

Robert Morrison and the Protestant Plan for China

Christopher A. Daily



ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY BOOKS



香港大學出版社

HONG KONG UNIVERSITY PRESS

This publication has been generously supported by the Universities' China Committee in London.

Hong Kong University Press
The University of Hong Kong
Pokfulam Road
Hong Kong
www.hkupress.org

© Hong Kong University Press 2013

ISBN 978-988-8208-03-6

All rights reserved. No portion of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopy, recording, or any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publisher.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Printed and bound by Caritas Printing Training Centre, Hong Kong, China

Contents

Acknowledgements	xi
Introduction	1
Chapter 1	
The Birth of British Evangelicalism and the Disappointment of the Earliest LMS Missions	15
Chapter 2	
The New Approach to Missions: Gosport Academy and David Bogue's Strategy	37
Chapter 3	
Looking towards China: Morrison's Work in London and the Voyage to China	83
Chapter 4	
Communicating the Gospel to China: Robert Morrison Uses Bogue's Programme to Propagate to the Chinese	107
Chapter 5	
The Ultra Ganges Mission Station, a Printing Centre, and the Final Educational Step of the Template	159
Conclusion	193
Notes	201
Bibliography	239
Index	255

Introduction

Robert Morrison (1782–1834), the first Protestant missionary to operate in China, was sent alone to his East Asian post by the London Missionary Society (LMS) in 1807. He spent more than half of his life (he died at his station in Guangzhou, China) planting a foothold in China for the benefit of the Protestant missionary movement, and, consequently, established the foundation upon which all subsequent Protestant missions to China rested. To list but a few of his achievements, Morrison composed the first Chinese translation of the New Testament, produced the first Chinese-English dictionary and grammar, recorded the first conversions of Chinese to Protestantism, translated the first version of the Confucian Classics directly to English, and established the first Anglo-Chinese educational institution. Subsequently, his pioneering mission planted Protestantism in China and his translations provided the foundation for the emergence of Anglophone sinology. Although over the past century sinology has produced a number of fruitful studies on the history of Protestant missionaries in China, the field has failed to generate a large-scale, critical study on Morrison, who remains one of the most important western figures in the history of Chinese Protestant Christianity.

However, Morrison is not the only important missionary whose work remains unexploited by contemporary sinologists. William Milne (1785–1822), Morrison's first LMS colleague in East Asia, also fares poorly in contemporary sinological discourse. Although Milne, who arrived in China in July 1813, had a very short missionary career (he died less than a decade after arriving in East Asia), he was instrumental in administering key components of Morrison's missionary enterprise such as the Ultra Ganges Mission station and

the Anglo-Chinese College, both of which were headquartered in peripheral Malacca. Additionally, overcoming his struggles to master the Chinese language, Milne assisted Morrison in their ground-breaking, co-translated publication of the New Testament and composed a number of Chinese translations of his own. Accordingly, he played an integral role in Morrison's pioneering mission and it would be fruitful to examine their careers concurrently.

Why have sinological missionary historians persistently avoided engaging with the earliest Protestant mission to China? Any explanation would be mere speculation but to proceed anyway: the primary resources are remote, as they are unpublished and confined to archives in London and East Asia; the materials require a great deal of patience, as the handwritings of Morrison, Milne, and the LMS founders are challenging to read; and the plot is seemingly less exciting, as the missionaries' activities in China were restricted by an edict, issued by the Chinese government, forbidding Christian missionaries from walking upon Chinese soil. Nevertheless, Morrison, with Milne's assistance, planted the necessary foothold that allowed for the dissemination of future Protestant missions in East and parts of Southeast Asia. Consequently, a critical study of this mission is overdue.

This book analyses the foundation of the mission to China which was led by Morrison, paying particular attention to the training and strategy provided to him by the LMS. The current project belongs to a growing field of scholarship¹ that takes a detached view in order to critically analyse various aspects of Morrison and his China Mission; in this case the research will target his mission strategy. At first glance Morrison's mission appears extraordinarily accomplished, but for that reason alone it deserves critical investigation. In order to delve beyond the surface of the events, this book employs a critical method in order to ask what led to Morrison's goals and outcomes. Such an approach exposes the intellectual and theological foundations upon which his efforts rested. Subsequently, one becomes aware of the influence of Dr. David Bogue (1750–1825), who served as the LMS missionary tutor from 1802 to 1825 at the Society's training seminary, Gosport Academy, and consequently who provided Morrison with his preparation and field strategy. This book, then, concerns itself with illuminating the preparations, assumptions, and strategies that influenced the planning of the first China Mission and, consequently, that shaped Morrison's goals and

achievements whilst in China. Such an approach demonstrates the influence of Bogue on the planting of Protestantism in China, calls into question the originality of Morrison as a missionary and administrator, and complicates the generally accepted notion of Robert Morrison as the ‘beginning’ of the Chinese Protestant religion.

A Note on Sources

Where possible my research confines itself to archival materials—deriving from libraries in London, Edinburgh, and Hong Kong—some of which (particularly those that relate to Gosport Academy but also Morrison’s non-Chinese library in Hong Kong) have too rarely been exploited for academic research. This book demonstrates the value of these archival materials by bringing them into conversation with each other in order to explore the ways in which they call into question conventional understandings of Morrison’s pioneering efforts and contributions. While the contribution of this project is to make use of these frequently disregarded archival sources, it would be unfair to ignore completely all of the secondary literature available on Morrison because, in fact, there is a great amount. In total, there are at least nine published biographies of the missionary.² Furthermore, a number of scholars have compiled studies on the history of Protestant missionaries in China that devoted sections or chapters to Morrison and Milne’s mission.³ Additionally, a handful of journal articles have appeared, in both Chinese and English, on the subject of Morrison and his mission.⁴ Yet while there is published material on the topic, problematically many of the works rely upon the same resource for information about Morrison’s mission: Eliza Morrison’s⁵ *Memoirs of the Life and Labours of Robert Morrison, D.D.* This popular dependency is problematic not simply because it implies that the bibliographies of most of these studies lack diversity and creativity but also, and more importantly, because the *Memoirs* composed by Morrison’s widow contain a series of hagiographic touches which beg one to question whether her text responds to the needs of sinologists—or to the needs of any scholarly study for that matter. As a result, many of the works that use her *Memoirs* accept and even repeat her biased view. To support this questioning of the intellectual benefits of Eliza Morrison’s reverential *Memoirs*, it will prove fruitful to expose the conditions

under which her two-volume text was composed. Such a description is provided in the following section.

The current project, therefore, has a critical objective: to analyse Morrison through the lens of his missionary training. This is an approach that has not previously been considered. Of the secondary material published on Morrison or Milne, roughly only half of the authors mention Gosport Academy at all, even less name David Bogue as his tutor. Of the works which do record Morrison's time at Bogue's academy, none go beyond briefly noting that he attended prior to his deployment to East Asia. These publications are eager to begin, instead, listing his seemingly miraculous accomplishments in China. This was the narrative path that Eliza Morrison took, too. In contrast, this book will demonstrate that, by closely studying his time at Gosport Academy and the details of his missionary training, we not only discover a new way of viewing the first LMS China Mission but we can better understand those accomplishments which Morrison achieved in China—and perhaps, by default, we can also better understand Chinese Protestant Christianity.

A Concern: Eliza Morrison's *Memoirs*

During the final decade of his mission, Morrison's relationship with the LMS had dwindled to a degree. A new approach to mission strategy, arriving after the death in 1825 of the LMS missionary tutor David Bogue, had become popular with the Home Office in London and the new generation of LMS directors grew sceptical of Morrison's style of communicating the Gospel, particularly regarding his liberal approach to religious education at the Anglo-Chinese College. As a consequence, the LMS decreased its support for Morrison's mission, leaving him desperate for letters and financial assistance. Adding to his loneliness, on December 14, 1833 Morrison's ailing wife left for England, taking with her all but one of their children. The only member of Morrison's family that remained in China with him was his son, John Robert (J. R.) Morrison, who was then employed as a translator for the East India Company in Canton.⁶ Demonstrating the extent to which the LMS had distanced itself from Morrison and his mission, even on this urgent family medical issue he could not obtain the LMS's administrative, financial, or emotional support. In a letter to London not long before his family's

departure, he wrote, 'I am very much grieved and have after been depressed by the Society delaying to answer, or evading a question . . . The Society has not time, it is said . . . to give me answer whether or not they will assist my sick wife and helpless children, after seven years' absence, to return home.'⁷

With the LMS losing interest in his mission (or his welfare) during the mid-1820s, Morrison was forced to operate almost independently until his death in 1834. He begged for a pension, missionary companionship, or letters of support, but a response from the LMS never arrived.⁸ Due to the financial uncertainty that he faced, he decided to give up his house in Macau to provide his monetary savings with a much needed boost, but this move left him confined to a small 'unhealthy residence in Canton',⁹ having a negative impact upon his overall health.¹⁰ One of his final letters to London recorded his gloomy situation:

The delay in replying to the subject of my letter of November 1832 [see above] is to me painful and unsatisfactory. The Directors do not seem to 'know the heart of a stranger,' nor feel for an anxious Parent, and an aged Servant in a foreign land . . . The American Brethren here are zealously supported from Home. China alas! seems to be losing ground in England. The merchants and government are busy enough about it; [but] the Lord's servants seem yearly to grow more cool and indifferent respecting it. May their zeal be received! May the love of Christ constrain us all! Farewell!¹¹

The directors still advertised Morrison's accomplishments for their own mission fundraising needs, but, in reality, their support (emotional or financial) for Morrison had come to a painful end. Morrison only wrote once more to the LMS before he died: another short letter to remind the directors of his declining health and to express his desire for correspondence from London.¹² On August 17, 1834, Morrison's son, J. R. Morrison, wrote to inform the LMS of his father's death.¹³

Upon Eliza Morrison's return to England in early 1834, she attacked the LMS for their lack of support for her husband and his China Mission. She was not so much concerned with the spread of Protestantism in China as she was with her husband's depression, health, and feelings. In an angry letter to the Board of Directors, she emotionally wrote:

—the letters that he received from Mr. Ellis [an LMS director] last year mentioned that *more important* affairs caused the Society to defer answering his questions respecting the China mission, *till another opportunity!* But

another opportunity if it ever did arrive was too late—in this painful state of suspense, Dr. Morrison had to part with his family! Uncertain respecting even their future support—and being obliged to raise a large sum of money (for to him £1000 is a large sum) to defray the expenses of their voyage. While by one . . . Director he was advised of the inexpediency of laying any claim for assistance of a pecuniary nature on the Society, unless he was in a state of absolute destitution—and recommending my remaining abroad although I was at the time apparently dying! And no one to commit my children to, either for care or education—except pagan domestics!! Now sir, while I lately heard Dr. Morrison eulogized in public, I grieved to think what were his feelings—desolate and unsupported in a foreign land—by either public or private friends at home! In proof of which I will quote some passages from his private letters, which in justice to the *cause* to which he is devoted, I cannot suppress, although they were never intended for any other perusal than my own—

‘Our Mission to China seems given up by the people of England—for the Straits they still think a little—but for Canton there seems no thought . . . I am hindered by the recollection that of late, no measures seem even to have been thought of how the mission in China—i.e., the *English* mission—is to be continued in the event of my removal. I do feel a little desolate . . . I wish I could get up an Independent Chapel in Canton but I have *no helpers*, and I am afraid to undertake it alone.’

