Macao and Hong Kong at this time did just that, they died here. If they did not die of natural causes, they succumbed to the effects of malarial fever, cholera, dysentery or typhoid. Some were killed in action, in accidents on board ship or were drowned at sea. Others were murdered by pirates or were poisoned, and at least a few killed themselves. The hand of death showed little discrimination, anointing with its touch, missionaries, diplomats, Superintendents of Trade, supercargoes, independent travellers, merchants, ships' captains, noble lords, admirals, foot soldiers and ordinary seamen alike, in addition to the wives and children of many. The singularly Western element in all of this was the train of events which death effected, from the preparation for death of those who could see its approach to the rituals which attended it and proceeded from it. These included the post-mortem, the procession of the funeral cortege through the streets and the erection of memorial markers in cemeteries.

This article gives an account of the practices – symbolic and ritual – which were associated with foreign death in China, and of the predominant attitudes towards death which the foreign community held.<sup>3</sup> It will be argued that these practices played a central role in affirming and

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maintaining the foreigners' sense of themselves as Westerners and Christians in an alien and heathen land. For the purposes of relating this story, and giving as detailed an account as possible of the types of rites and practices which occurred, this article focuses on the English East India Company Cemetery, or 'Old Cemetery', in Macao which was founded for the use of Protestants in 1821, and where many notable personages associated with nineteenth century Canton, Macao and Hong Kong were laid to rest. They included, amongst others, the Reverend Dr Robert Morrison (1782-1834), the first Protestant missionary in China and translator of the Bible into Chinese; his son, John Robert (1811-1842), Hong Kong's first Colonial Secretary;<sup>4</sup> George Chinnery (1774-1852), the noted portraitist and landscape painter; Sir Anders Ljungstedt (1759-1835), the first foreign historian of Macao;<sup>5</sup> and the ill-fated Lord William John Napier (1786-1834), Britain's first Chief Superintendent of Trade in China.<sup>6</sup> The cemetery formally closed in 1857, although the occasional burial continued to take place here until 1859.<sup>7</sup> In total the cemetery received 164 interments during this time. The reasons for choosing this particular cemetery are many, but the principal ones are that there is a great deal of historical material available regarding the cemetery, and because it represents a clearly defined window of time in the history of the region through which a picture of the values and beliefs of the foreigners who lived in South China can be taken and set on record.

### **The East India Company Cemetery at Macao**

The Old Protestant Cemetery is located off a main square, the *Praça Luis de Camões*, which is named after Portugal's most celebrated soldier-poet and adventurer. Luis de Camões (1524-1580) is popularly believed to have been a member of the naval force which took possession of Macao in 1557 as a reward for vanquishing the pirate fleet of Chang Tse-lao and killing Chang himself in the process.<sup>8</sup> Legend has it that the poet composed part of his epic work *Os Lusíadas* here while enjoying the view from a rocky cleft overlooking Macao's

inner harbour. The *Jardim de Luis de Camões* with its celebrated grotto now commemorates the spot and is today a public park and shrine complete with a bust of the poet. In the 1820s this area was also open to visitors but was rather less public than it is today as the land formed part of what were then the grounds and gardens of the *Casa*, the English East India Company's main residence in Macao.<sup>9</sup> The house still survives, and is today a municipal museum and gallery of contemporary art. Both the park and the house are entered via the *Praça*. To the right of the entrance to the *Casa* there is a small double gate; above the gate, in marble, there is a plain white tablet upon which are inscribed these words:

PROTESTANT CHURCH  
AND  
OLD CEMETERY  
[EAST INDIA COMPANY 1814]

The tablet is misleading and is responsible to this day for many an erroneous entry in tourist guidebooks of Macao. Until the Company purchased the building in 1830, the 'Church' to which the inscription refers was simply a building housing the Company's printing press. It was then put to use as a mortuary chapel, only additionally becoming a Protestant place of worship after 1843. In 1858, following the formal closure of the cemetery and the opening of a 'New Cemetery' at *Bela Vista* to the north,<sup>10</sup> it became the 'Protestant Church'.<sup>11</sup> Since its restoration after World War II it has been known as the 'Morrison Chapel'. The date of 1814 is more mysterious as the 'Old Cemetery' did not open until 1821. Given the reference to 'Old', most concur that the tablet was erected sometime after 1857 when the cemetery closed. There is less agreement regarding the date of 1814. Some believe it refers to the renewal in that year of the English East India Company's charter to trade in China.<sup>12</sup> Others disagree, believing that 'whoever put the date 1814 did not know the year of the founding of the cemetery and therefore invented an erroneous date'.<sup>13</sup> Taking a more linguistic view, it is

noticeable that the date of 1814 is placed within brackets with the words ‘East India Company’ and not with the name of the cemetery, which therefore implies some relevant association between the date and the Company’s name. Speculating further, it may be that the official who took responsibility for the plaque’s construction and siting felt the date of the Company’s charter to be historically more significant to record than the date of the cemetery’s opening. For these reasons, I prefer the first explanation, although the true reason for the earlier date is likely to remain unknown.

The story behind the establishment of the cemetery itself, on the other hand, is much more closely documented. Until its founding in 1821, there were no cemeteries for non-Catholic foreigners in Macao because legal and religious statutes forbade anyone other than Catholics to be buried in Catholic soil. For the Portuguese this was precisely what the soil of Macao had become – a ‘Catholic’ terrain. In practice, however, the restriction on non-Catholic burial was enforced only within the city walls. Followers of other religions and Christian denominations were permitted to bury their dead on the hillsides without, in the open area known as the *Campo* between the northern city wall and the Barrier Gate (*Os Porto de Cerco*). The gate, which was constructed in 1573 on the initiative of the Chinese, marked Macao’s formal border with China. In the *Campo* foreigners would be often be buried in the midst of Chinese graves, there not being any dedicated grounds set aside for them. Foreigners were thus buried as space, convenience and Chinese compliance permitted – the plot often having to be purchased especially for the purpose. When foreign burials did occur, they often took place in secret and under armed escort because some Chinese would try to prevent them, and it was not unusual for a burial party to be molested while attempting to execute its responsibilities.<sup>14</sup> The principal reason for Chinese antagonism, apart from the fact of widespread racial prejudice towards foreigners – a predilection which the foreigners returned,

was that according to the spiritual principles of *feng shui* the good fortune and prosperity of future generations depended upon the safeguarding of ancestors' graves,<sup>15</sup> and some interpreted this to mean that it was beholden upon them to prevent the encroachment of foreign graves into the Chinese grounds of the *Campo*.<sup>16</sup> In these circumstances foreign burials could be fraught with difficulties, leading to verbal confrontations and even outbreaks of violence between foreign burial parties and groups of local Chinese. On one occasion perceived foreign interference in a Chinese burial site even led to the assassination of the sitting Portuguese Governor.<sup>17</sup>

Robert Morrison was all too familiar with the vicissitudes of foreign burials outside the city walls. In 1811 he had buried his infant son, James, at a place known as Meesenburg Hill not far from the Barrier Gate.<sup>18</sup> According to *The Chinese Repository*, 'He had to dig the grave with his own hands, ... in doing which he was at first forcibly interrupted by the Chinese'.<sup>19</sup> Morrison succeeded in accomplishing his task, but having suffered the distress of burying his son in these circumstances, Morrison found himself in the same predicament ten years later, when on June 10, 1821, his pregnant wife Mary succumbed to cholera. She was twenty-nine. He now faced the dilemma of what to do with her body. He related his difficulty in a letter to friends in England:

On Sunday, I wished to inter Mary out at the hills where our James was buried: but the Chinese would not let me even open the same grave. I disliked burying under the town walls; but was obliged to resolve in doing so: as the papists refuse their burying grounds to Protestants.<sup>20</sup>

The English East India Company, for whom Morrison was employed as an interpreter, took pity on him and exerted what influence it had with the Portuguese Governor, Castro Cabral, to be permitted to purchase a plot of land within the city walls for use as a Protestant burial ground. Cabral, to his credit, saw the sense in this and used his authority, and his undoubted

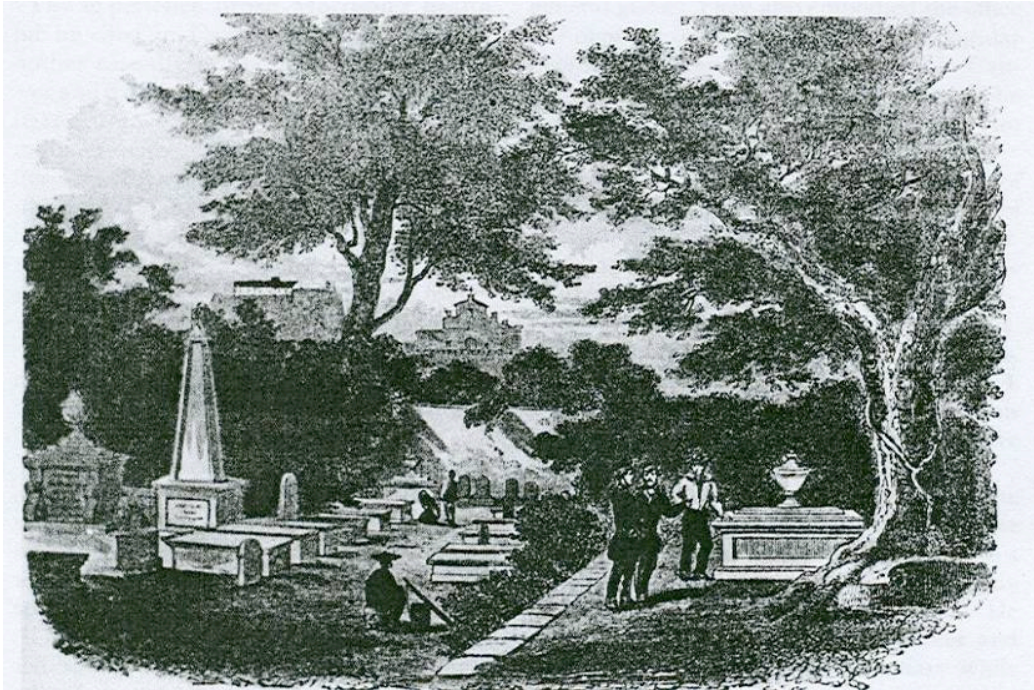
character, to clear the legal and ecclesiastical impediments which up to then had prevented Protestants from establishing a cemetery for the disposal of their dead. By coincidence, the owner of the proposed site,<sup>21</sup> Baron d'Almeida, was in need of ready cash, and this helped to hasten through the purchase. Thus it was that Mary Morrison became the first person to be interred here. Of the funeral itself, Morrison relates that:

Mr Livingstone & Mr Pearson, the President and Committee of the English factory, Mr Urmston; Sir W<sup>m</sup> Fraser, &c., bore the Pall. All the Gentlemen of the factory; also Councillor Pereira; Sir Andrew Ljungstedt; the Russian Consul and other Foreigners in Macao, attended the funeral. Mr Harding Chaplain to the Factory read the funeral service at the grave; and the whole detail of the funeral was conducted with decency and respectability by the English servants of the Factory.<sup>22</sup>

Mary's interment was shortly followed by a number of others, at first of people who in earlier years had been buried elsewhere, either outside the walls or, owing to a private (and quite exceptional) arrangement between the Company and various past Governors, within the grounds of the *Casa* next door.<sup>23</sup> Although the new burial ground was supposedly only for the use of East India Company employees and their dependents, it was soon opened to all Protestants regardless of specific denomination or nationality. Over the years these included Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians and Quakers.