Now Sir to my knowledge the Directors have had these subjects urged upon year after year, and yet Mr. Ellis tells me they don’t know what Dr. Morrison’s wishes are—that he writes vaguely—but such is not the manner in which the American missionaries are treated . . . I could only add that although Dr. Morrison has been deeply wounded by the neglect of the Society to the interests of the mission in China and the Anglo-Chinese College, still I know his attachment to it is strong and inalienable!¹⁴

The directors never had an opportunity to respond to Eliza’s concerns by changing their attitude towards the China Mission because Morrison died shortly after this letter was received in London. However, while his death left the LMS without a missionary in China—temporarily casting a shadow over the LMS’s attempts to convert the East Asian empire—it also provided fire for Eliza’s campaign to exalt her husband.

As a widow Eliza attempted to employ someone, either J. R. Morrison or one of Robert Morrison’s surviving friends, to compile a memoir of the pioneer missionary’s life, but to her disappointment everyone refused her request. Determined to share her admiration for her husband, she decided to undertake

the project herself.¹⁵ The result was a two-volume biography which drew attention to and glorified Robert Morrison's efforts and accomplishments, omitting mention of most of the obstacles and problems that he encountered during the mission. As a result, the text is not only uncritical of Morrison but it does not engage with or, consequently, accurately portray some of the difficult parts of his experience in China. Yet to be fair her aim was not to produce an objective biographical account of his life but to acclaim his labours and mission as an extraordinary triumph and, hence, to compose a hagiography that protected his reputation.

Eliza Morrison's *Memoirs* were successful because it effectively inflated the Christian public appreciation for her husband's mission by painting him in virtuous light. The title page of the book foreshadowed the legacy of the biased biography with the biblical verse 'He being dead yet speaketh' (Hebrews xi: 4). The widow's account of Morrison's private experiences was written indirectly and published posthumously but, as time would tell, the narrative would be allowed to speak on behalf of the missionary, overtaking any personal or archival account that he left for the mission. It followed that her *Memoirs* served as the foundation for a series of hagiographical studies, mentioned above, that repeated Eliza's story and, hence, also idolised Morrison's life and mission. Consequently, while the LMS directors may not have been kind to Morrison during the final stage of his life, history has taken an alternate path, thanks, in part, to his widow, by publicly revering him as a triumphant and creative pioneer.

Hagiography was all the rage in the nineteenth century, so Eliza Morrison cannot be blamed for embracing this style of writing. In addition to succumbing understandably to the public demand for this genre of study, she had her added reasons, some of which are noted above, for protecting her husband's reputation. For these personal motives, too, she should not be criticised. And there are even, perhaps, other reasons, of which we are still unaware. It should also be noted that Morrison was an impressive character and that his mission was generally successful. He depended upon the creativity and intellect of others for the planning of the China Mission, yet in the hostile environment of China the implementation of the LMS missionary strategy required a great deal of patience as well as ingenuity. Therefore, the missionary deserves some credit for the execution of his impressive chain of accomplishments, which required an immense level

of persistence and bravery especially given the brutal conditions he faced in Qing China. Perhaps some of his wife's hagiographic praises might thus be well deserved.

Even so, the *Memoirs* that Eliza Morrison published went to such great extremes to paint her husband in favourable light that an uncritical and unbalanced, if sometimes dishonest and misleading, history was presented. Only after careful archival work can one measure the value of each of her claims. The current project will make use of archives to evaluate the extent to which she was fair in giving her husband the credit for being the designer and planner of the earliest Protestant mission to China. It is true that, for a glimpse of Morrison's early life, Eliza's *Memoirs* appear, at present, to be the only resource available. But for a reading of his all too important mission which introduced Protestantism into East Asia, untapped archival sources abound. Some of these special collections are utilised in the chapters that follow in order to shine light upon his mission strategy. Further engagements with Morrison's archival collections are bound to help us better understand this episode from the early modern history of Protestant Christianity in China.

Robert Morrison, Humble Beginnings

Robert Morrison, born January 5, 1782, at Buller's Green, Morpeth, in the county of Northumberland, spent his childhood in Newcastle-upon-Tyne.¹⁶ Born to a Scottish father, James Morrison, and an English mother, Hannah Nicholson, he was the youngest of his parents' eight children. James Morrison, an active Presbyterian and elder of a Scotch church in Newcastle, administered his family by 'the fear of God; maintaining family worship, and instructing his children in the duty of a strict observance of the Sabbath day'.¹⁷ Like most dissenting Protestant children who grew up during this era, Morrison regularly attended catechetical exercises and studied the Bible.¹⁸ In addition to this average level of engagement with the church, he attended school and served as an apprentice to his father, who owned a last and boot-tree making business.¹⁹

According to Eliza Morrison, Robert Morrison's 'youthful conduct was not entirely free from outward improprieties', but, she sympathetically added, 'over these he mourned deeply after the light of divine truth had penetrated into the

recesses of his mind.²⁰ Allegedly, his behaviour at home was pristine or at least so good 'that his father was rarely obliged to rebuke him.'²¹ Morrison's widow even went so far as to say that 'he was not conscious of having ever uttered a deliberate falsehood, except once; and then, although there were no probability of detection, he could not rest until he had acknowledged his fault.'²²

As a result of the Evangelical Revival, during the latter half of the eighteenth century evangelical Protestants dispersed throughout Britain in an attempt to impress their theologies onto every aspect of culture and society. In 1797, nearly fifty years after the initial gale of conversions that sparked the Evangelical Revival, this prolonged evangelical momentum reached Robert Morrison in Newcastle who, following a sudden call from God, first began exploring a vocation in the dissenting ministry. According to his *Memoirs*, during that year he 'became the subject of that great change which the Saviour describes as the new birth, and pronounces essential to admission into "the kingdom of heaven"'.²³ The text continued, 'No remarkable circumstance led to this conversion. By parental instruction his mind had been full early stored with the principles of scriptural truth; and his regular attendance on public worship . . . tended still farther to enlighten his mind . . .'²⁴ The following year, 1798, Morrison joined the Presbyterian Church and 'commenced those habits of study which, by the blessing of God, he maintained with ever increasing effect to the end of life, by learning a system of short-hand writing'.²⁵ In 1799 he began to study texts popular within evangelical circles, such as William Paley's *Evidences of Christianity*,²⁶ and by 1800 Morrison had access to the *Evangelical Magazine*, studied the Bible daily, conducted domestic worship at his parents' house, and devoted his Sabbaths 'to the instruction of poor children, or employed in administering consolation to the sick and the aged'.²⁷ In 1801, Morrison's religious fervour grew to new heights and he came to the conclusion that he needed to begin a vocation within the field of evangelical ministry.²⁸

Although no 'remarkable circumstance' was thought to instigate this 'great change' in Morrison's lifestyle that began in 1798, one cannot help but speculate upon what could have coincided with such a dramatic 'awakening'.²⁹ Providing his own reflection upon this mysterious, sudden change, Morrison, in an 1802 letter of application addressed to the Committee of Hoxton Academy in London,

to whom he was applying for admission into the school's Christian Ministry Programme, wrote:

It was, perhaps, about five years ago, that I was much awakened to a sense of sin, though I cannot recollect any particular circumstance which led to it; unless it were, that at that time I grew somewhat loose and profane; and more than once being drawn aside by wicked company (even at that early time of life), I became intoxicated. Reflection upon my conduct became a source of much uneasiness to me, and I was brought to a serious concern about my soul. I felt the dread of eternal damnation. The fear of death compassed me about, and I was led to cry mightily to God, that he would pardon my sin; that he would grant me an interest in the Saviour; and that he would renew me in the spirit of my mind. Sin became a burden. It was then that I experienced a change of life, and, I trust, a change of heart too. I broke off from my former careless companions and gave myself to reading and meditation and to prayer.³⁰

Although for Morrison no clear explanation ever transpired for his sudden religious revival (except the suggestion that he became 'intoxicated' one too many times for his own moral comfort), the Committee of Hoxton Academy appreciated his account of the awakening, for he was, in fact, offered a position in their theological programme.³¹ In spite of his father's wishes for him to remain at home and to provide support for the family boot-tree business, Morrison, following his instinct that he should devote his life to God, accepted this offer of admission and departed for Hoxton Academy the following year, arriving on January 7, 1803.³² Morrison did not complete the Hoxton programme, but his time at the London-based academy did act as a springboard for his missionary career; in 1804, roughly sixteen months after he arrived at Hoxton, he withdrew in order to begin training with the LMS, a formative transition of the utmost concern to this project. And it is precisely at this stage of his life where the historian can also meet him in the archives because it was his introduction into the LMS which resulted in the great deal of written documentation produced in relation to him.

Approach, Method, and Plan of the Book

The current project introduces a new and fruitful approach via archival materials to the beginnings of Protestant missions in China. This new method examines and understands Morrison and William Milne through the lens of their

missionary training, which encompasses the instructions and strategy provided to them by David Bogue, director and tutor of the LMS's training programme. In doing so it places their efforts and accomplishments into perspective by showing the ways in which the missionaries successfully implemented Bogue's mission template in China. As a consequence, this research goes against the grain of the hagiographies in order to produce a critical narrative, which the reader may find deflates the self-importance of Robert Morrison, in particular, but also of Milne. Furthermore, it deconstructs the foundation of Chinese Protestantism—a religion planted by a very unique, evangelical strand of British Protestant Christianity.

Chapter 1 provides essential background information that will shine light upon the environment in which the planning of Morrison's mission took place. It begins with a brief survey of the history of English Dissent and British evangelicalism in order to sketch the historical and theological frameworks within which the LMS formed. Next, it explores the inaugural overseas investment of the LMS: the South Seas Mission, established in 1795, which deployed missionaries to Tahiti, Tonga, and the Marquesas Islands. My intent in drawing attention to the earlier mission to Polynesia is threefold: firstly, to narrate the LMS's blind adoption of Thomas Haweis's 'godly mechanic' strategy for their inaugural mission; secondly, to illustrate how such an approach, upon arrival in the South Seas, proved to be insufficient and, consequently, led to disappointment in Polynesia; and, thirdly, to demonstrate how the traumatic failure of the missionaries in the South Seas directly affected Morrison's mission to China. The concurrent LMS mission to South Africa suffered from the same planning and had a similar result, so it will also be surveyed to support further the objectives of the chapter. After the letdown from this wave of missions, Haweis's mission strategy was shed and the LMS looked to Bogue to plan the mission to one of its next targets, China. Bogue, a rival of Haweis, promoted a lengthy programme of educational preparation for the LMS missionaries.

The second chapter analyses the training programme of David Bogue, who served as the LMS missionary tutor from 1802 to 1825 at the Society's training seminary, Gosport Academy, and consequently who provided Morrison and Milne with their preparation and field strategy. Transcribing and analysing Bogue's lecture notes, I will plot the three-part strategy provided to the

missionaries at Gosport: to master the Chinese language, to translate and publish a particular list of texts, and to establish an academy modelled upon Gosport for converts. The main aim of this chapter, therefore, will be to excavate a mission template that Bogue provided to his students at the academy which, in turn, will foreshadow many of the results of Morrison's China Mission. Chapter 3 provides further commentary upon Morrison's preparation by narrating the final stage of the missionary's training in London, undergone immediately prior to his departure for China.