A few personal reminiscences of the period survive which record people's impressions of the cemetery during the years that it was open. In 1839 an American naval chaplain leaving the grounds of the *Casa* behind him wrote of a place 'of yet deeper stillness, soft beauty and death. It is a spot like most of the burial places I have seen in the East, possessing a rural beauty, and still calm, and green richness and softness, which makes you feel that if you were to die abroad you would choose to be placed in such a spot'.<sup>24</sup> The American diarist Rebecca Kinsman, whose husband Nathaniel (d. 1847) is interred here, wrote in 1844, 'I had never seen this burial ground till one evening, when I was out with Capt. Gore and his wife, at the Camoen's Cave Garden. I proposed to them to go in, as it is very near – and we were very

much pleased to find it a sweet, shady, secluded spot, containing many handsome monuments'.<sup>25</sup> Visitors to the cemetery today will find it much as it was when Mrs Kinsman and her friends visited it. Indeed, if this nineteenth century engraving is anything to go by, apart from the view to the ruin of St. Paul's (now obscured), it has changed hardly at all.<sup>26</sup>



The Old Protestant Cemetery, circa 1860. Courtesy of the Derwent Collection, Special Collections & Archives, Hong Kong Baptist University Library

### **Texts**

This article has its origins in the text of a lecture by Lindsay Ride that appeared in this journal in 1963,<sup>27</sup> copies of which may be purchased today from the chapel caretaker. This text incorporates a comprehensive list of the dead in the cemetery, including the gender, age, date of death, and nationality of the persons interred here, as well as information regarding the location of each of the graves. This shows that, in total, the nationalities of those commemorated by marker between 1821 and 1859 include 101 British, fifty Americans, six Dutch, two Danish, one German, one Swede, and one Armenian deceased. Between these dates, 161 memorials were erected.<sup>28</sup> Ride died in 1977 and in recognition of his devotion to the cemetery his ashes were scattered in its grounds and a memorial tablet erected here.

Ride's death brought to a halt various writing projects regarding the history of Macao on which he and his wife had been collaborating, including a substantial work devoted to the cemetery itself. Some years passed, but renewed endeavours led to the publication of the manuscripts' essential components as a single volume under the heading *An East India Company Cemetery: Protestant Burials in Macao* (1996).<sup>29</sup> This is by far the definitive work.

The Rides were assisted in embarking on their research by two important earlier works on the cemetery. The first of these was *Macao Burials* by Capt. H. S. P. Hopkinson, which appears in the March 1938 to December 1939 issue of the *Genealogists Magazine*. A much more detailed survey including an 'historical sketch' is J. M. Braga's *Tomb-stones in the English Cemeteries at Macao* (1940).<sup>30</sup> In this short book Braga fills in the historical background of the Old Cemetery and provides biographical details about some of the more notable personages who are buried here. Another text which must be mentioned is *A Voz das Pedras de Macau* (tr. *The Voice of the Stones of Macao*) by Padre Manuel Teixeira (1980).<sup>31</sup> Teixeira reprises the format of the Braga text while adding further biographical details regarding the distinctive individuals other than Morrison who are buried here. He also reproduces with some minor corrections the inscriptions on each of the tombs. This book, like Braga's, includes a short section on the New Cemetery. Unlike Braga's, it also contains a brief account of the Parsee Cemetery (est. 1829) at *Estrada dos Parsees*,<sup>32</sup> and information on other stone monuments and memorials to be found around the territory of Macao. In 1985 the sections devoted to the Protestant burial grounds were translated into English and published in a revised format as *The Protestant Cemeteries of Macau*.<sup>33</sup> This book also reproduces Lindsay Ride's lists of the dead and their nationalities from his 1963 text.



## **Foreign Burial Grounds**

The Old Protestant Cemetery is a pre-eminent foreign burial ground for being one of the first in South China that was properly enclosed. It is also the sole surviving of those which predated the founding of Hong Kong and the opening of the Treaty Ports in the 1840s. Apart from the foreign cemeteries at Hong Kong,<sup>34</sup> it has also outlasted those which came later at places like Amoy, Shanghai and Tientsin, all of which have been swept away. Of foreign gravesites predating the Treaty Port era, there had been a foreign cemetery in the north of Canton from the early eighteenth century. In 1750, according to one Peter Osbeck, a Swedish chaplain who had attended a funeral service there, this was located ‘on a hill, without any fence, or distinction from the other hills’, and where the graves ‘had rubbish lying on them’.<sup>35</sup> This graveyard led a precarious existence and was abandoned soon after. There were also foreign burial grounds at the anchorages of Whampoa, French Island, Danes Island, Lintin and Capsingmoon in the Pearl River.<sup>36</sup> The permanence of these sites was always in doubt contrary to Western and, indeed, Chinese sensibilities about these things. The cemetery at Canton, for example, fell into disuse mainly because the authorities insisted that foreigners use Whampoa instead.<sup>37</sup> In 1980 a number of surviving foreign gravestones at Danes Island were restored and relocated to a terrace situated on what was once French Island. Owing to land reclamation across the middle of the French River, the north-eastern part of French Island has been umbilically joined to Danes Island and a new shipping channel dug further to the south-west. The result is that the north-eastern part of French Island has been permanently separated from the original landmass by the new channel and is now recognised as belonging to *Chang Zhou*, the Chinese name for Danes Island. It is here that the small terrace of restored foreign tombs can be found.<sup>38</sup>

## **Description Of The Old Cemetery**

Cemeteries come in many shapes and sizes, but common to all of them are the markers which designate where persons have been buried. These in their symbolic design, shape and ornamentation are intended to convey certain types of meaning. Visitors to the Old Cemetery in Macao will notice that there is not a great deal of variation in the markers that have been erected, and that they are on the whole quite plain, with ornamentation chiefly confined to a small number of distinctive motifs, most usually in the form of urns and symbolic devices upon tombs. It is noticeable, however, that there are no crosses or statues in the cemetery, and that none of the tombs display busts or likenesses of the deceased. Instead the visitor will find memorials of four main types: chest tombs, headstones, monuments and slabs.<sup>39</sup>

**Chest tomb** – The chest tomb is in the shape of a rectangular box set on a low podium slightly longer and wider than the tomb itself. The podium usually has four incised steps leading up to the tomb on each side. The chest tombs are made of granite and are inscribed on the top, on the sides and on the ends. Some have elements of all three; others, one or two (usually the top or sides). Most of the chest tombs are surmounted by a flat granite slab which overhangs the vertically-sided box. A few are more ‘worked’ in having fluted sides and corners, as well as curved and ornamented caps or tops. A number of these are surmounted by a funerary urn, the pagan symbol of death and passage to the afterlife.

**Headstone** – This is the type of stone grave marker which most Westerners would commonly associate with cemeteries. These are flat ledgers set into the ground so that they stand upright at the head of the grave. The headstone will normally show the name of the person who is buried there and that person’s dates of birth and death. Many will have an additional tribute to the person who has died and possibly some other information about his or her life. In the Old Cemetery the headstones come in a variety of shapes. All have straight sides, but they either have square corners, are arched or have gables at the top. There is speculation that at least some were used as ballast for ships on the route out, and were pre-carved with conventional memorial inscriptions in readiness for the name of a deceased person to be inserted when a crew member or passenger died in sight of a port.<sup>40</sup>

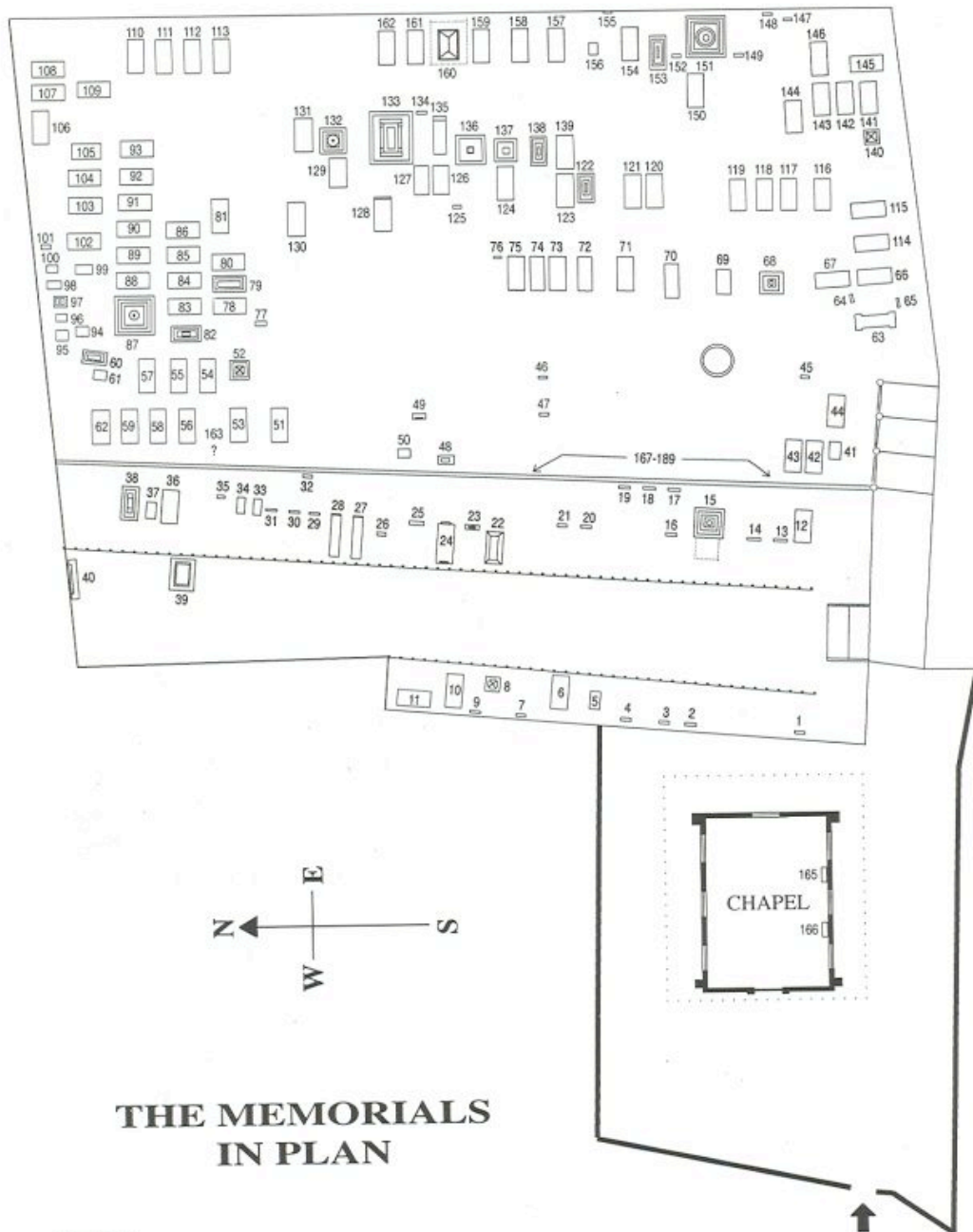
**Monument** – The monument is a recognisably Victorian grave marker. This tends to be taller than the other types of structure in the cemetery, and is usually characterised by the presence of a pillar, obelisk or column which rises vertically towards the sky. Of these, the pillar and the column are more ubiquitous than the obelisk, of which there is just one. Some of these structures are also surmounted by funerary urns. More generally the obelisk, pillar and column are pagan symbols representing fertility, regeneration and eternal life.<sup>41</sup>

**Slab** – This as the name suggests is a rectangle of stone laid flat upon the ground and inscribed on the top. Because the slabs were easily moved, they are not reliable as markers of the place of interment.

Of the 161 memorials sited between 1821 and 1859, one hundred are chest tombs, forty four are headstones, eleven are monuments and six are slabs. Two markers in the cemetery commemorate persons unknown and two commemorate the same man (Christian Jpland, d. 1857). There are also two markers which indicate that the grave in question is occupied by two persons.<sup>42</sup> The memorials are distributed on two levels, one about two and a half metres higher than the other (see The Memorials in Plan). The higher and narrower ‘upper terrace’ contains forty memorials and the remainder are situated on the ‘lower terrace’. All the graves in the upper terrace, except one, date from 1850-58.<sup>43</sup> The graves in the lower terrace cover the entire period the cemetery was open; this terrace also includes the grave markers of persons whose remains were relocated to the cemetery after it opened, such as Charles Biddle (d. 1811), Thomas C. Pattle (d. 1815) and Lieutenant Frederick B. Wintle (d. 1817).

On entering through the cemetery gate from the *Praça de Camões*, the visitor follows a straight path which slopes gently down to the upper terrace. Immediately on the left as you pass through the narrow gateway is the chapel. On the right and parallel to the path is the cemetery’s high south wall. The path runs past the side of the chapel for ten metres or so until you reach the downward sloping shallow steps at start of the upper terrace, which is on the left and at right angles to the path. The rear of the chapel overlooks this terrace. The path from the gate runs from west to east and the upper terrace from south to north. This terrace is approximately forty metres long and ten metres wide and another path runs down the middle of its length. The path terminates at the north wall and the large arch-like granite memorial to George Chinnery, which is set against the wall at that point.<sup>44</sup> There are graves on either side of the path, with the majority being on the right-hand side nearer the lower terrace. On the left for just over half the length of the upper terrace are eleven graves. All the graves on the upper and lower terraces, which are known, are marked by memorial structures.

Fig. 1. The Old Protestant Cemetery, Praça de Camões, Macao



After Teixeira

From Ride (1996). *An East India Company Cemetery: Protestant Burials in Macao*. Courtesy of Hong Kong University Press.

To descend to the lower terrace it is necessary to retrace your steps along the path to the start of the upper terrace. Here you rejoin the path from the gate and, by turning left, walk down three broad and sloping steps. These deposit you in the south-west corner of the lower

terrace. To your right is the south wall. To your left is the wall which supports the upper terrace. The lower terrace is more or less rectangular in shape and is approximately forty metres by twenty five, the south and north walls being its shortest sides. The lower terrace is therefore bounded on all sides, with a high east wall running parallel to the western wall supporting the upper terrace. Most of the memorials are concentrated in the south, east and north of the lower terrace. If a line were drawn down the centre of the lower terrace from south to north, most of the memorials in this terrace (about 90) would be situated in the eastern half. From the vantage point at the foot of the steps, the visitor has a view of the closely arranged clusters of tombs in the south, east and north. Immediately to the left, in front of the western terrace wall, can be seen ten more tombstones, and, bisecting this group, a circular stone well. The memorial structures are on the whole laid out linearly from west to east at the north end, and north to south on the eastern side.

The linearity is important. In Western meaning systems linearity is most usually associated with regularity, order and discipline, but in the confluence of belief systems in which the cemetery came into being an additional significance can be posited. This is that the cemetery's clean lines and regular layout would have stood in noticeable contrast with the perceived irrationalism of the Chinese practice of *fung shui* where, to the Western psyche, irregularity, disorder and ill-discipline were privileged over coherence.

[I]f anyone wishes to see to what a howling wilderness of erratic dogmatism the human mind can arrive, when speculation usurps the place of science, and theories are revered equally with facts, let him endeavour to fathom even the elementary principles of that abyss of insane vagaries, the science of Fung-Shui. (Edwin Joshua Dukes. *Everyday Life in China*. London, 1885)<sup>45</sup>

This contribution from the 1880s is instructive as much as for what it tells us about the prevalence of such attitudes well into the nineteenth century as for what it tells us about the nature and preoccupations of the Western mind, according to which such practices were

unscientific and also significant obstacles to Chinese enlightenment and redemption. Given the predominance of such beliefs it is important to view the Old Cemetery in Macao as performing a role in countering the perceived irrationalism and godlessness of the Chinese, and by which the foreign community believed itself to be surrounded and assailed.

For with all their antiquity, and their literature, and their arts and refinement, they are still infatuated idolaters; they are still given up to what to what Heaven regards as abominable idolatries and to vile affections, working that which is unseemly. Not liking to retain God in their knowledge, they worship and serve the creature rather than the Creator; they are haters of the true God, are filled with all unrighteousness, fornication, and wickedness. With all their civilisation, still envy and malice, deceit and falsehood, to a boundless extent, pride and boasting, a selfish, ungenerous, scarcely honest prudence, and a cold metaphysical inhumanity, are the prevalent characteristics of the people of China. (Robert Morrison)<sup>46</sup>

It was thus all the more important, therefore, to attempt to recreate, in custom and in appearance, the conditions of one's home in the alien land. Hence the linearity of the cemetery's 'handsome monuments' – all of a style and shape which speak of the familiar; but also its 'seclusion', 'rural beauty' and 'richness' which Western visitors were wont to record. To the foreign community of the period the cemetery was emotionally and ideologically situated in the West despite its actual location in the East. This was the role it performed. Today, beneath the shaded canopies of *Bauhinia* and *Frangipani*, the cemetery's English churchyard charm is undiminished, and it does not take much for the foreign visitor to imagine s/he has magically been transported home, away from China and back to a more familiar land.

### **Symbolism and Iconography**

Graveyard scholars who are interested in the symbolism and iconography of nineteenth century cemeteries have focused very much upon the devices, motifs and structures of the high Victorian era – the doves, hands, willows, pillars, pyramids, obelisks, urns and statuary of the period,<sup>47</sup> which in Britain and America only really came into their own after the 1840s. The Old Cemetery of Macao is much more notable for the deliberate understatedness of its

memorials. There is not the same breadth of monumental styles for example, or of devices and motifs, as are to be found in the more archetypal Victorian cemeteries of *Highgate*, *Père Lachaise* or, indeed, *Happy Valley* in Hong Kong. That said, they are not altogether absent either. Part of the reason is that this is not, strictly speaking, a Victorian cemetery since Victoria did not ascend to the throne until 1837 by which time the cemetery had already been in use for sixteen years. It did not therefore fall under the same architectural influences as many of the later Victorian cemeteries with their indulgent mix of Egyptian, neo-Classical and revived Gothic styles; although here too the Old Cemetery was not entirely immune. In 1842 *The Chinese Repository* was moved to comment that the cemetery's tombs, with their pillars and urns, 'exhibit a variety of style which is even greater than what is usual in burial grounds'.<sup>48</sup> A more substantive reason for its understatedness was that being a Protestant cemetery in a supposedly Catholic enclave it pointedly eschewed the symbols of Rome. This explains the complete absence of crosses, angels, images of Christ and associated 'papist' emblems on its tombs, all of which can be found in abundance at the *Cemitério Católico de São Miguel* (est. 1874) not half a mile down the road.