The final two chapters bring these historical and ideological contexts into conversation with the earliest Protestant mission to China in order to observe how the Gosport scheme impacted, even dictated, Morrison and Milne's work abroad. Chapter 4 considers the missionaries', especially Morrison's, approach to learning the Chinese language and translating Protestant texts. The aim of this chapter is to note the degree to which Bogue influenced the strategy for communicating the Gospel to the Chinese, especially in the areas of propagating and publishing. Importantly, these actions—to master the Chinese language and to translate texts, such as the Bible, into Chinese—comprised the first two parts of Bogue's three-step mission template. Therefore, this chapter will compare Morrison's performance with these first two aspects of Bogue's assignment.

Next, Chapter 5 analyses the ways that Morrison and Milne followed Bogue's third and final requirement—for the missionaries to pass the Gosport programme to converts—at their Anglo-Chinese College. In addition to seeing the missionaries build a European library that mirrored the one held at Gosport, this chapter also witnesses Milne, under Morrison's command, translating Bogue's lecture notes into Chinese. Through this Gosport-like academy they also recorded conversions and successfully instilled Bogue's template upon a handful of locals, who themselves produced evangelical texts in Chinese, founded an additional, short-lived academy in mainland China, and converted a new generation of converts. This was the culmination of Bogue's mission template, so these events show that the missionaries were successful in executing the entire plan. Separately from the Anglo-Chinese College, Milne became involved in child education for reasons that were also developed at Gosport, further demonstrating his dependency.

Together these two chapters not only provide an archive-based narrative of the earliest Protestant mission to China, but they also demonstrate the reasons for which Robert Morrison and William Milne must be seen within the historical context of the LMS and the intellectual context of David Bogue's Gosport Academy. Bluntly put, the duo followed Bogue's three-part mission strategy to the letter and they did very little off this track. Narrating their China Mission through the lens of Bogue's training regimen demonstrates the missionaries' dependency upon the Gosport template, effectively calling into question their contribution to the design of the mission. However, while the missionaries may have followed Bogue's instructions to the letter, it is not the intention of the project to ignore the fact that, in the hostile environment of China, the implementation of this missionary strategy required a great deal of patience as well as ingenuity. Nevertheless, the large-scale success of this mission and the foundation of the Chinese Protestant religion rested upon Bogue's mission template, which the missionaries followed closely. This important aspect of the mission, where Chinese and British religious histories meet, has not previously been explored.

The archives deployed in this book force us immediately to re-evaluate our understanding of Robert Morrison and his mission. That much is certain. Yet it cannot be predicted how this reassessment will affect the picture in the longer term. The impact that these materials have upon our understanding of early Chinese Protestantism will be established over time and with consensus; that is, when other members from the larger community of academics concerned with early Protestant missions to China join in the attempt to get to grips with the previously ignored primary materials. Given that Chinese Protestantism is over 200 years old and there are now many more Protestants in China than there are in Great Britain, a large-scale critical engagement with Morrison's mission is embarrassingly overdue.

Conclusion

After Robert Morrison's death in 1834, his pioneering mission became the focus of a hagiographical discourse. Such writings narrated the pioneering mission as phenomenal, drawing attention to its chain of accomplishments, whilst failing to get to grips with the complex processes through which they were obtained by the missionary. Surprisingly, the participants in the idolising discourse were not met with any major competition from the academic disciplines of sinology, history, or religious studies. The disengagement and resulting ignorance on the part of the scholarly world is unfortunate because, as a consequence, the hagiographies have been entrusted by academics with the responsibility of interpreting and speaking on behalf of the mission. To the detriment of the academic study of Chinese Protestantism, their readings are not always consistent with the untapped primary materials related to the topic, meaning that they have led unknowing scholars off course in many ways. As a result, the hagiographical appraisals of Morrison's mission continue to inhibit our understandings of the beginnings of Protestantism in China, a veiled religious tradition that remains one of the largest yet least understood Protestant churches in the world.

While hagiographers base their reading of Morrison's mission upon Eliza Morrison's *Memoirs*, there survives in Britain and East Asia an array of archival resources that would allow us to move beyond the biased discourse that has plagued Morrison Studies. Among these archives are Robert Morrison's Chinese library as well as his personal papers, letters, and journals—all held in London at the School of Oriental and African Studies; documents that shine light upon his missionary training contained within archives at Dr. Williams's Library and the Congregationalist Library in London, at the University of Edinburgh, and

at the University of Wales Lampeter; and what survives of Morrison's non-Chinese book collection, now housed at the University of Hong Kong. There is plenty within these libraries to inspire a number of fruitful new projects on early Protestant missions in China, but it is also probable that other related archival resources, which have yet to be identified, exist in other institutions. The point is that we are not trapped within the hagiographical game of 'Chinese whispers'; there are materials readily available to help scholars take control of the discourse.

To commence work in this scholarly area, this book brought into conversation archival materials related to Gosport Academy and primary resources from Robert Morrison and William Milne's pioneering mission to China. While the hagiographical assessments have done well to boast lists of what the missionaries achieved (the first Chinese Bible, a Chinese-English dictionary and grammar, Chinese converts, an Anglo-Chinese education centre, and so on) the aim of this project was not to refute the existence of these accomplishments altogether but to engage critically with the mission in order to ask why and how Morrison and Milne may have done some of these things. Such an approach led us to examine the programme of the LMS training seminary, Gosport Academy, in order to illuminate the preparations, assumptions, and strategies that influenced the planning of the first China Mission and, consequently, that had an effect upon Morrison and Milne's goals and achievements whilst in China.

From Gosport to Canton: A New Analysis of Robert Morrison and William Milne

In order to examine Robert Morrison and William Milne's missionary training, it was first necessary to develop an understanding of the roots of British missionary education in order to identify the distinguishing characteristics of the LMS approach to missions. However, such a discussion required a deconstruction of the complex category of 'Western Protestantism' since one quickly discovers that the roots of British missionary education are entangled in a theological soil that incorporates the concerns of several denominations of the British Protestant church. While it is tempting and, indeed, easy to over generalise our understandings of 'Western' Christianity, as was demonstrated at the start of the first chapter, the 'Western' Protestantism imported into China by missionaries

during the early nineteenth century was representative only of a very small strand of British Christianity. The LMS missionaries that belonged to this community favoured a distinct conservative, evangelical outlook on the world. These evangelicals hardly comprised a majority of the British population, but they were extremely active and determined. Since the London Missionary Society, but a small evangelical representative of the complex tradition of British Protestant Christianity, planted its unique theologies in China, understanding its theological beliefs proved pertinent to the project at hand.

When the LMS deployed its first mission to the South Seas in 1796, it did so blindly—following the advice of one LMS director, Thomas Haweis, by exporting a large group of ‘godly mechanics’ to convert the Pacific Islanders by impressing them with their technological and mechanical skills and, thus, civilising them. Much to the surprise of Haweis, the LMS, and the ‘godly mechanics’, however, the locals reacted, at first, with disinterest and later with opposition; the missionaries found themselves victims of robberies and attacks. While the mission struggled from the beginning, by 1809 all of the original ‘godly mechanics’, without recording a single conversion, had either committed suicide, gone native, been excommunicated, or abandoned their original posts. In a subsequent mission to South Africa, commenced in 1798, equally disappointing results came from a deployed duo of British missionaries, both of whom deserted their assignments within a year of arriving in South Africa.

In an attempt to revamp their approach to communicating the Gospel, the LMS chose to follow a new mission strategy, David Bogue’s educationalist theory—to send highly trained missionaries to communicate the Gospel to the ‘heathen’ in their own languages by translating the scriptures and providing them with local, dissenting academies. Bogue’s approach required the missionaries to undergo training prior to departing Britain, so the LMS looked to him to develop an in-depth preparatory programme. On August 4, 1800 he founded an LMS training college at Gosport Academy. At Gosport, Bogue’s students engaged in a training programme that covered nine volumes of lecture notes. Topics studied included theology, the Old and New Testaments, Jewish antiquities, the duties of the pastoral office, rhetoric, metaphysics, logic, history, geography, languages (Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and sometimes French), and church government. In addition, the students participated in a special seminar, which addressed the

labours of a missionary and provided a step-by-step mission template which the students, in turn, were expected to implement abroad. The normal length of the Gosport programme was three years, but Bogue also prepared an expedited route for students needing to commence their mission imminently. Robert Morrison was one such missionary.

The spine of Bogue's mission model had missionaries mastering the relative languages, translating the Bible, composing a dictionary and grammar, and establishing a local version of the academy for converts. If time allowed, the missionaries were to continue producing texts by translating other helpful theological manuscripts—a list of which Bogue provided. Near the conclusion of Bogue's template, with the founding of the school, the missionary was to pass the programme onto a trustworthy convert who, in turn, would establish a nearby sister station and reproduce the Gosport outline. It was Bogue's hope that this cycle repeat indefinitely, creating an expanding spiral wherein his portrait of Christianity would begin to take over the region.

Robert Morrison enrolled at Gosport Academy in 1805 and completed the programme on Bogue's intensive fast track, finishing just over fourteen months later. As was the case with all Gosport graduates, Morrison left the academy equipped with a transcribed set of the tutor's comprehensive lecture notes and, consequently, prepared to implement the Gosport programme abroad. Afterwards, the missionary spent roughly twenty months in London in order to learn as much Chinese as was possible. He also received an induction into mathematics and astronomy, before departing for China on January 31, 1807.

When Morrison arrived in China he was confronted with obstacles, the most visible of which was a Chinese government edict that forbade Christian missionaries from operating within the confines of the country. Nevertheless, Robert Morrison persisted with the pioneering mission and did everything possible to implement Bogue's programme by first mastering the Chinese language. Overcoming all of the challenges, Morrison obtained fluency, and he continued to follow Bogue's advice by next translating the Bible and composing a Chinese-English dictionary and grammar. These tasks were more difficult than expected and, as a result, he requested assistance, which came in the form of William Milne, another Gosport-trained LMS missionary who arrived in Canton on July 4, 1813.

Together Morrison and Milne worked on their Chinese translation of the Bible, which they completed in November 1819. Afterwards, Morrison devoted his time to the composition of the dictionary, grammar, and theological texts whilst Milne searched for an effective means of printing their work and an appropriate place to establish their academy. Composing a Chinese-English dictionary proved to be the most challenging of Morrison's translation projects, but the missionary persisted and eventually concluded the work in February 1822. Skilled in the art of multitasking, in the meantime he impressively completed Chinese and English grammars as well as a series of supporting theological texts, including but not limited to a catechism on the life of Jesus, a tract on divine redemption, an abstract of the Scriptures, a survey of Old Testament history, a collection of theological essays, and a dictionary to explain the Bible. Not coincidentally, all of these translations were recommended by Bogue, and Morrison completed them in the chronological order in which they were suggested.

Whilst Morrison completed the bulk of the translation work, Milne contributed to the LMS project by establishing a new mission station in Malacca, at which he instituted a printing press and founded a training academy. Malacca was a strategic choice for the location of this secondary station because it would afford them a safe refuge at which they could print and distribute texts whilst also allowing them to communicate with overseas Chinese and Chinese traders who were in transit. In addition, if China ever opened its doors to foreigners the missionaries would be prepared to move their operation inward without delay. Thus, from this new Ultra Ganges post Milne printed and distributed Morrison's translations (as well as a few publications of his own) and mingled freely with locals and overseas Chinese, recording converts along the way. Although the publications he printed could not be distributed freely in China, only in Southeast Asia, the experience afforded him the opportunity to sharpen his printing skills so that he could operate a more efficient press upon China's opening. Furthermore, he was able to found an academy, the Anglo-Chinese College, at which he would train other LMS missionaries as they prepared for their East and Southeast Asian posts and impress Bogue's curriculum upon converts. To equip the college with the best curriculum possible, under Morrison's advice, Milne translated his transcription of Bogue's lecture notes so that he had both English and Chinese copies.

The Anglo-Chinese College got off to a slow start, mostly due to a lack of Anglophone textual resources, but after Milne's death Morrison was forced to address this issue. Consequently, he returned to England on March 20, 1824. Whilst at home, he worked towards creating support for his new college but he also purchased a library of Anglophone books that would allow him to execute at Malacca a curriculum that modelled itself upon the example provided by Bogue at Gosport. Upon his return, this English library was deposited and, consequently, the Anglo-Chinese College was finally able to fulfil this liberal objective.

Through the college, the missionaries were able to put a Gosport-like education into the hands of the Chinese. More importantly, however, they were able to pass the torch of their mission by following another of Bogue's suggestions: they converted, baptised, and educated Liang Afa, who, in turn, was trained to reemploy Bogue's programme by publishing evangelical-approved texts, propagating to other Chinese people, and founding an academy in mainland China, all on his own. Liang did all of these tasks with success and trained other converts along his way, specifically Keuh Agong and Keuteenching, but also all of the students who attended his free college in mainland China.

Morrison and Milne devoted their missionary careers to the planting of a unique strand of evangelical Protestant Christianity in China. They laboured tirelessly and eventually succeeded, completing a number of pioneering accomplishments in the areas of translation, printing, education, and, later, propagation. Later missionaries who underwent different forms of preparatory training, for example James Legge, deviated from Morrison and Milne's approach to communicating the Gospel to the Chinese and often criticised the pioneering duo, but it would be impossible to refute the indebtedness of later missionaries to the foundation constructed by Morrison and Milne. The legacy of the missionaries, therefore, cannot be ignored. Without their efforts or even, perhaps, their textual-biased approach, later missions would not have been as successful.

In sum, the planning of Robert Morrison and William Milne's mission belongs to a particular historical moment from the timeline of the LMS's evolution of missionary training and mission strategy. Both missionaries were influenced by the ideologies of this era in terms of their approach to establishing a Protestant church in China. By viewing their mission within these historical and ideological contexts, scholars can gain a deeper appreciation for the strategy supporting

the missionaries' efforts. By analysing the missionaries from the viewpoint of this scheme, handed to them by David Bogue, we produce a reading of their mission which goes against the grain of the typical hagiographical narratives, which do little but list the missionaries' accomplishments, classifying them as phenomenal. In effect, the new archival approach introduced in this book calls into question the missionaries' originality and their contribution to the overall design of their mission. Perhaps, in turn, this shifts some of the credit for the success of the mission to Bogue and cuts the missionary 'pioneers' down to size, although Morrison and Milne certainly did their part to break new ground. The archives deployed in this book force us to re-evaluate this important mission, but further studies are needed which assess how these materials permanently alter our understanding of the beginning of Protestantism in China.

Unarguably, the pioneering missionaries accomplished a lot and the execution of these feats required bravery and creativity. It is not the intent of this research to underplay their struggles or successes or to dismiss the agency of the missionaries during the process of the mission. Although they were certainly following Bogue's template to the letter, the execution of the Gosport strategy in a hostile China indeed required patience and ingenuity. The aim of this project, in contrast, is to uproot and shine light upon the original and unique mission strategy—itsself a synthesis of Scottish, dissenting, and evangelical influences—that inspired their accomplishments. In the process, a fruitful new approach via archival materials to early Protestant missions in China is introduced. Through this method, sinologists and missionary historians can excavate an untold aspect of the narrative concerning the planting of a unique strand of Protestantism in China. As a consequence of taking into account the perhaps unexpected theological, ideological, cultural, and historical factors that lie at the foundation of the powerful Chinese Protestant church, scholars can only sharpen their understandings of this major world religion.

Notes

Introduction

1. Already published within this genre of scholarship that engages critically with Morrison's mission are Zetzsche (1999) and Reilly (2004). Starr (1998) also goes to great efforts in his short account to produce an archival-based summary of Morrison's legacy.
2. See Moseley (1842), Townsend (1890), Rutherford (1902), Walker (1920), Broomhall (1924), Hayes (1925), Thomas (1936), Ride (1957), and Hancock (2008). All of these books depend heavily upon the *Memoirs* written by Morrison's widow. J. Barton Starr is currently undergoing an archival project entitled *The Papers of Robert Morrison*, which will no doubt make an invaluable contribution to this category.
3. See, for example, Morison (1840), Ellis (1844), Lovett (1899, 2), the London Missionary Society (1907), Williams (1908), and Rubinstein (1996). Gu Changsheng's (1981; 1985) influential volumes, both published in Chinese, should also be added to this list. None of these books make much of Morrison's training at Gosport, and the *Memoirs* appear as a definitive source for all. One of the most recent editions to this category is the authoritative *Handbook of Christianity in China: 1800 to the Present*, where the account on Morrison's mission is written by Rubinstein (2009). This description fails to mention Morrison's time at Gosport altogether, but the understanding of his training appears generally confused: the entry incorrectly states that his Chinese language training happened during his studies at Hoxton (135). There are, no doubt, other works not listed here that include reference to the missionaries.
4. A short article published by J. Barton Starr (1998) represents perhaps one of the strongest pieces of archival work published to date on Morrison, although this article is less than four pages in length. See also Daily (2012), for a longer article that is based off of archival research. In terms of Chinese language materials, there was, for example, a collection of articles published in 1997, to commemorate the bicentennial of Morrison's arrival in China, by the *China Graduate School of Theology Journal*. This collection included three lengthy articles on Morrison by Fuk-tsang

Ying (2007), Lee Chee Kong (2007), and Timothy Yiu-wai Yeung (2007). Ying (2012) later published an Anglophone version of this article on Morrison's 'mission thought'. Ying and Yeung's articles are the most relevant to the project at hand. The authors engage heavily with Morrison's Chinese and English publications in order to gain a clearer image of his mission approach and Congregationalist theology, respectively. The *Memoirs* remain a definitive resource especially for Ying, however, who consults it more than any other resource and does not take up the issue of Morrison's training—or the source of his mission strategy for that matter.

5. Morrison 1839, 1 and 1839, 2.
6. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 3, Folder 2, Jacket A, October 9, 1833; December 22, 1833.
7. *Ibid.*: Box 3, Folder 2, Jacket A, October 9, 1833.
8. See examples of his letters at *ibid.*: Box 3, Folder 1, Jacket C, November 9, 1832; and *ibid.*: Box 3, Folder 2, Jacket A, October 9, 1833.
9. The description is provided by an angry letter from Eliza Morrison to the LMS. See the letter at CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 3, Folder 2, Jacket A, May 22, 1834.
10. *Ibid.*: Box 3, Folder 2, Jacket A, May 22, 1834.
11. *Ibid.*: Box 3, Folder 2, Jacket A, February 14, 1834.
12. *Ibid.*: Box 3, Folder 2, Jacket A, March 11, 1834.
13. *Ibid.*: Box 3, Folder 2, Jacket A, August 17, 1834.
14. *Ibid.*: Box 3, Folder 2, Jacket A, May 22, 1834.
15. Morrison 1839, 1: ii–iii.
16. Morrison 1839, 1: 1.
17. *Ibid.*: 2.
18. *Ibid.*: 2–3.
19. *Ibid.*: 2–3.
20. *Ibid.*: 3.
21. *Ibid.*: 3.
22. *Ibid.*: 3.
23. *Ibid.*: 3.
24. *Ibid.*: 3.
25. *Ibid.*: 6.
26. He would study this book in more detail at Gosport Academy. This text would later serve as the foundation for Morrison's *Christian Domestic Instructor*.
27. Morrison 1839, 1: 7–8. For an extract from Morrison's 1799 and 1800 journals, including glimpses of his evangelical-oriented daily schedule, see Morrison (1839, 1: 12–18).
28. *Ibid.*: 12.
29. *Ibid.*: 3.
30. *Ibid.*: 4–5.
31. *Ibid.*: 31.
32. *Ibid.*: 31–33.

Chapter 1 The Birth of British Evangelicalism and the Disappointment of the Earliest LMS Missions

1. Five hundred and seven High Church MPs were voted into office as a result of the 1661 election. In an extreme contrast, only thirty-seven Dissenters were elected (Lacey 1969: 30, 476–79).
2. Kirk 2005: 1–3.
3. For more on the religious disagreements between Charles II and the Cavalier Parliament, see Seaward 1988: 162–95.
4. Michael Watts (1978) provides a different, psychoanalytical description of the motives behind Charles II's desire for toleration (221), although I would argue that Watts produces nothing more than an inaccurate, albeit interesting, conspiracy theory because he blindly fails to assess the influence of Charles I's disastrous encounter with religious divisions, arguably one of the factors leading to the beginning of the English Civil War, upon Charles II's desire for friendly relations amongst the disagreeing religious sects in his kingdom. For more on the religious conflicts that saturated the reign of Charles I, see Moorman 1953: 223–41 or Hutton 1903.
5. For more on the rise of Puritanism and the sufferings of Anglicanism during the Interregnum, see Moorman 1953: 221–52.
6. For complete transcriptions of the original acts, see Gee and Hardy 1896: 594–632.
7. Sell 1992: 77.
8. The Solemn League and Covenant was 'the agreement between the Scots and the English which, by 1643, the Scots entered the Civil War on the side of Parliament. Its main provisions were the maintenance of Presbyterianism in Scotland, the reform on the English Church on Presbyterian lines, and the preservation of the King' (Keeble 2001: 289–90). For the complete text, see Gee and Hardy 1896: 569–74.
9. Bogue and Bennett 1808: 98.
10. Bogue and Bennett 1808: 100–01; Harris 1987: 64; Kirk 2005: 2.
11. Bellot 1929: 5–6; McLachlan 1931: 1.
12. Such acts included the Quaker Act of 1662, aimed specifically at exterminating that separatist sect (see Harris 1987: 63); a more severe version of the Conventicle Act passed in 1670 (see *ibid.*: 64); the Test Act of 1673 (best viewed as an extension of the Corporation Act of 1661), 'requiring all those holding civil or military office to receive the Holy Communion according to the rites of the Church of England, to denounce the doctrine of Transubstantiation, and to take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance' (Moorman 1953: 253; for the complete text, see Gee and Hardy 1896: 632–40); and the Test Act of 1678 aimed at removing Roman Catholics from civil service. These were in addition to the already effective Elizabethan recusancy laws which punished citizens for not attending Church of England services (see *ibid.*: 199–207).
13. Lacey 1969: 15–28.
14. Moorman 1953: 252–53.