Of the 161 structures in the cemetery pertaining to the period 1821-58, fifteen are surmounted by funerary urns; one is surmounted by a distinctive elongated pyramid (Benjamin Ropes Leach, d. 1832); and one by an Egyptian style obelisk rising to a point (Sir Humphrey Le Fleming Senhouse, d. 1841). Of the structures with an urn, six are monuments and five are chest tombs. The monuments are taller and more substantial than the other structures in the cemetery. They usually consist of a square block of granite on a plinth surmounted by a square or fluted column. The column on some is then topped by an urn. Columns are pagan symbols of ascension. These appealed to Christians, and not just Protestants, due to their evocation of heavenly ascent and passage to the afterlife. The reason for this is that the symbolism of the rising column closely follows the dominant cultural template for the

organisation of visual meaning in the West. In this template features that are placed towards the top of an image or object are thought to be more conceptual and *ideal*, and features placed towards the bottom of an image or object are thought to be more material and *real*.<sup>49</sup> To draw an analogy, if the head is ‘heavenly’ and the feet are ‘earthly’, so in the West is the visual arrangement of meaning. The more we move in the direction of ‘the head’, the more *conceptual* and ideological meaning tends to become, and the more we move in the direction of ‘the feet’, the more *factual* and grounded it becomes. The columns of the monuments of the Old Cemetery thus symbolise the connection between the earthly corruption of the body and the heavenly ascension of the soul, in which the soul transmigrates between the real and

SACRED  
TO  
THE MEMORY  
OF  
ROBERT MORRISON D. D.  
The first Protestant Missionary to  
China,  
Where after a service of twenty-seven years  
cheerfully spent in extending the Kingdom of the blessed REDEEMER,  
during which period he completed and published  
A DICTIONARY OF THE CHINESE LANGUAGE,  
founded the Anglo-Chinese College at Malacca  
and for several years laboured alone on a Chinese version of  
THE HOLY SCRIPTURES,  
which he was spared to see completed and widely circulated  
among those for whom it was destined  
He sweetly slept in Jesus.  
*He was born at Morpeth in Northumberland  
January 5th 1782*  
Was sent to China by the London Missionary Society in 1807  
Was for twenty five years Chinese translator in the employ of  
*The East India Company*  
and died at Canton August, 1st. 1834.  
-  
Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth:  
Yea, saith the Spirit,  
That they may rest from their labour  
and their works do follow  
them.

the *ideal*. This is what columns, obelisks and other pointed structures in cemeteries are meant to signify. Written and *mixed-mode* texts (i.e. written and visual) predominantly follow the same pattern.<sup>50</sup>

A more prolific symbol than the column is the funerary urn. As a symbol of death the urn seems a natural

enough complement to any Western funerary scene were it not such an anachronism in the circumstances of the 1840s and 50s. Cremation, as a Christian mode of bodily disposal, did not become an accepted practice until the end of the nineteenth century, or even later. To



Ecclesiastical authorities at the time the consummation of the body by fire was a pagan act and a threat to the doctrine of resurrection. In Britain and America such theological objections were by and large ignored by a funerary industry eager to satisfy a growing public demand for memorials that went beyond the merely routine, and which for many more effectively represented the profundity and sorrow of death than the stone ledger, box or slab. In some non-conformist circles urns, obelisks and columns were by their very paganism somehow made even more suitable as memorialisation structures because they underlined still further the Protestant separation from Rome. In the circumstances of death in a foreign land, moreover, the strict Ecclesiological injunction that epitaphs were pagan, and ought not to record anything more than the words ‘Jesu Mercy’, was anathema to those able to erect ‘proper’ memorials to those they had lost. The Ecclesiologists argued that the epitaph itself was pagan because it was responsible for memorial texts being produced which mimicked the shape of the urn.<sup>51</sup> In practice, even amongst the most devout, the tendency – purse permitting – was to err on the side of prolixity and ‘urnness’, and nearly every epitaph in the Old Cemetery is emblematic of this format, including those of Morrison (above) and his wife Mary (see further on).

There are a number of significant motifs appearing upon the tombs in the cemetery. These include sculpted flames, thistles, scallop shells, urns, an oak leaf, a pine cone, an anchor, a sheaf of wheat, and a Masonic all-seeing eye within a triangle (right). The origins of these symbols are pagan and denote concepts such as resurrection (wheat and flame), desolation (thistle), fecundity (scallop), passage (urn), strength (oak leaf), endurance (pine cone), hope (anchor), omnipotence and the holy trinity (all-seeing eye and triangle).<sup>52</sup> Tombs where examples of these motifs can be found include:



Joseph West (d. 1831)	Seaman	American	Headstone	Urn
Edward Fitzgerald (d. 1841)	Naval Officer	British	Pillar	Flame-handled urn
Jacques Pierot (d. 1841)	Merchant	Dutch	Headstone	Thistle
Joseph Davies (d. 1842)	Naval officer	British	Headstone	Pine cone with leaves
George Chinnery (d. 1852)	Artist	British <sup>53</sup>	Monument <sup>54</sup>	Oak leaf
Daniel Cushman (d. 1852),	Seaman	American	Headstone	Scallop shell
Joseph Adams (d. 1853)	Naval Officer	American	Chest tomb	Anchor
Christian Jpland (d. 1857)	Captain	Danish	Headstone	All-seeing eye and sheaf of wheat

It does not seem likely that many Western visitors to the cemetery would have appreciated the symbolic meanings of these types of motif. Even so, they would still have carried meanings which positively associated these symbols with home despite their location in a foreign land.

### **Rites of Procession**

When interments occurred these were often preceded by highly ritualised processions through the streets of Macao. The greater the importance of the deceased, the more ritualised and flamboyant the procession. On such occasions the streets would be thronged with Chinese fascinated by the death rituals of the foreigners.

The Western obsequies of the stricken illustrious, particularly of senior servicemen, were grand enough spectacles, to watch the eccentricities of which the Macao population turned out in force, marvelling at the precision of drill displayed by the naval army corteges, at the rich pomp of uniforms, sometimes at the Governor and other Portuguese officials in colonial dress, as they traversed the city to the cemetery in sad procession, slow-marching with the other public figures, and the well-known foreign residents.<sup>55</sup>

There are several contemporary accounts of such funerals in which it is often remarked that in addition to the local dignitaries, such as Portuguese government officials and military representatives, the body of the deceased would be accompanied by ‘nearly all the British and foreign residents’.<sup>56</sup> If such accounts are to be believed, then funeral processions to the cemetery could potentially attract between 350-400 foreigners, allowing for eighty to one

hundred officials, all observing the appropriate Western formalities – the slow marching, the strict regimentation of the cortège and the donning of military regalia and crêpe.

Fig. 2 From 'The Chinese Repository' (1834: 282) and 'The Canton Register' (October 21, 1834: 167)<sup>57</sup>

*Order of Procession at the funeral of the late Lord Napier*

The Guard of Honor, composed of Portuguese troops.  
The Judges and Procurador of Macao.  
The Chaplain and Physicians to his majesty's superintendents.  
The British Colors, borne by two British seamen.

Captain Blackwood, H. B. M. R. N	<b>THE BIER.</b>	The Governor of Macao, Capt. H. M. F. R. N.
Captain Elliot, H. B. M. R. N		Captain Chads, C. B., H. B. M. R. N.
Captain Jonge, H. B. M. R. N		Captain Loureiro, H. M. F. M. R. N.

Relations of the deceased.  
His Majesty's Superintendents.

Rev. E. C. Bridgman.	William Jardine Esq.
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Secretaries to His Majesty's Superintendents.  
Officers of His Majesty's Navy.  
Officers of Her Most Faithful Majesty's Navy.  
Officers of Her Most Faithful Majesty's Army.

James Innes Esq.	James Matheson Esq.
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Followed by numerous British and Portuguese gentlemen.

The most elaborate funerals were those of diplomats and military officers, such as Lord Napier (Fig. 2), Lord Henry John Spencer Churchill (d. 1840) and Sir Humphrey Le Fleming Senhouse (d. 1841), whose interments additionally featured the crack of musket shots over the grave and the discharge of cannons from British naval ships anchored off shore. In the case of Napier, the *Canton Register* of October 21, 1834, reported that '[t]he constituted Authorities of Macao, the Troops, and a long line of British and Portuguese gentlemen made the funeral an imposing ceremony and the whole population of Macao turned out to see the

spectacle' (p. 167). It can only be wondered at exactly what the Chinese made of this display, but it must have appeared bizarre to them.

The death rituals in the view of the Westerners, on the other hand, would have been calculated to demonstrate solidarity, faith, and above all discipline and control – as this contemporary representation of Napier's order of procession shows (Fig. 2 above). If, according to the anthropologist Clifford Geertz, it is in the rites surrounding death that 'men attain their faith as they portray it',<sup>58</sup> then the Western funeral ritual in nineteenth century Macao may be interpreted as having a clearly didactic purpose in addition to its customary religious one. That is, it enacted for the benefit of onlookers, Chinese and Western, a perception of Christian faith and regimented self control which could be positively set against the supposed atheism and disorder of China and the Chinese. It was also partly for this reason that the non-Portuguese (and largely British) members of the foreign community would often find themselves accompanied by their Portuguese hosts in these ceremonies. Although the Old Cemetery's Protestant character represented an admonition of their Catholic faith, the Portuguese nevertheless believed in the same Christian God and adhered to the same rationalist belief system as the Protestants. As such, by their participation, they too were able to portray their faith in a true God and in a shared sensibility which identified them as Westerners in a foreign land.