15. For a good analysis of the penal package's social and political impacts upon the Nonconformists followed by an explanation of their transition into Dissent, see Lacey 1969: 47–70.
16. McLachlan 1931: 1–9; Kirk 1988: 4.
17. Parker 1914: 54.
18. For an explanation of the limited funding provided to the pioneering academies, see Bogue and Bennett 1809: 89–90.
19. For an early study on the Dissenters' reasons for selecting the name 'academy', see Parker 1914: 51–54.
20. Kaye 1999: 6; Parker 1914: 51, 58; McLachlan 1931: 16–28.
21. For more on the rise in popularity of the dissenting academies, see Parker 1914.
22. Kaye 1999: 6; Moorman 1953: 261; Kirk 1988: 3–4; Parker 1914: 41, 56, 137–39; McLachlan 1931: 1–15.
23. For more on the revivals in Germany and North America, see Ward 1992.
24. For more on the Anglican sects involved in the Revival, such as the Clapham Sect—a group of mostly Anglican social reformers that sought to combat, in particular, slavery and the penal system—see Bebbington 1989: 30–32, 35–38, and 70–72.
25. Ditchfield 1998: 39–48; Bebbington 1989: 20–74.
26. Kaye 1999: 9.
27. Jackson 1967: 33–42.
28. *Ibid.*: 42.
29. *Ibid.*: 33–42.
30. *Ibid.*: 98.
31. Piggin 1984: 18.
32. Nuttall 1968: 8–10.
33. *Ibid.*: 7.
34. *Ibid.*: 11; For more on Selina, the Countess of Huntingdon and her Trevecca College, see Welch 1995, Schlenker 1997, or Harding 2003 or 2007.
35. Nuttall 1968: 9–12; Thompson 2012: 'Hoxton [Independent] Academy ...'
36. Morris 1957: 9–10.
37. *Ibid.*: 9–10.
38. *Ibid.*: 50.
39. Morrison 1839, 1: 51.
40. According to the LMS Board Minutes, the Missionary Society was renamed the London Missionary Society during a May 14, 1818 meeting (CWM/LMS, Board Minutes: FBN 1, Slide 39, May 14, 1818).
41. CWM/LMS, Board Minutes: FBN 1, Slide 1, 'Plan of the Society'; see also *Transactions of the L.M.S.* 1804: xii–xiii; Horne 1815: 42–43, 91–92.
42. Lovett 1899, 1: 14–16.
43. Davies 1961: xxvii–xxviii.

44. Obeyesekere 1992: 25–26. For an historical and theoretical analysis of the European, particularly British, ‘curiosity’ for foreign natives during this time period, see Trautmann 1997.
45. Davies 1961: xxviii.
46. *Ibid.*: xxviii; Lovett 1899, 1: 10.
47. CWM/LMS, *Proceedings of the Second General Meeting* 1795: 6; also quoted in Lovett 1899, 1: 15.
48. Lovett 1899, 1: 44–48, 101–02. For more on these early debates, see Lovett 1899, 1: 43–113. Alternatively, a more recent assessment can be found in Gunson 1978: 64–67.
49. Gunson 1978: 64–67.
50. Haweis was ordained into the Anglican Church immediately after completing his studies at Oxford University (Morison 1840: 174–75). In 1774, however, Haweis became an itinerant chaplain for the Countess of Huntingdon’s Evangelical Connexion, a radical Calvinistic movement rooted within the Methodist Church. Despite his association with the Calvinistic Methodist Countess, the evangelical Haweis remained a devoted Anglican clergyman throughout his career, doing his best to ensure that the Connexion remained as theologically aligned with the Church of England as was possible (Fenwick 2004: 21–27). For more on Haweis and his involvement with the Countess of Huntingdon’s Connexion, see Harding 2003. For a general biography of Haweis’s life, see Wood 1957.
51. Jackson 1967: 21–24; Morison 1840: 170–207.
52. Morison 1840: 195.
53. CWM/LMS, *Evangelical Magazine* 1795(July): 261.
54. *Ibid.*: July, 260–71.
55. *Ibid.*: July, 261–62.
56. *Ibid.*: July, 261–62.
57. Davies 1961: xxix.
58. CWM/LMS, *Sermons Preached in London* 1795: Sermon 1, Pages 5–23.
59. *Ibid.*: Sermon 1, Page 13.
60. CWM/LMS, *The Reports of the Directors to the Members of the Missionary Society, at the Second General Meeting* 1796: 2.
61. Horne 1815: Letter V, pp. 86–111.
62. Gunson 1978: 64.
63. *Ibid.*: 64–65.
64. CWM/LMS, *Sermons Preached in London* 1795: Sermon 1, Pages 14–15.
65. Gunson 1978: 64–65.
66. Marsden 1858: 39.
67. CWM/LMS, *Sermons Preached in London* 1795: Sermon 6, Pages 139–43.
68. Bennett 1827: 146.
69. Lovett 1899, 1: 127.
70. Gunson 1978: 96–97.

71. Ibid.: 97.
72. CWM/LMS, *The Reports of the Directors to the Members of the Missionary Society, at the Second General Meeting 1796*: xi.
73. Lovett 1899, 1: 127, 134.
74. Ibid.: 127.
75. Ibid.: 117–27.
76. CWM/LMS, *Evangelical Magazine 1796* (August): 342; Lovett 1899, 1: 129.
77. CWM/LMS, South Seas, Incoming Letters: Box 1, Folder 1, Jacket A.
78. Lovett 1899, 1: 129.
79. Quoted in Lovett 1899, 1: 128–29.
80. Quoted in Marsden 1858: 38.
81. Ibid.: 38.
82. Lovett 1899, 1: 134.
83. Wilson 1799: 56.
84. Lovett 1899, 1: 140.
85. CWM/LMS, *Otaheitean Journals 1804*: 1.
86. W. Ellis 1844: 101–107.
87. CWM/LMS, *Otaheitean Journals 1804*: 50.
88. Ibid.: 9.
89. Ibid.: 11–20.
90. Wilson 1799: 81.
91. CWM/LMS, South Seas, Journals: Box 2, Folder 30, Tahiti, 1806, October 17–December 22.
92. Lovett 1899, 1: 149–51.
93. CWM/LMS, *Otaheitean Journals 1804*: 146.
94. Lovett 1899, 1: 167.
95. CWM/LMS, *Otaheitean Journals 1804*: 194–95.
96. Horne 1895: 31–32.
97. Ibid.: 32–34.
98. Ibid.: 32–35.
99. The missionaries returned to Tahiti in early 1812, after receiving an invitation from King Otoo, King Pomare I's successor, who surprisingly and suddenly converted to Christianity. For the benefit of the Tahiti Mission, in 1813, Otoo gained control over all of Tahiti and, due to his newly discovered love of evangelicalism, ordered the destruction of native temples and idols and authorised the expansion of Protestantism. For more, see Horne 1895: 36–42.
100. By way of comparison, it is noteworthy that both the Tonga Mission and the Marquesas Islands Mission ended similarly. For example, the Tonga Mission, described by Horne (1895) as 'two-and-a-half years of indescribable horror', produced countless robberies, several assaults, one resignation, and three murders before its surviving missionaries fled in January 1800 (27–29). Furthermore, of the two missionaries selected to reside on the Marquesas Islands, one, horrified by the

- welcoming of the Tahitians recounted above, refused to disembark the *Duff*, and the other, suffering from loneliness, fled his post in 1800 (*ibid.*: 29). For more on these two Missions, see Horne 1895: 27–29, or Lovett 1899, 1: 169–75.
101. As illustrated by Jackson (1967), during the first four years of its existence, the Society spent an impressive £30,054 on the Tahitian Mission and only £2,275 on its other missions to India and Africa. After reading of the persistent failures of the missionaries in Tahiti, however, after only four years the Society reduced its budget for the Tahiti Mission to £4,377, while increasing its spending on African and India to £6,098 (Jackson 1967: 73).
 102. Enklaar 1988: 57, 65; Clinton 1937: 9.
 103. For more on this disastrous trip, which resulted in thirty-six deaths and over one hundred illnesses before the ship reached Cape Town (less than halfway to its final destination: Australia), see Enklaar 1988: 69–74, or Bateson 1983.
 104. Enklaar 1988: 69–74.
 105. *Ibid.*: 81.
 106. Harris 1931: 47.
 107. Clinton 1937: 71–72.
 108. *Ibid.*: 73.
 109. Enklaar 1988: 86–99.
 110. Clinton 1937: 20.
 111. Enklaar 1988: 99.
 112. According to Clinton (1937), at this time, the Khoisan suffered from consistent attacks by a group of Dutch settlers, known as the Boers (22–24).
 113. Horne 1895: 61.
 114. *Ibid.*: 61.
 115. Harris 1931: 48.
 116. CWM/LMS, Board Minutes, FBN 1: Slide 9, May 5, 1800.

Chapter 2 The New Approach to Missions

1. Bennett 1827: 127.
2. Jackson 1967: 99.
3. *Ibid.*: 99.
4. CWM/LMS, *Sermons Preached in London 1795*: Sermon 6, Page 128.
5. Jackson 1967: 79–80.
6. *Ibid.*: 82.
7. Findlay 1973: 9–10; see also Scotland 1969: 3–5, 11–19.
8. Findlay 1973: 10; Scotland 1969: 11–19.
9. Findlay 1973: 11–12.
10. *Ibid.*: 12–14.
11. Laird 1972: 179.
12. *Ibid.*: 180.

13. Ibid.: 180.
14. Ibid.: 186–87.
15. Reid 1769: 378.
16. Ibid.: 378.
17. Ibid.: 72–77.
18. Ibid.: 74.
19. Hovenkamp 1978: 11.
20. Ibid.: 11.
21. Reid 1769: 3.
22. There is much disagreement in regards to the starting date for Gosport Academy, see Terpstra 1959: 27–28. However, because Bogue began tutoring in 1777 I feel that this year marks the beginning of his academy, even if his student body was limited to one.
23. Bennett 1827: 8.
24. Ibid.: 8.
25. Ibid.: 8.
26. Ibid.: 9.
27. Ibid.: 9.
28. Ibid.: 12–17.
29. Ibid.: 15.
30. Ibid.: 13–14.
31. Ibid.: 17–20.
32. Ibid.: 73.
33. Ibid.: 77–88.
34. Quoted in Bennett 1827: 100.
35. Bennett (1827: 100–101) theorised that Bogue did not leave any direct records of his earliest student because he was too embarrassed of the pupil.
36. Terpstra 1959: 26.
37. Quoted in Bennett 1827: 100.
38. Terpstra 1959: 28–29; 402–06.
39. Bennett 1827: 119.
40. Ibid.: 119–20.
41. Terpstra 1959: 30.
42. *Evangelical Magazine* 1794 (September): 380.
43. CWM/LMS, Board Minutes, FBN 1: Slide 9, May 5, 1800.
44. Ibid.: Slide 9, May 5, 1800.
45. Ibid.: Slide 9, May 5, 1800.
46. Ibid.: Slide 10, July 21, 1800.
47. Ibid.: Slide 10, August 4, 1800.
48. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1, Folder 'Robert Morrison', Jacket A.
49. CWM/LMS, Board Minutes: FBN 1, Slide 15, May 28, 1804.

50. Morrison 1839, 1: 57.
51. *Ibid.*: 57.
52. This three-year design went against the LMS Directors' original proposal to appropriate no more than £500 for Bogue to develop a plan of study that amounted to two years, 'subject to such enlargement or diminution in particular cases in respect to time as to the majority of the Directors should be deemed expedient previous to their active entrance upon the work which may be assigned to them'. For this original proposal, partially disregarded by Bogue, see CWM/LMS, Board Minutes: FBN 1, Slide 9, May 16, 1800.
53. Bennett 1827: 123.
54. An insight into Morrison's impossibly busy schedule at Gosport after being selected for the China Mission can be gained by reading a February 23, 1805 diary entry, transcribed in his *Memoirs* (Morrison 1839, 1: 73–75). It is evident from this entry that at times, his workload became so heavy that he frequently struggled to complete all of his studies (although he did manage to conclude the Gosport curriculum before departing for London for final preparations).
55. Other students attending Gosport Academy during Morrison's tenure are Thomas Adams (Demerara), Louis Cadoret (France), George Cran (India), David Creighton (South America), Jonathan Davies (Demerara), John Davies (England), Augustus Des Granges (India), Timothy East (England), Richard Elliot (Demerara), J.S.C.F. Frey (England), John Gordon (Calcutta), John Hands (Bangalore), John Hunt (England), John Angell James (England), William Lee (Calcutta), Charles W. Loveless (Madras), John MacDonald (assignment unknown), Charles Maslen (England), McKewan (Flanders), Charles Pazalt (Africa), Quinton Stowe (England, Australia), Dr. John Taylor (Surat), John Weisinger (Malta), Michael Wimmer (Africa), and John Wray (Demerara), and Christian G. Zwaar (Madeira). List obtained by scanning LMS Board Minutes (CWM/LMS, Board Minutes: FBN1, Box 1) from the years 1803–1806.
56. Bogue Lecture Notes, DWL L.14/9: 'Lectures for the Missionary Office', Lecture 24.
57. This ellipsis represents the omission of a small phrase of shorthand that is illegible.
58. Bogue Lecture Notes, DWL L.14/9: 'Lectures for the Missionary Office', Lecture 1.
59. Bogue Lecture Notes, DWL L.14/8: 'Lectures to Students on Entering the Seminary', Lecture 3.
60. Bennett 1827: 120.
61. *Ibid.*: 120–21; according to Bennett (1827), Bogue rarely criticised his students' presentations, even if he disagreed with their conclusions. Instead, he gave 'free scope for the observations of the pupils . . . erring rather on the side of reserve with regard to his own sentiments, than on that of dictating to others' (120–21).
62. Frey 1849: 11.
63. Bogue Lecture Notes, DWL L.14/8: 'Lectures to Students on Entering the Seminary', Lecture 3.

64. There are currently at least five archival opportunities to study Gosport Academy through the lens of one of its students, as well as one additional, later adapted transcription probably based upon an original set of notes. The primary resources include notes taken by John Angell James (held at the London Congregationalist Library, ii. 9. 43–45); Joseph Frey (held at New College, University of Edinburgh, MSS BOG 1–MSS BOG 7); Isaac Lowndes (held at Dr. Williams’s Library, London, L.14. 1–9); Richard Elliot (held at Dr. Williams’s Library, London, L.14. 10); and an anonymous student who attended Gosport c.1815 (held at the Roderic Bowen Library, University Wales Lampeter, GB 1953 DBLN). Of these five sets of archives, the Frey and Lowndes collections house full, nine-volume sets, while the James, Elliot, and anonymous archives are only partial sets. There is an additional two volume copy of some of the notes originally taken by Robert Moffat in 1817, but they are transcribed by a Rev William Roby (held at SOAS, CWM/LMS, Home Odds, Box 25). This second-hand collection includes a partial volume on ‘Missionary Lectures’, containing only 26 of the 30 lectures found in the other sets (and none of the appendices), as well as a simplified volume on Theology that contains 80 of the original 122 lectures. Because the volumes are compiled by Roby and only this set stands apart in terms of the table of contents and order of lectures, it is safe to conclude that the missing lectures were purposefully removed by Roby—albeit for reasons unknown. For this reason, Roby’s transcriptions of Moffat’s notes are not completely unhelpful for a study of Gosport, but it must be understood that they are restrictive and reflect Roby’s interests rather than a comprehensive transcription of lectures given at Gosport. To ease the examination process, the acquisition numbers cited within this text are for the Lowndes set held in London at Dr. Williams’s Library. However, corresponding acquisition numbers for the Frey set held at New College, Edinburgh—the set directly corresponding to Morrison’s studentship, compiled by his Gosport roommate—can be found in *Daily 2010: Appendix II*. In addition to these archival opportunities, there was an edited version of Bogue’s lectures on theology (less than half of the complete Gosport programme) published by Frey (1849) in the United States.
65. A catalogue of the readings assigned by Bogue and held within the Gosport Academy library can be found in *Daily 2010: Appendix III*.
66. Bogue Lecture Notes, DWL L.14/2–DWL L.14/5: Theology Lectures, v. 1–4.
67. Bennett 1827: 122.
68. *Ibid.*: 122; Griesbach is most noted for producing a theory about the relationships between the Synoptic Gospels—Matthew, Mark, and Luke. According to Griesbach, the Gospel of Matthew was the original text, the Gospel of Luke was based upon Matthew, and the Gospel of Mark, written last, incorporated both Matthew and Luke. For the complete text of Griesbach’s analysis of the Synoptic Gospels, followed by a series of contemporary essays on the influence of his scholarship, see Orchard and Longstaff 1978.

69. Bogue Lecture Notes, DWL L.14/8: 'Lectures to Students Entering the Seminary', Lecture 8.
70. Bogue Lecture Notes, DWL L.14/9: Appendix 1, Lecture 5.
71. *Ibid.*: Lecture 5.
72. *Ibid.*: Lecture 5.
73. Terpstra 1959: 48.
74. Bogue Lecture Notes, DWL L.14/8: 'Lectures to Students Entering the Seminary', Lecture 8.
75. *Ibid.*: Lecture 8.
76. *Ibid.*: Lecture 8.
77. Terpstra 1959: 52.
78. A comprehensive table of contents of the Gosport lectures, listed by lecture title, is included in Daily 2010: Appendix II.
79. Bogue Lecture Notes, DWL L.14/8: 'Lectures to Students on Entering the Seminary', Lecture 3.
80. Bennett 1827: 127.
81. *Ibid.*: 120.
82. Bogue Lecture Notes, DWL L.14/2–DWL L.14/5: Theology Lectures, v.1–4.
83. For more on Bogue's favour of the American models, see Bogue and Bennett 1812: 502–03. For more on Jonathan Edwards and his impact on evangelicals and missionary movements, see the collection of essays edited by Kling and Sweeney 2003. For a rigorous study on Brainerd, see Pettit 1985a. Brainerd's life and mission is of particular interest to studies of Morrison because the former was held up as a model for the pioneering missionary to China whilst he was a student at Gosport.
84. Bogue Lecture Notes, DLW L.14/9: 'Lectures for the Missionary Office'.
85. Bogue Lecture Notes, DWL L.14/5: Lectures on Theology IV; DWL L.14/9: Appendix.
86. Bogue Lecture Notes, DWL L.14/5: Lectures on the Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures; DWL L.14/6: Lectures on the Old Testament; DWL L.14/7: Lectures on the New Testament.
87. Bogue Lecture Notes, DWL L.14/1: Lectures on Rhetoric, Lectures on Punctuation, and Lectures on Universal Grammar.
88. Bogue Lecture Notes, DWL L.14/1: Lectures on the History of the Apostolic Church; DWL L.14/6: Lectures on the Different Dispensations of Religion and Lectures on Church Government; DWL L.14/7: Lectures on Ecclesiastical History; and DWL L.14/9: Appendix.
89. Bogue Lecture Notes, DWL L.14/8: Lectures on the Pastoral Office.
90. Bogue Lecture Notes, DWL L.14/1: 'Lectures on Metaphysics and Logic', Lecture Three.
91. Bogue Lecture Notes, DWL L.14/1: 'Lectures on Metaphysics and Logic', Lecture Three.
92. Bogue Lecture Notes, DWL L.14/1: 'Lectures on Metaphysics and Logic'.

93. Bogue Lectures Notes, DWL L.14/9: 'Lectures on Geography'.
94. Terpstra 1959: 39–41.
95. Bennett 1827: 130–31.
96. Terpstra 1959: 15, 402–6.
97. *Ibid.*: 15–16.
98. Bogue Lecture Notes, DWL L.14/9: 'Lectures for the Missionary Office', Lectures 3–7.
99. *Ibid.*: Lecture 3.
100. *Ibid.*: Lecture 3.
101. *Ibid.*: Lectures 3–5.
102. *Ibid.*: Lectures 4 and 5.
103. *Ibid.*: Lecture 5.
104. *Ibid.*: Lectures 3 and 4.
105. *Ibid.*: Lecture 3.
106. *Ibid.*: Lecture 9.
107. *Ibid.*: Lecture 9.
108. *Ibid.*: Lecture 9.
109. *Ibid.*: Lecture 2.
110. *Ibid.*: Lecture 10.
111. *Ibid.*: Lecture 10.
112. *Ibid.*: Lecture 10.
113. *Ibid.*: Lecture 10.
114. *Ibid.*: Lecture 11.
115. Bogue Lecture Notes, DWL L.14/9: Appendix I, Lecture 5.
116. Bogue Lecture Notes, DWL L.14/9: 'Lectures for the Missionary Office', Lectures 8, 15–17.
117. *Ibid.*: Lecture 8.
118. CWM/LMS *Sermons Preached in London*: 123.
119. Bogue Lecture Notes, DWL L.14/9: 'Lectures for the Missionary Office', Lecture 8.
120. *Ibid.*: Lecture 15.
121. *Ibid.*: Lecture 15.
122. *Ibid.*: Lecture 15.
123. *Ibid.*: Lecture 16.
124. *Ibid.*: Lectures 16–17.
125. *Ibid.*: Lecture 15.
126. *Ibid.*: Lecture 8.
127. *Ibid.*: Lecture 16.
128. *Ibid.*: Lecture 16.
129. Morrison's *Dialogues* (1816) and part thirteen of Milne's *Retrospect* (1820: 368–76) respond to this assignment.
130. Bogue Lecture Notes, DWL L.14/9: 'Lectures for the Missionary Office', Lecture 11.

131. *Ibid.*: Lecture 11.
132. *Ibid.*: Lecture 11.
133. *Ibid.*: Lecture 11.
134. *Ibid.*: Lecture 11.
135. *Ibid.*: Lecture 11.
136. *Ibid.*: Lecture 11.
137. *Ibid.*: Lecture 1.
138. *Ibid.*: Lecture 2.
139. *Ibid.*: Lecture 2.
140. Terpstra 1959: 39–41.
141. *Ibid.*: 39–41.
142. Bogue Lecture Notes, DWL L.14/8: ‘Lectures to Students Entering the Seminary’, Lecture 4.
143. *Ibid.*: Lecture 4.
144. *Ibid.*: Lecture 4.
145. *Ibid.*: Lecture 4.
146. Terpstra 1959: 40–41.
147. *Ibid.*: 40–41.
148. Bogue and Bennett 1812: 502.
149. McLachlan 1931: 22, 308–09.
150. Bogue Lecture Notes, DWL L.14/8: ‘Lectures to Students Entering the Seminary’, Lecture 4.
151. *Ibid.*: Lecture 4.
152. *Ibid.*: Lecture 4.
153. *Ibid.*: Lecture 4.
154. *Ibid.*: Lecture 4.
155. Bogue Lecture Notes, DWL L.14/9: ‘Lectures for the Missionary Office’, Lecture 17.
156. *Ibid.*: Lecture 2.
157. *Ibid.*: Lecture 2.
158. *Ibid.*: Lecture 2.
159. *Ibid.*: Lecture 2.
160. *Ibid.*: Lecture 2.
161. *Ibid.*: Lecture 2.
162. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1B, Folder 1, Jacket C, December 4, 1809.
163. Quoted in Smith 1947: 89.
164. Bogue Lecture Notes, DWL L.14/9: ‘Lectures for the Missionary Office’, Lecture 2.
165. *Ibid.*: Lecture 12.
166. *Ibid.*: Lecture 11.
167. See, for example, a letter transcribed in his *Memoirs* where he debates whether he should ‘endeavor to bring a few Chinese—two or three together on the Lord’s day,

and speak to them of Jesus' as he concurrently attempted to learn the language. On the contrary, he concluded that he should not acquire any distractions and 'avoid being noticed as a teacher of religion' until he 'acquired the language so as to be able to translate the Scriptures' (Morrison 1839, 1: 181). That is, until he completed the 'greater good by the dissemination of the Scriptures' (ibid.: 181). Elsewhere he wrote, 'Morning, noon, and night, I have laboured at the Chinese language; for till it be obtained in some degree of perfection, my life seems to be passing to no purpose' (ibid.: 236).