### **The Good Death**

The customs and practices surrounding foreign death in China, in addition to being concerned with the cultural symbolism of the 'deathspace' and, in death's aftermath, of rites of procession, also included beliefs and practices associated with the whole process of death and passage to the hereafter. To true Christian believers it was important that the death should have been a 'good' one. That is, it should have involved a settling of earthly accounts, a

peaceful resignation to one's imminent demise and a conscious readiness to meet God. In its most idealised form this would have included well-chosen words of advice and final farewells to loved ones shortly before the moment of death. The notion of the good death is popularly associated with the Victorian era in England, but it goes back much earlier to the late medieval period and the Catholic devotional tracts of the *ars moriendi*, or 'art of dying', whose purpose was to teach people how to die well.<sup>59</sup> The Protestant model of the good death was based on this tradition and was one with which many of the residents of the cemetery would have been familiar. This simplified the Catholic tradition so that '[t]he spiritual and emotional role of the family and neighbours became more important, as their prayers replaced the [Catholic] priest's last rites'.<sup>60</sup> It is clear from the contemporary accounts which exist of the last hours of a number of those interred in the cemetery, such as Mary and Robert Morrison, Chinnery and the diplomat Napier, that the ideal of the good death had a powerful hold on them, even if – as in their own experiences – it was rarely seamlessly achieved.<sup>61</sup> A common feature of these accounts is that the dying person is observed to suffer greatly in the period leading up to his or her death, but bears the pain and discomfort with considerable fortitude, and even good humour. The deaths of Mary and Robert Morrison, and of Napier as well – if the accounts are to be believed – were all deaths of this kind. The experience of suffering was taken as a signal of the dying person's 'fitness for heaven and willingness to pay for past sins'.<sup>62</sup> This was important because the evangelical repudiation of priestly intercession at the deathbed, as well as of the Catholic conception of purgatory, meant that Protestants were left with the stark alternatives of heavenly bliss or eternal damnation once they died. This carried added poignancy for devout evangelicals like Morrison for whom the hour of death would also have been the hour of atonement. It was thus crucial in the hours before death for the dying person to be able to demonstrate his or her salvation in the Lord or eternal punishment was certain to follow. In addition to the

preparedness of the supplicant, the Evangelical ideal held that the moments immediately before and after the instant of death were most propitious if they could be experienced as ones of triumph and joy on the part of dying/deceased person and of the witnesses to his/her death. In the case of the Morrison family, many of the aspects of the good death appear in the letters of Morrison senior concerning his wife's death, and of John Robert concerning his father's death, which were sent at the time to officials of the London Missionary Society as well as to friends and relatives in England.

Robert Morrison's account of the death of his first wife, Mary, in a letter to her mother and father, dated June 12, 1821, portrays her as a deeply devout woman who 'never went to rest, nor rose to work, without reading considerable portions her Bible'. Mary was several months pregnant with her fourth child when on June 8, 1821, she became ill with cholera. At first she mistook the symptoms, which included 'profuse perspiration and some pains', for contractions. These abated the next day, the 9<sup>th</sup>, and she seemed to recover. But the symptoms returned with renewed intensity during the night, and whilst dressing on the morning of the 10<sup>th</sup> 'a purging and vomiting attacked her [and a] difficulty of breathing came on'. At this point Morrison called for the doctor, Mr Livingstone.

She asked Mr L. and me also, if there appeared any danger? I did not conceal it. She raised her eyes to heaven and looked resigned ... About half-past nine, the retching became shockingly intense – and when I held her dear head during the fits, her suffering was indeed great; but when she laid her weary head back on the pillow, she said, she had 'no pain' ... About ten o'clock, Mary's breathing became difficult; the difficulty increased, and the retching continued; and finally about half-past ten, after a severe fit, she threw her head back, and without any distortion in her features, with her head on my arm, the heart and lungs ceased to act. Mary died, and our little babe, alas! found a grave in its mother's womb. O, my God, what shall I say! Thus ended our darling Mary's short and afflicted life. I bless God for the assured hope that she is in heaven – that her departed spirit has reached the haven of eternal rest.<sup>63</sup>

His wife's devoutness in life would have signalled to Morrison that her preparedness for death was assured. The raising of Mary's eyes to heaven, her resignation and endurance of

SACRED  
 TO  
 THE MEMORY  
 OF  
 MARY.  
 WIFE OF ROBERT MORRISON DD  
 Who, erewhile anticipating a living Mother's joy  
 suddenly, but with pious resignation,  
 departed this life after a short illness of 14 hours,  
 bearing with her to the  
 GRAVE  
 her hoped-for child.  
 MARY was born in Dublin Oct. 24: 1791,  
 and died at Macao,  
 June 10. 1821.  
 -  
 In a moment at the last trump,-  
 The dead shall be raised incorruptible.  
 O death where is thy sting!-  
 O grave where is thy victory!-  
 Thanks be to God who giveth us the  
 VICTORY  
 Through OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST  
 HALLELUJAH!

pain, and the calmness of her appearance  
 at the moment of death, would also have  
 been taken as signs that she had achieved a  
 good death. This conviction is borne out  
 by the inscription on her tomb, which  
 records her 'pious resignation' to her fate.  
 Mary Morrison's epitaph is notable for its  
 triumphalism (note too its urn-like  
 appearance). The victory of salvation in  
 the face of oblivion was considered a  
 crucial element in the Evangelical

conception of the good death. In this view death and burial were as nothing as compared to  
 the victorious salvation which a pious preparedness for death would ensure. Thirteen years  
 later, John Robert Morrison, in a letter to the London Missionary Society would use the same  
 words that are engraved on his mother's tomb to describe the death of his father:

At about ten at night, on the first of the present month , while yet in the hands of the  
 physicians, who in vain endeavoured to restore warmth and pulsation he gently  
 breathed out his spirit, without a struggle or a groan. And, oh! the recollection of the  
 many preceding days spent by him in pain and extreme weakness – compels me to  
 rejoice, even amidst my utmost grief, that he has been released from the burden of  
 sin and sorrow – has rested from his labours – and shall henceforth be for ever with  
 the Lord. With what transports of joy may the Christians exclaim, "O death, where  
 is thy sting! O grave where is thy victory! Thanks be to God who giveth us the  
 victory through our own Jesus Christ."<sup>64</sup>

Although it is unlikely that all of the cemetery's residents would have held beliefs quite as  
 fervent as those of the Morrison family, such beliefs would certainly have been part of the  
 religious education and experience of many of them, particularly those coming from Europe  
 and America. In the words of G. M. Young, 'Evangelicalism had imposed on [Western]  
 society, even on classes which were indifferent to its religious basis ... its code of Sabbath

observance, responsibility, and philanthropy; of discipline in the home, [and] regularity in affairs',<sup>65</sup> to which we may add the affairs of death.

### **The Bad Death**

In contrast to Mary Morrison's good death, there was also the social opprobrium of the 'bad death', of which an example is the death of Thomas Beale. Beale, an Englishman, died in 1841 having lived at Canton and Macao for over fifty years. At the time of his death he was the oldest foreign resident in China – in age and in time spent there. In life he had been a tea and opium merchant. Owing to some injudicious speculations in the 1810s he had been declared bankrupt in 1816 and for the remainder of his life was pursued by his creditors. On December 10, 1841, Beale went for a walk and was not seen again until January 13, 1842, when his body was discovered protruding from the sand at Casilhas Bay on the north-eastern side of Macao. Beale was, despite his financial troubles, a popular and well-respected Macao resident, who was famous for possessing one of the most beautiful private gardens in South China, as well as an aviary containing a wide array of exotic birds.<sup>66</sup> Many Macao residents attended the funeral. These included Portuguese and British officials, Spanish, English and American friends, as well as several Chinese acquaintances. Although the exact cause of his death was never established, it was widely assumed to have been suicide.

To the foreign community in Macao Beale's suicide would have been considered the worst kind of death. Death at one's own hand was self murder and a sin against God. The English journal *The Canton Register* is a good indicator of the moral distaste with which Beale's suicide would have been received as its pages often contained accounts of suicides amongst the Chinese. In one of its editions the opinion is expressed that 'life being the gift of Heaven ... rational creatures are not authorised to fling that gift in the face of the giver'.<sup>67</sup> In Europe this was a perspective which was widely held and Beale's memorial inscription seems



indicative of suicide's taboo. His is a plain granite chest tomb which is simply inscribed 'To the Memory of Thomas Beale' and nothing more. It is in notable contrast to the tomb of his 'beloved', 'esteemed' and 'lamented' merchant nephew Daniel (d. 1827) which is alongside. To those who knew Daniel's uncle, the brevity of his inscription would have served as a warning against the shame of suicide and the 'forgetting' it engenders. In its report of his death, *The Chinese Repository* pointedly noted, 'We refrain from all comments, leaving it for time, or the records of the last day, to disclose the causes and the particular means, by which the deceased was removed from the light of life'.<sup>68</sup>

### **Autopsy**

The preoccupation with the spiritual destination of the soul was matched by a preoccupation with the remains which the soul left behind. In addition to becoming the object of customs and beliefs associated with the act of death and the funeral procession. They were also, in a few recorded cases, in the immediate aftermath of death, the object of invasive procedures for the advancement of medical knowledge. Autopsy as a customary practice for determining the cause of death was still at this time a relatively new procedure outside hospital dissecting rooms, but was more common amongst Europeans abroad, both on land and at sea.<sup>69</sup> In most of Europe, and in America, it did not become accepted medical practice until the later nineteenth century when it was given formal medico-legal recognition. Until this time post-mortem examinations were the largely clandestine preserve of anatomists and medical students practising on the bodies of dead criminals and on occasion on the victims of violent death. Outside these circumstances the post-mortem was uncommon.<sup>70</sup> The ostensible reason which was usually presented for the practice abroad, apart from the obvious absence of domestic official scrutiny, was that it served the purpose of furthering science. An additional reason which can be proposed is that the very rationalism of the procedure, and the

justification presented for it, made the persons who participated in it, as surgeons and as witnesses, feel progressive and enlightened and therefore also indelibly Western.<sup>71</sup>

The bodies of Robert Morrison and the artist George Chinnery both had autopsies performed on them. When Morrison died, his son John Robert gave his consent ‘to the expressed wish of the Physicians and Surgeons – to open my dear Father’s chest’ (underlining in original). The autopsy was performed by Dr Thomas Colledge, a local surgeon.<sup>72</sup> John Robert wrote that:

[T]he result of examination was that the liver was very much affected, and had been long diseased – the heart and lungs were much injured, the latter, on the right side, adhering closely to the ribs. The large intestine was a good deal inflamed. The most painful point is one (which has already perhaps been taken sufficient notice of) – that part of this inflammation was very recent, – and was occasioned – doubtless, by the excitement, exposure, & discomfort attending the passage up to Canton.<sup>73</sup>

Morrison had accompanied Lord Napier to Canton to act as his interpreter in negotiations with the Chinese, but feeling unwell did so with little enthusiasm. The journey by boat to Canton on July 24-25, 1834, had been oppressive to him, being undertaken in sweltering heat and in the midst of a tropical storm. Before the week was out he fell seriously ill, and on August 1 he died. Napier and the entire foreign community at Canton escorted Morrison’s body to the riverside for its transferral to Macao, where he was buried alongside his first wife Mary.