168. Bogue Lecture Notes, DWL L.14/9: 'Lectures for the Missionary Office', Lecture 2.
169. Ibid.: Lecture 2.
170. Ibid.: Lecture 2.
171. Bogue Lecture Notes, DWL L.14/9: 'Lectures for the Missionary Office', Lecture 4.
172. Ibid.: Lecture 4.
173. Ibid.: Lecture 4.
174. Protestantism shared a unique relationship with printing, namely because the distribution method led to the dissemination of the Protestant religion in Northern Europe. For more on the relationship in England between Protestantism and printing, from the Reformation to the Evangelical Revival, see Green 2000.
175. Bogue Lecture Notes, DWL L.14/9: 'Lectures for the Missionary Office', Lecture 11.
176. Ibid.: Lecture 11.
177. Ibid.: Lecture 11.
178. CWM/LMS, Board Minutes: FBN 1, Slide 17, November 11, 1805.
179. Lovett 1899, 1: 94.
180. Bogue Lecture Notes, DWL L.14/9: 'Lectures for the Missionary Office', Lecture 29.
181. Ibid.: Lecture 26.
182. Ibid.: Lecture 12.
183. Ibid.: Lecture 12.
184. Ibid.: Lecture 12.
185. Although it will not be explored here, this strategy behind Bogue's idea to establish schools contrasts greatly with the mission strategy of Matteo Ricci, the first Jesuit missionary to enter China. Ricci, who arrived in China in 1582, theorised that he would convert China from the top-down; by converting the emperor he predicted that he would force the conversion of the populace. Consequently, Ricci spent his missionary career attempting to penetrate the imperial court (and on some levels he succeeded, although he did not manage to convert the emperor). For more on Ricci's mission, see Cronin 1955, or Spence 1985.
186. Bogue Lecture Notes, DWL L.14/9: 'Lectures for the Missionary Office', Lecture 12.
187. Ibid.: Lecture 12.
188. Ibid.: Lecture 12.

189. Bogue Lecture Notes, DWL L.14/9: 'Lectures for the Missionary Office'.
190. Bogue Lecture Notes, DWL L.14/9: 'Lectures for the Missionary Office', Lecture 1.
191. *Ibid.*: Lecture 8.
192. I am indebted to Dr. Gary Tiedemann for pointing out to me that, although these missionaries were generally referred to as 'the Danes', the overwhelming majority of them, including the most prominent (in terms of publishing) ones, were in fact German, trained at the Franckesche Stiftungen in Halle. Because they were originally sponsored by the king of Denmark and employed in the Danish territory of Tranquebar in southern India, however, they are often misleadingly referred to as 'the Danes'. Later some broke ties with the Danish monarchy and moved to Madras to work as chaplains for the East India Company.
193. *Ibid.*: Lecture 3.
194. *Ibid.*: Lecture 10
195. Terpstra 1959: 70.
196. See, for example, Lecture 14 where Bogue pleads for the Missionary Society to give priority to establishing missions in 'civilized nations'. To support his proposal, he draws upon the failure of the Tahiti Mission and describes the South Seas as unworthy of LMS intervention: 'It is in no wise probable that any of the Apostles or Evangelists preached the Gospel to nations which in any measure approached to the barbarous state . . . of the Islands of the S. Seas' (Bogue Lecture Notes, DWL L.14/9: 'Lectures for the Missionary Office', Lecture 14). Also see Lecture 16 throughout which the Tahiti Mission is used to exemplify 'opposition to be expected by Missionaries' (*ibid.*: Lecture 16).
197. Bogue Lecture Notes, DWL L.14/9: 'Lectures for the Missionary Office', Lecture 17.
198. *Ibid.*: Lecture 23.
199. For more on Brainerd's impact on the broader missionary movement, see Walls 2003.
200. Walls 2003: 255.
201. Bogue Lecture Notes, DWL L.14/9: Appendix, Lecture 6.
202. *Ibid.*: Lecture 6.
203. *Ibid.*: Lecture 6.
204. *Ibid.*: Lecture 6.
205. *Ibid.*: Lecture 6.
206. *Ibid.*: Lecture 6.
207. *Ibid.*: Lecture 6.
208. *Ibid.*: Lecture 6.
209. *Ibid.*: Lecture 6.
210. *Ibid.*: Lecture 6.
211. *Ibid.*: Lecture 6.

Chapter 3 Looking towards China

1. Bogue Lecture Notes, DWL L.14/9: 'Lectures for the Missionary Office', Lecture 13.
2. *Ibid.*: Lecture 13.
3. *Ibid.*: Lecture 13.
4. *Ibid.*: Lecture 14.
5. *Ibid.*: Lecture 14.
6. *Ibid.*: Lecture 13.
7. *Ibid.*: Lecture 14.
8. *Ibid.*: Lecture 14.
9. *Ibid.*: Lecture 14. This is a rather peculiar geographical reference, but judging by his short description one would be safe to assume that he is referring to Bukhara (also spelled Bokhara), in his time the capital of the Emirate of Bokhara, and now in modern day Uzbekistan.
10. *Ibid.*: Lecture 14.
11. *Ibid.*: Lecture 14.
12. *Ibid.*: Lecture 23.
13. *Ibid.*: Lecture 23.
14. Walls 2003: 254, 256.
15. *Ibid.*: Lecture 23.
16. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1A, Jacket B, December 4, 1805.
17. Morrison 1839, 1: 63–64.
18. *Ibid.*: 57–68.
19. For a helpful PhD thesis on British views of China during this era, see Zhang 1989.
20. For more on the state of French Sinology during the eighteenth century, see Barrett 1989: 16–19.
21. For more on Lord Macartney and his mission to China, see Hevia 1995. Or, for an edited account of the journals kept by Lord Macartney during his venture, see Cranmer-Byng 1962.
22. Barrett 1989: 41–46, 53–58.
23. *Ibid.*: 41–58.
24. Morrison 1839, 1: 66–67.
25. *Ibid.*: 67.
26. Davenport-Hines 2004: 'Sir George Thomas Staunton.'
27. CWM/LMS, South China, Journals: Journal 4, November 3, 1807.
28. Lutz 2001: 180. At this time, China was under the control of the Qing dynasty, a government which went to great efforts to control many forms of religious behavior (not just Christian but also, for example, Buddhist) in China. For more on the Qing's attitudes towards religion, particularly in this geographical area, during the nineteenth century, see Miles 2006.
29. Moseley 1842: i.

30. Ibid.: i.
31. For a copy of the original circular, see Moseley 1842: 9–18.
32. Ibid.: 19. According to Moseley, some of these men were so inspired by his pioneering call that they went on to found the British and Foreign Bible Society. For his full claim, see Moseley 1842: 9, 91–94.
33. Ibid.: 9–13.
34. Ibid.: 14–15.
35. Ibid.: 15–18.
36. Ibid.: 15–18.
37. Ibid.: 20.
38. Quoted in *ibid.*: 20.
39. Ibid.: 24–25.
40. The Basset manuscript—also known as Sloane MS 3599—was an incomplete Chinese version of the New Testament then housed in the British Museum (currently held in the archives of the British Library, Asia, Pacific & Africa Collections, Sloane MS 3599). It is believed to have been a direct transcription of a manuscript of the Chinese New Testament originally composed by the Roman Catholic missionary Jean Basset (1662–1707), who died before the translation reached completion. According to the preface of the archive, Sir Hans Sloane Bart acquired the copy (originally ordered by a Mr. Hodgson, junr) in September 1739 and subsequently donated the manuscript to the British Museum (for a critical assessment of the historical truth of this preface, see Strandenaes 1983: 61–62). Regarding its physical composition, the manuscript comprises 377 handwritten folios that are a mix of European and Chinese paper and the contents include a Chinese translation of parts of the Latin Vulgate New Testament, including: a Harmony of the Gospels (twenty-eight chapters), Acts of the Apostles (all twenty-eight chapters), Epistle to the Romans (all sixteen chapters), first (all sixteen chapters) and second (all thirteen chapters) Epistles to the Corinthians, the Epistles to the Galatians (all six chapters), Ephesians (all six chapters), Philippians (all four chapters), Colossians (all four chapters), first (all three chapters) and second (all five chapters) Epistles to Thessalonians, first (all six chapters) and second (all four chapters) Epistles to Timothy, and the Epistles to Titus (all three chapters), Philemon (all one chapter), and Hebrews (first chapter only).
41. *Lettres Édifiantes et Curieuses* is a thirty-four volume collection of descriptive Jesuit missionary letters written by missionaries in China, India, the Levant, Persia, and the Americas. It reached full publication in the eighteenth century and subsequently caught the eye of many Enlightenment thinkers, effectively introducing the European continent to a myriad of foreign cultures. Some of the letters have been translated into English by Power 1839.
42. Quoted in Moseley 1842: 30–33.
43. CWM/LMS, Board Minutes: FBN 1, Slide 15, July 30, 1804.
44. Ibid.: FBN 1, Slide 15, July 30, 1804.
45. Ibid.: FBN 1, Slide 15, July 30, 1804.

46. Morrison 1839, 1: 67.
47. Terpstra 1959: 55; see also, for one example, the LMS Board Minutes from January 20, 1806 at CWM/LMS, Board Minutes: FBN 1, Box 1, Slide 17, January 20, 1806.
48. Morrison 1839, 1: 65.
49. *Ibid.*: 66.
50. Bogue Lecture Notes, DWL L.14/9: 'Lectures for the Missionary Office', Lecture 14.
51. CWM/LMS, Board Minutes: FBN 1, Slide 16, May 20, 1805 and June 17, 1805.
52. *Ibid.*: FBN 1, Slide 16, June 17, 1805.
53. *Ibid.*: FBN 1, Slide 16, June 17, 1805.
54. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1A, Jacket A, Document 1 – undated.
55. *Ibid.*: Box 1A, Jacket A, Document 1 – undated.
56. *Ibid.*: Box 1A, Jacket A, Document 1 – undated.
57. *Ibid.*: Box 1A, Jacket A, Document 1 – undated.
58. *Ibid.*: Box 1A, Jacket A, Document 1 – undated.
59. CWM/LMS, Board Minutes: FBN 1, Slide 16, June 24, 1805 & July 15, 1805.
60. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Jacket A, October 30, 1805 and Jacket B, December 27, 1805.
61. CWM/LMS, Board Minutes: FBN 1, Slide 17, December 30, 1805.
62. *Ibid.*: FBN1, Slide 17 February 24, 1806.
63. *Ibid.*: FBN 1, Slide 16, August 19, 1805.
64. Morrison 1839, 1: 82.
65. CWM/LMS, Board Minutes: FBN 1, Slide 17, February 17, 1806.
66. *Ibid.*: FBN 1, Slide 18, September 15, 1806.
67. *Ibid.*: FBN 1, Slide 17, September 18, 1805; see also the letter where he offers his services to the LMS at CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1A, Jacket A, May 27, 1804.
68. Even though Brown did not attend Gosport, the LMS still gave David Bogue the authority to examine him prior to his entrance into the Society. For the report on Bogue's examination of Brown, which recommends Brown as a medical contributor to a mission, see CWM/LMS, Board Minutes: FBN 1, Slide 17, September 13, 1805.
69. *Ibid.*: FBN 1, Slide 17, December 23, 1805.
70. *Ibid.*: FBN 1, Slide 18, December 7, 1806.
71. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1A, Jacket B, December 4, 1805.
72. For more on the role of science in Ricci's mission strategy, see Spence 1985.
73. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1A, Jacket A, November 13, 1805.
74. See Accum 1803 for a general outline of his system of chemistry.
75. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1A, Jacket 2, 'Chinese Mission 1805 Minutes'.