When the artist George Chinnery died in 1852, aged 78, he left behind a considerable reputation as a portraitist, canvas painter and sketcher of Indian and Chinese scenes. He had lived in Macao since 1825. According to Lindsay Ride, ‘Practically no foreigner and certainly no ship’s captain left Macao without at least one portrait of himself by Chinnery’.<sup>74</sup> Born in London, but with close family connections to Dublin, Chinnery had moved to India in 1802. After a residence of many years there, variously in Madras, Bengal and Serampore, he absconded to Macao leaving behind several infuriated creditors and a long-suffering wife.

He spent the rest of his life trying to evade both, although he sent Mrs Chinnery yearly remittances, 'to keep her quiet' as he told his friends.<sup>75</sup> Chinnery is painted as a colourful character by those who knew him, such as W. C. Hunter and Harriet Low,<sup>76</sup> but in his treatment of his wife there was little which was redeeming. He often remarked that he was thankful to the Chinese that Canton was forbidden to foreign women lest his wife should decide to pay him a visit, and according to his friend Hunter he kept a packed trunk ready at his residence in Macao should such an eventuality ever arise.<sup>77</sup> Despite a number of scares over the years, his plan was never put to the test. Mrs Chinnery eventually returned to England where she died in 1847, a broken woman.

Despite his droll sense of humour, Chinnery had a strong faith in God, and in his final illness some elements of the good death can be detected. In a letter written shortly before he died he says, 'How do I trust in that power which guides, rules and preserves us all! What can support us under our great trials but this? What my sufferings have been these three months ... Providence only knows'.<sup>78</sup> Chinnery died at half past four in the morning on May 30, 1852. W. C. Hunter and two other close friends, Patrick Stewart, a ship's purser, and Hurjeebhoy Rustomjee, a Parsee merchant, were present at the bedside. Hunter does not give an account of the last moments of Chinnery's life, but moves swiftly to the aftermath.

After seeing his effects placed in his studio we sealed the doors, left his servant Augustine and several Chinese in charge, and I came home to bed at 5 o'clock. ... Everyone supposed from his wonderful eating powers that his stomach would be found in a most deranged state. An autopsy was made by our Macao medico, Doctor Watson, who attended Chinnery in his last illness, the morning of his death, about 10 o'clock, at which Stewart and myself were present. On examining the brain it was evident that he had died of serious apoplexy, while the stomach was wonderfully healthy.<sup>79</sup>

It can only be surmised that Dr Watson saw in Chinnery's death the opportunity for some impromptu medical research, and asked Chinnery's friends for their permission to undertake the post-mortem, to which they must have consented, possibly out of a feeling of duty to the

furthering of medical science as well as out of what seems to have been a morbid curiosity about the exact cause of the artist's death and the practice of autopsy itself. The Christian theological separation of the bodily remains from the eternal soul is likely to have made the proposed invasive procedures more palatable, at least to Hunter and Stewart. They would have been able to console themselves, as had Morrison's son, with the thought that they had assisted scientific endeavour while also satisfying their curiosity without transgressing upon the soul of the deceased. It is notable that Hurjeebhoy Rustomjee did not attend the dissection. His religion forbade such bodily invasions.<sup>80</sup>

### **Conclusion**

Chinnery's life and more especially his death are a reminder of the connections which existed between several of the cemetery's residents when they were alive. Chinnery had painted or sketched very many of them, including Robert Morrison, his son John Robert, and Dr William College and his wife Caroline. Others included Anders Ljungstedt and Elizabeth Fearon (d. 1838) – one of a group of three females to be the first to defy the ban on women at Canton. Chinnery's friend, witness to his autopsy and pall bearer to J. R. Morrison – Patrick Stewart – survived him by five years and is buried along with his wife Louisa (d. 1857) in the lower terrace. Robert Morrison too had come into contact with a number of those who are interred here, but while both Chinnery and Morrison were noted Macao residents in their own way, more remarkable is the fact that so many of the others – the merchants, the ships' captains, the doctors, the wives and mothers, the military officers and the seamen – knew or had at least crossed paths with one another in life. For example, the burial of Nathaniel Kinsman (d. 1847), the husband of the diarist Rebecca Kinsman, was presided over by his friend the Rev. Dr William Speer, whose wife, Cornelia, had been buried in the same cemetery not two weeks previously. Both Kinsman and Speer were interred in the lower terrace. The Speers had arrived in Macao on Boxing Day, 1846, in the company of the Rev.

John Booth French, whose infant daughter Maria Ball French was to die in Macao in 1857. Maria is interred in the upper terrace. French and his wife Mary had been evacuated from Canton following violent disturbances there in October 1856 in a ship under the command of one John P. Williams of Utica, USA, who became a casualty of a deliberate mass bread-poisoning incident in Hong Kong in January of the following year.<sup>81</sup> Williams also lies in the upper terrace.

There are so many connections of this kind that the cemetery is less an anonymous repository of the dead, than an intimate community – a society of the dead. When foreign residents visited the cemetery, they were not just paying their respects, doing their duty or simply passing the time of day; they were also in a very important sense participating in a personal as well as a community experience about who they were and where they had come from. The Old Protestant Cemetery may have been a deathspace, but in the systems of meaning which it constructed and projected – in layout, style and iconography – and in the rites and beliefs which it made possible, it was crucially a Western deathspace rather than an Oriental one. Here, in the company of the living and of the dead, these foreigners received affirmation of what they believed themselves to be – namely, Christians and rationalists in a heathen and irrational land.

## Notes

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<sup>1</sup> Rebecca Kinsman (1810-?), American diarist and resident of Macao. Quoted in Ride, L. & Ride, M. (1996). *An East India Company Cemetery: Protestant Burials in Macao*. Bernard Mellor (Ed.). Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press. (pp. 38-9).

<sup>2</sup> The terms ‘West’, ‘Western’ and ‘Westerner’ when used in this article refer to the regions of Europe and North America or to persons of that origin. *See also* note 3.

<sup>3</sup> Unless the context suggests otherwise, the terms ‘Foreign’ and ‘Foreigner’ when used in this article refer to persons and things originating in, or having some relationship to, Europe or North America.

<sup>4</sup> Morrison Hill in Hong Kong is named after him.

<sup>5</sup> *See* Ljungstedt, A. (1837). *An Historical Sketch of the Portuguese Settlements in China*. Boston: James Monroe & Co.

<sup>6</sup> Until 1836 or 1837 Napier’s body lay in a plot close by the tomb of his friend and interpreter Dr Morrison before being disinterred and the remains transferred to the family estate at Ettrick in Scotland. *See* Napier, P. (1995). *Barbarian Eye: Lord Napier in China 1834*. London: Brassey’s. (p. 201). Despite being strictly illegal,

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three burials took place in the cemetery in 1858 (Mary Clark Sutherland, Sandwith B. Drinker and Samuel Burges Rawle), and one in 1859 (Fidelia Bridges Endicott). *See also* note 29.

<sup>7</sup> Despite being strictly illegal, three burials took place in the cemetery in 1858 (Mary Clark Sutherland, Sandwith B. Drinker and Samuel Burges Rawle), and one in 1859 (Fidelia Bridges Endicott). *See also* note 28.

<sup>8</sup> *See* Braga, J. M. (1949). *The Western Pioneers and Their Discovery of Macao*. Macau: Imprensa Nacional; and Braga, J. M. (1963). *Macao: A Short Handbook*. Macao: Information and Tourism Department.

<sup>9</sup> Despite a Portuguese prohibition on the foreign ownership of land in Macao, the East India Company had owned property in Macao since the 1770s. It possessed four large houses on the Praia Grande in addition to the *Casa*.

<sup>10</sup> The land for the New Cemetery was purchased at auction by one Osmund Cleverly acting on behalf of the Protestant Community in Macao. Cleverly Street in Hong Kong is named after him.

<sup>11</sup> *See* Ride, L., & Ride, M. (op cit). *An East India Company Cemetery: Protestant Burials in Macao*. (p. 63).

<sup>12</sup> This is Lindsay Ride's view. *See* Ride, L. (1963). The Old Protestant Cemetery in Macao: A Lecture Delivered on 7 May, 1962. *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 3, 9-35 (p. 14); *also* Ride, L., & Ride, M. (op cit). *An East India Company Cemetery: Protestant Burials in Macao*. (p. 64)

<sup>13</sup> This is the view of Padre Manuel Teixeira. *See* Teixeira, M. (1985). *The Protestant Cemeteries of Macau*. Macau: Direcção dos Serviços de Turismo de Macau. (p. 2).

<sup>14</sup> It should be noted that this experience was not universal. There are records of local Chinese showing due respect and deference towards foreign burial parties. *See* Downing, C. T. (1838). *The Fan Qui in China, in 1836-7, 3 Vols*. London: H. Colburn. (Vol. 3: 252); *also* Ride, L., & Ride, M. (op cit). *An East India Company Cemetery: Protestant Burials in Macao*. (p. 59).

<sup>15</sup> *See* Cheng Miu Bing, C. (1999). *Macao: A Cultural Janus*. Kong Kong: Kong Kong University Press. (p. 26).

<sup>16</sup> *See* Eitel, E. J. (1873). *Feng Shui; or Rudiments of Natural Science in China*. Hong Kong: Trubner & Co. (p. 2); *also* Coates, A. (1978). *A Macao Narrative*. Hong Kong; Oxford: Oxford University Press. (p. 74). For an understanding of the predominant nineteenth century attitude of Westerners towards the Chinese practice of *feng shui*, *see* March, A. L. (1968). An Appreciation of Chinese Geomancy. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 27(2), 253-267.

<sup>17</sup> In 1846, the famously one-armed Governor, Joao Maria Ferreira do Amaral, decided to remove some Chinese graves near the Barrier Gate in order to make way for a programme of redevelopment work there. Incensed by his actions, the local Chinese harboured a fatal animosity towards him, and in August 1849, following a period of belligerent confrontation with the Chinese authorities which further alienated him from the local populace, Amaral was ambushed and killed, his body mutilated. The attackers, apparently not satisfied with this, also cut off his head and his remaining hand, and carried them over the border into China. The Portuguese responded by attacking the Chinese barrier fort of Pak Lan Shan and overrunning it. Following this humiliation, Amaral's head and hand were returned; but in a calculated mark of disrespect they were delivered up in a bucket. *See* Eitel, E. J. (op cit). *Feng Shui*. (p. 2); *also* Montalto de Jesus, C. A. (1926). *Historic Macao* (2nd ed.). Hong Kong; Oxford: Oxford University Press. (p. 358).

<sup>18</sup> The hill was flattened to provide infill for reclamation schemes in the 1970s.

<sup>19</sup> *The Chinese Repository* (1834) III(4). Obituary of Dr. Morrison, 176-184. (p. 181)

<sup>20</sup> *Letter to John Morton Esq. and to Mrs Morton; Macao, China, June 12, 1821*. Robert Morrison Correspondence. CWML. South China and Ultra Ganges Incoming Letters, 1807-1874, Box 2. School of Oriental and African Studies: London.

<sup>21</sup> The burial ground itself is not more than half an acre in size.

<sup>22</sup> *Letter to John Morton Esq. and to Mrs Morton; Macao, China, June 12, 1821*. Robert Morrison Correspondence. (op cit). School of Oriental and African Studies: London. We may note that of the persons mentioned Fraser and Ljungstedt were themselves later buried here in 1827 and 1835 respectively. Urmston's son George (d. 1813) and Livingstone's daughter Charlotte (d. 1818) are amongst those whose remains were relocated here once the cemetery was open.

<sup>23</sup> It is recorded by Montalto de Jesus in *Historic Macao* (op cit) that, 'within the woodland [of the *Casa*] stood many a superintendent's grave, now removed to the cemetery nearby' (p. 283). Montalto exaggerates both the number and the rank of those interred in the garden. Most were not superintendents, but Company officers serving on land or on its ships. *See* Morse, H. B. M. (1926). *The Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China, 4 Vols*. London: Clarendon Press. (Vol. 3: 317); *also* Ride, L., & Ride, M. (op cit). *An East India Company Cemetery: Protestant Burials in Macao*. (pp. 60-1 & 249).

<sup>24</sup> Cited in Ride, L., & Ride, M. (op cit). *An East India Company Cemetery: Protestant Burials in Macao*. (p. 68).

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid*.

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<sup>26</sup> The roof of the Catholic Church of *São Paulo* (1594) was burnt in 1835 leaving only the walls and its brilliantly worked stone façade standing. It is one of Macao's foremost tourist attractions. See Cheng Miu Bing, C. (op cit). *Macao: A Cultural Janus*.

<sup>27</sup> Ride, L. (1962). The Old Protestant Cemetery in Macao: A Lecture Delivered on 7 May, 1962. *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 3, 9-35.

<sup>28</sup> In 1971 twenty-two other memorials which had been found lying in a pile in the New Cemetery were set into a terrace wall in the Old Cemetery. These date from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. See Teixeira, M. (1980). *A Voz Das Pedras De Macau*. Macau: Imprensa Nacional; also Ride, L., & Ride, M. (op cit). *An East India Company Cemetery: Protestant Burials in Macao*, for further information. In 1977, a twenty-third memorial was added to the others when the ashes of Lindsay Ride himself were scattered here. There are two other grave markers which were also erected at dates much later than 1859. One, dated 1889, commemorates Agnes Gilman, an infant. She died in Hainan, aged 16 months and 24 days. It is unknown how the memorial came to be erected here so late. The other commemorates James Morrison (d. 1811), the stillborn child of Robert and Mary Morrison, whose grave marker was re-sited here in the late 1970s or early 1980s.

<sup>29</sup> Ride, L., & Ride, M. (1996). *An East India Company Cemetery: Protestant Burials in Macao*. Bernard Mellor (Ed.). Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.

<sup>30</sup> Braga, J. M. (1940). *The Tomb-Stones in the English Cemeteries at Macao*. Macao: Macao Economic Services Department.

<sup>31</sup> Teixeira, M. (1980). *A Voz das Pedras de Macau*. Macau: Imprensa Nacional.

<sup>32</sup> The Parsee Cemetery is similar to the Old Protestant Cemetery in character and style. It is laid out on two terraces interspersed with trees and has a garden-like feel to it (cf. Clemens, J. 1983. *Discovering Macao*. Hong Kong: Macmillan.)

<sup>33</sup> Teixeira, M. (op cit). *The Protestant Cemeteries of Macau*. Macau: Direcção dos Serviços de Turismo de Macau.

<sup>34</sup> See Ko, T. (2001). A Review of the Development of Cemeteries in Hong Kong: 1841-1950. *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 41, 241-280, for a chronology of the foreign cemeteries established in Hong Kong from 1841 onwards. Of these the Colonial Cemetery at Happy Valley is perhaps the oldest of those which are extant. It officially opened in 1845, but there were burials occurring here as early as 1841. See Cree, E. H. (1981). *The Cree Journals: The Voyages of Edward H. Cree, Surgeon R. N., as Related in His Private Journals, 1837-1856*. M. Levien (Ed.) Exeter: Webb and Bower. (p. 89).

<sup>35</sup> *The Chinese Repository*, I(6), (1832). Reviews. A Voyage to China and the East Indies, by Peter Osbeck. London: MDCCLXXI, 209-224. (p. 218).

<sup>36</sup> An interesting account of the foreign graveyards at French Island and of a foreign burial at Danes Island is given in Downing (op cit). *The Fan Qui in China, in 1836-7*. (Vol. 3: 243-253).

<sup>37</sup> *The Chinese Repository*, I(6), (1832). Reviews. A Voyage to China and the East Indies, by Peter Osbeck. London: MDCCLXXI, 209-224. (p. 219).

<sup>38</sup> This is based on information from the 'weblog' of a recent Danish traveller, Karsten Petersen, who in 2002 attempted to find the cemetery depicted as being at Jardine's Point on Danes Island in an 1850 painting of the view to Whampoa. See [http://www.geocities.com/kp\\_diver/index107LostGraves1.html](http://www.geocities.com/kp_diver/index107LostGraves1.html); also Ride, L., & Ride, M. (op cit). *An East India Company Cemetery: Protestant Burials in Macao*. (p. xviii), for a picture of the painting; and Van Dyke, P. A. (2005), *The Canton Trade*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press (p. 203, note 42). Van Dyke implies that the restored graves remained where they were originally erected on Danes Island, but it is clear that these were in fact resited at the newly landscaped terrace on the land previously belonging to French Island. The site that was chosen contains some old foreign graves which have not been restored and may be another burial area dating from the eighteenth century. It is unclear how or by whom the tombs at Danes Island came to be restored and resited here. The cemetery terrace is clearly visible in satellite images of the north-west tip of present day Chang Zhou not far from the northern entrance to the new waterway. See <http://maps.google.co.uk/maps>.

<sup>39</sup> This categorisation follows that of the Rides. For reasons of space a fuller description of each type is not possible. For a detailed architectural description, see Ride, L., & Ride, M. (op cit). *An East India Company Cemetery: Protestant Burials in Macao*. (pp. 71-3).

<sup>40</sup> Ride, L., & Ride, M. (op cit). *An East India Company Cemetery: Protestant Burials in Macao*. (p. 72).

<sup>41</sup> Cirlot, J. E. (1962). *A Dictionary of Symbols*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

<sup>42</sup> Patrick Stewart (d. 1857) and his wife Louisa (d. 1857); Cornelia Speer (d. 1847) and her daughter Mary (d. 1847). Numbers 44 and 140 in the plan.

<sup>43</sup> Agnes Gilman's memorial records that she died in 1889. See note 28.

<sup>44</sup> The memorial is number 40 in the plan. Until the 1970s the only inscription which appeared upon it was the artist's name in large block capitals. Then, in recognition of his fame, two additional plaques were added

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commemorating in Chinese, Portuguese and English his considerable contribution to recording nineteenth century Macao and Hong Kong in sketches and in paint.

<sup>45</sup> Cited in March, A. L. (op cit). An Appreciation of Chinese Geomancy. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 27(2). (p. 254).

<sup>46</sup> Memoir of the Rev. Robert Morrison. *Missionary Sermons*. Vol. 12. (1835). London: The London Missionary Society. (p. 71).

<sup>47</sup> On cemetery symbolism, see Gillon Jr., E. V. (1972). *Victorian Cemetery Art*. New York: Dover Publications; Pickles, J. D. (1993). *The Victorian Cemetery: An Illustrated Exhibition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Library; Willsher, B. (1995). *Understanding Scottish Graveyards*. Edinburgh: Canongate Books Ltd; Bradbury, M. (2001). Forget Me Not: Memorialisation in Cemeteries and Crematoria. In J. Hockey & J. Katz & N. Small (Eds.), *Grief, Mourning and Death Ritual*. Philadelphia: Open University Press. (pp. 218-225); Teather, E. K. (2001). Deathspace in Hong Kong, Guangzhou and Seoul: A Review of Recent Research, 1995-2001. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch*, 41, 329-339; Keister, D. (2004). *Stories in Stone: A Field Guide to Cemetery Symbolism and Iconography*. Salt Lake City: Gibbs Smith.

<sup>48</sup> *The Chinese Repository* (1842) XI(1). British burial ground in Macao; Notices of the first interment there, and of the recent erection of monuments; Parsee graves on the seashore, 48-51. (p. 49).

<sup>49</sup> On spatial symbolism, see Kress, G. R. & Van Leeuwen, T. (op cit). *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design*.

<sup>50</sup> For example, in the generic organisation of cemetery epitaphs, symbolic devices and formulaic references (Sacred To, In Memory Of, etc.) are usually placed in the *ideal*, while the ‘earthly’ details of the deceased’s life are placed in the *real*. As for ‘mixed-mode’ or *multimodal* texts, the preference is for visual images – e.g. of war, famine, celebration, victory etc. – to appear in the *ideal*, and the factual information about ‘what happened’ to appear in the *real*. In the West, and not only there, newspaper and magazine articles and front pages are good examples of this arrangement. See Kress, G. R., & Van Leeuwen, T. (1998). Front Pages: (The Critical) Analysis of Newspaper Layout. In A. Bell & P. Garrett (Eds.), *Approaches to Media Discourse*. Oxford: Blackwell. (pp. 186-220).

<sup>51</sup> See Morley, J. (1971). *Death, Heaven and the Victorians*. London: Studio Vista; also Pugin, A. W. (1841). *An Apology for the Revival of Christian Architecture*. London: John Weale.

<sup>52</sup> See Cirlot, J. E. (op cit). *A Dictionary of Symbols*; Cooper, J. C. (1978). *An Illustrated Encyclopaedia of Traditional Symbols*. London: Thames and Hudson Ltd; and Keister, D. (op cit). *Stories in Stone*.

<sup>53</sup> It is often thought that Chinnery was Irish. But although he lived in Ireland for part of his life and had family connections in Dublin, he was born in London and spent his formative years there. See Hutcheon, R. (1975). *Chinnery: The Man and the Legend*. Hong Kong: South China Morning Post Limited.

<sup>54</sup> Chinnery’s tomb is more than a monument; it is an enormous arched edifice set against the north wall at the end of the upper terrace. It is unlike any other memorial in the cemetery.

<sup>55</sup> Ride, L., & Ride, M. (op cit). *An East India Company Cemetery: Protestant Burials in Macao*. (p. 57).

<sup>56</sup> See Barnard, W. D. (1844). *Narrative of the Voyages and Services of the Nemesis from 1840 to 1843; and of the Combined Military Operations in China*, 3 Vols. London: Henry Colburn. (Vol. 2: 65); Bridgeman, E. C. R. (1835). A Funeral Sermon, Occasioned by the Death of the Right Honourable William-John, Lord Napier, His Britannic Majesty’s Chief Superintendent in China. Including Notices Concerning the Sickness, Death, and Burial of the Late Lord Napier. *The Chinese Repository*, 3, 271-288. (p. 282); Morrison, E. (1839). *Memoirs of the Life and Labours of Robert Morrison, D.D.*, 2 Vols. London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longmans. (Vol. 2: 540); Ride, L., & Ride, M. (op cit). *An East India Company Cemetery: Protestant Burials in Macao*. (passim).

<sup>57</sup> The same diagrammatic representations appear in both journals but with some minor differences. In place of The Bier, the *Register* shows an illustration of a coffin surmounted by the words ‘THE CORPSE’. Following ‘The Guard of Honour, composed of Portuguese troops’, the *Register* includes ‘The Judges and Procurador of Macao’ which the *Repository* does not. See *The Canton Register*. October, 21<sup>st</sup>, 1834. Vol. 7. No. 42 (p. 167); and *The Chinese Repository* (1834) III(4). Notices of Lord Napier’s Death, 280-284.

<sup>58</sup> Cited in Grainger, R. (1998). *The Social Symbolism of Grief and Mourning*. London: Jessica Kingsley. (p. 105)

<sup>59</sup> Jalland, P. (1996). *Death in the Victorian Family*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. (p. 17)

<sup>60</sup> Jalland, P. (op cit). *Death in the Victorian Family*. (p. 18).

<sup>61</sup> Accounts of the deaths of Mary and Robert Morrison, and of Chinnery, are given in this section. For an account of Napier’s death, see Napier, P. (op cit). *Barbarian Eye: Lord Napier in China 1834*. London: Brassey’s. (pp. 196-202); also *The Chinese Repository* (1834) III(4). Notices of Lord Napier’s Death, 280-284.

<sup>62</sup> Jalland, P. (op cit). *Death in the Victorian Family*. (p. 26).

<sup>63</sup> *Letter to John Morton Esq. and to Mrs Morton; Macao, China, June 12, 1821*. Robert Morrison Correspondence. (op cit). School of Oriental and African Studies: London.



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<sup>64</sup> J. R. Morrison, *Letter to the London Missionary Society; August 17, 1834*. Robert Morrison Correspondence. CWML. China Personal, Box 2, Letter Book 3. School of Oriental and African Studies: London.

The quotation is from 1 Corinthians, 15, 55.

<sup>65</sup> Cited in Jalland, P. (op cit). *Death in the Victorian Family*. (p. 19)

<sup>66</sup> References to Beale's aviary and garden can be found in Downing, C. T. (op cit). *The Fan Qui in China, in 1836-7*. (Vol. 1: 38); *The Chinese Repository* (1842) XI(1). The Late Thomas Beale, 59-60 (p. 59); Hunter, W. C. (1885). *Bits of Old China*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, & Co. (pp. 73-4).

<sup>67</sup> *The Canton Register*. Monday, November 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1828. Vol. 1. no. 38.

<sup>68</sup> *The Chinese Repository* (1842) XI(1). The Late Thomas Beale, 59-60. (p. 59)

<sup>69</sup> See, for example, Cree, E. (op cit). *The Cree Journals: The Voyages of Edward H. Cree, Surgeon R.N., as Related in His Private Journals, 1837-1856*.

<sup>70</sup> See MacDonald, H. (2005). *Human Remains: Episodes in Human Dissection*. Carlton, Victoria: Melbourne University Press.

<sup>71</sup> For contemporaneous attitudes towards autopsy, see MacKenzie, W. (1828). *Use of the Dead to the Living*.

London: Baldwin and Craddock; also MacDonald, H. (op cit). *Human Remains: Episodes in Human Dissection*.

<sup>72</sup> Colledge was a renowned English eye surgeon who with a Dr Parker founded the Medical Missionary Society of China. In addition to attending at the death of Morrison, he also oversaw the last days of Napier. More poignantly, however, personal tragedy struck in 1838 when he and his wife lost three of their children in quick succession. All boys, they are buried under the cemetery's southern wall.

<sup>73</sup> *Letter of J. R. Morrison to Mr Thomas Fisher; October 1, 1834*. CWML. China Personal, Box 2, Letter Book 3. School of Oriental and African Studies: London.

<sup>74</sup> Ride, L. (op cit). The Old Protestant Cemetery in Macao: A Lecture Delivered on 7 May, 1962. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch*, 3, 9-35 (p. 9).

<sup>75</sup> Quoted in Hunter, W. C. (1885). *Bits of Old China*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, & Co. (p. 268)

<sup>76</sup> Harriet Low, a bright and vivacious 20 year old from Salem, Massachusetts, lived in Macao with her uncle and aunt from 1829-1834, and kept a detailed daily journal of her life. Chinnery was a regular visitor and in 1833, in her words, he strikingly captured her 'phiz'. In addition to knowing Chinnery, Harriet Low made the acquaintance of many others who, with Chinnery, later became residents of the Old Cemetery, including R. Morrison, J. R. Morrison, Anders Ljungstedt, Elizabeth Fearon and Thomas Beale. She quite broke the heart of the Company Chaplain, George Harvey Vachell, by spurning his advances. From 1829 to 1838 Vachell officiated over nineteen burials in the Old Cemetery including those of Ljungstedt, the Colledge children and Napier. See Ride, L. & Ride, M. (op cit). *An East India Company Cemetery: Protestant Burials in Macao*. (p. 38 & passim). For personal recollections of Chinnery, see Hodges, N. P., & Hummell, A. W. (Eds.). (2002). *Lights and Shadows of a Macao Life: The Journal of Harriet Low, Travelling Spinster, 2 Vols*. Woodinville, WA: The History Bank; also Hunter, W. C. (op cit). *Bits of Old China*. (pp. 264-75).

<sup>77</sup> Hunter, W. C. (op cit). *Bits of Old China*. (p. 268).

<sup>78</sup> Quoted in Hutcheon, R. (op cit). *Chinnery: The Man and the Legend*. (p. 135).

<sup>79</sup> Hunter, W. C. (op cit). *Bits of Old China*. (pp. 273-4).

<sup>80</sup> *The Canton Register* of October 4<sup>th</sup>, 1828, contains the following observation in relation to the death of a Parsee named Auspundeanjee Muncherjee: [T]hey found him lying dead, close to the bank, in shoal water. Nothing as yet been discovered to account for the untimely end of this young man. His body was not inspected by a surgeon that being contrary to the religious practices of his sect, and we believe there were no external marks of violence. On the following day the body was interred in Dane's Island'. The old Parsee tombs are still there lying in broken and uneven ruin amidst dense undergrowth on a hill. For pictures of the site, see [http://www.geocities.com/kp\\_diver/index107LostGraves2.html](http://www.geocities.com/kp_diver/index107LostGraves2.html).

<sup>81</sup> In 1857 the bread supplied by the 'E-Sing' bakery in Wanchai to the foreign community in Hong Kong was found to have been adulterated with arsenic. Hundreds fell sick and a number eventually died, amongst them Williams and another cemetery resident Captain Sandwith B. Drinker (d. 1858) from Philadelphia. Other victims included Drinker's wife Susan, and Lady Bowring, the wife of the then Governor of Hong Kong. See Eitel, E. J. (1895). *Europe in China*. Hong Kong: Kelly and Walsh Ltd. (p. 311); also Endacott, G. B. (1958). *A History of Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Oxford: Oxford University Press. (p. 93). A revealing personal account of these events by Drinker's son, Henry Sturgis, is to be found in an appendix to his father's published journal. See Suzanne Drinker Moran (1990). *A Private Journal of Events and Scenes at Sea and in India by Sandwith Drinker; Commencing April 26<sup>th</sup>, 1838*. Boston. (pp. 121-2).