76. *Ibid.*: Box 1A, Jacket 2, 'Chinese Mission 1805 Minutes'.
77. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1A, Jacket B, April 12, 1806.
78. *Ibid.*: Box 1A, Jacket B, April 12, 1806
79. *Ibid.*: Box 1A, Jacket B, April 12, 1806.
80. CWM/LMS, Board Minutes: FBN 1, Slide 18, November 11, 1806; November 24, 1806.
81. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1A, Jacket B, April 12, 1806; for Morrison's response to Brown's letter, see CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1A, Jacket C, May 7, 1806. He does not engage in any retaliatory, direct criticism of his relationship with Brown, but instead concluded that their relationship was irrelevant to the workings of the mission. Further, he passively implied that Brown used their relationship as an excuse, the real issue being Brown's disaffection for the conversion of China.
82. *Ibid.*: Box 1A, Jacket C, September 12, 1806 and December 28, 1806.
83. CWM/LMS, Board Minutes: FBN 1, Slide 18, June 14, 1806.
84. *Ibid.*: FBN 1, Slide 18, June 23, 1806.
85. *Ibid.*: FBN 1, Slide 18, January 20, 1807.
86. CWM/LMS, Board Minutes, FBN 1: Slide 18, January 12, 1807; Morrison 1839, 1: 93–94.
87. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1B, Folder 1, Jacket A, January 20, 1807.
88. *Ibid.*: Box 1A, Folder 1, Jackets A–C. As demonstrated by Lindsay Ride (1957), Morrison had to travel to Canton by way of America because of the East India Company's prejudice against missionaries going to India and the Far East; the East India Company would not take missionaries in their ships nor give them permission to reside on their properties (4). For the LMS letter to the East India Company asking for their assistance, see CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1A, Jacket B, Document 5, 1806.
89. Morrison 1839, 1: 103–04.
90. CWM/LMS, South China, Journals: Journal 1, February 26, 1807.
91. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1B, Jacket A, Folder 1, February 12.
92. *Ibid.*: Box 1B, Jacket A, Folder 1, February 3–6.
93. *Ibid.*: Box 1B, Jacket A, Folder 1, February 9.
94. *Ibid.*: Box 1B, Jacket A, Folder 1, February 9.
95. CWM/LMS, South China, Journals: Journal 1, February 27, 1807.
96. *Ibid.*: Journal 1, March 1, 1807.
97. *Ibid.*: Journal 1, April 4, 1807.
98. *Ibid.*: Journal 1, March 4, 1807.
99. *Ibid.*: Journal 1, March 11, 1807.
100. *Ibid.*: Journal 1 and Journal 2.

101. See, for example, entries at CWM/LMS, South China, Journals: Journal 1, February 24–26, 1807; March 22–30; April 1, 1807.
102. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1B, Jacket A, Folder 1, February 21, 1807.
103. Ibid.: Box 1B, Jacket A, Folder 1, February 12.
104. Ibid.: Box 1B, Jacket A, Folder 1, February 13.
105. Ibid.: Box 1B, Jacket A, Folder 1, February 17.
106. CWM/LMS, South China, Journals: Journal 2, August 6, 1807.
107. Ibid.: Journal 2, June 5, 1807.
108. Ibid.: Journal 1, February 26, 1807.
109. Ibid.: Journal 1, March 4, 1807.
110. Ibid.: Journal 2, May 22, 1807.
111. Ibid.: Journal 2, May 22, 1807.
112. Ibid.: Journal 2, April 8, 1807.
113. Ibid.: Journal 2, August 3, 1807.
114. Ibid.: Journal 1, March 14, 1807.
115. Ibid.: Journal 2, August 3, 1807.
116. Ibid.: Journal 2, August 4, 1807.
117. Ibid.: Journal 2, August 4, 1807.
118. Ibid.: Journal 2, May 26, 1807.
119. Ibid.: Journal 2, May 25, 1807.

Chapter 4 Communicating the Gospel to China

1. It cannot go unnoted here that Robert Morrison's *Memoirs*, posthumously written and published by his wife, misdate his arrival in Canton, and that this mistake, in turn, has led to a subsequent series of miscalculated studies. According to Eliza Morrison (1839, 1), her husband arrived on the evening of Sunday, September 7, 1807 at 'about eight o'clock' (Morrison 1839, 1: 151–52). Many authors show their dependence upon her mistaken account and cite this date for Morrison's arrival in Canton (and, by default, for the beginning of Chinese Protestantism). The date of 'Sunday, September 7' cannot be correct, however, namely because that date never occurred: September 7 fell on a Monday in 1807. One only needs to consult Morrison's journals to read that he arrived on the evening of Sunday, September 6 (CWM/LMS, South China Journals: Journal 3, September 6, 1807).
2. CWM/LMS, South China, Journals: Journal 3, September 4, 1807 and September 6, 1807. Although missionaries were not allowed to live in Canton and were, instead, restricted to living on the outer island of Shamian, Morrison nonetheless referred to his residence as being in Canton. I follow his lead and also use 'Canton' when referring to Morrison's residence, but it should be noted that the technical location was Shamian, a sandbank island adjacent to Canton proper that was reserved by the Qing government for the residences of foreign traders who operated in Canton. This

is not to say, however, that Morrison did not enter Canton when looking for books or conversing with natives—but, rather, that foreigners were not allowed to take residences (and, hence, sleep) in Canton.

3. *Ibid.*: Journal 3, September 4 and 5, 1807.
4. *Ibid.*: Journal 3, September 5, 1807.
5. Quoted in *ibid.*: Journal 3, September 5, 1807.
6. *Ibid.*: Journal 3, September 5, 1807
7. *Ibid.*: Journal 3, September 6, 1807.
8. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1B, Folder 1, Jackets A–B.
9. *Ibid.*: Box 1B, Folder 1, Jackets A–B; CWM/LMS, South China, Journals: Journal 3, September 11, 1807.
10. Morrison 1839, 1: 161.
11. CWM/LMS, South China, Journals: Journal 3, September 8, 1807.
12. *Ibid.*: Journal 3, September 14, 1807.
13. *Ibid.*: Journal 3, September 18, 1807.
14. *Ibid.*: Journal 3, October 4, 1807.
15. *Ibid.*: Journal 3, September 14, 1807.
16. For example, one of Morrison's boys covertly purchased the Four Books on his behalf. See CWM/LMS, South China, Journals: Journal 6, January 6, 1808.
17. *Ibid.*: Journal 4, October 26, 1807.
18. *Ibid.*: Journal 3, September 17, 1807.
19. *Ibid.*: Journal 4, October 15–29, 1807.
20. *Ibid.*: Journal 6, January 5–7, 1808.
21. See CWM/LMS, South China, Journals: Journal 4, November 11, 1807 to read about how one of the natives, Lei-tsak-tink, secretly escorted Morrison to a book shop 'into the suburbs a considerable distance from the factories' to purchase a commentary on the Chinese classics.
22. *Ibid.*: Journal 4, October 24, 1807.
23. *Ibid.*: Journal 4, October 24, 1807.
24. *Ibid.*: Journal 4, October 24, 1807.
25. *Ibid.*: Journal 3, September 15, 1807.
26. *Ibid.*: Journal 3, October 4, 1807.
27. See, for example, *ibid.*: Journals 4 and 5.
28. CWM/LMS, South China, Journals: Journal 3, September 10, 1807; see also *ibid.*: Journal 3, September 11, 1807.
29. *Ibid.*: Journal 3, October 29, 1807.
30. *Ibid.*: Journal 4, November 13, 1807; see another example at *ibid.*: Journal 4, December 2, 1807.
31. *Ibid.*: Journal 5, February 11, 1807.
32. *Ibid.*: Journal 4, November 2, 1807.
33. *Ibid.*: Journal 3, November 7, 1807; *ibid.*: Journal 4, November 2, 1807.

34. Ibid.: Journal 4, November 8, 1807.
35. Ibid.: Journal 3, November 7, 1807.
36. Ibid.: Journal 3, November 7, 1807.
37. Morrison 1839, 1: 168.
38. CWM/LMS, South China, Journals: Journal 3, November 7, 1807.
39. Ibid.: Journal 3, November 11, 1807.
40. Ibid.: Journal 4, November 15, 1807.
41. Ibid.: Journal 4, November 15, 1807.
42. Ibid.: Journal 4, November 24, 1807.
43. Ibid.: Journal 4, November 25, 1807.
44. See a mid-way report of the natives' progress at CWM/LMS, South China, Journals: Journal 4, December 5, 1807.
45. Ibid.: Journal 4, December 13, 1807.
46. Ibid.: Journal 6, June 27, 1808.
47. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1B, Jacket B, Folder 1, July 31, 1808.
48. CWM/LMS, South China, Journals: Journal 4, November 22, 1807.
49. The *Eclectic Review* was a British periodical founded by Dissenters and published between 1805 and 1868. Its main objective was to review books from a variety of genres and disciplines, including theology, politics, science literature, poetry, history and art. Although the majority of the authors reviewed by the *Eclectic Review* were British (including George Elliot, Robert Burns, Charles Dickens, Williams Wordsworth, Lord Byron, the Brontë sisters, and many others), it also considered the work of several American authors, such as Washington Irving. French and German writers, such as Stendhal and Goethe, were additionally included at times (Basker 1983: 124–31).
50. CWM/LMS, South China, Journals: Journal 4, November 26, 1807.
51. See Barrett 1989: 53–66.
52. Hume 1946: 670–71.
53. CWM/LMS, South China, Journals: Journal 3, October 4, 1807.
54. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1B, Jacket A, Folder 1, October 1807.
55. Ibid.: Box 1B, Jacket A, Folder 1, October 1807.
56. Ibid.: Box 1B, Jacket A, Folder 1, October 1807.
57. Combined list from CWM/LMS, South China, Journals: Journal 3, November 7, 1807; and *ibid.*: Journal 4, December 30, 1807.
58. Ibid.: Journal 4, December 28, 1807.
59. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1B, Jacket B, Folder 1, January 23, 1808.
60. CWM/LMS, South China, Journals: Journal 6, January 10, 1808.
61. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1B, Folder 1, Jacket B, May 29, 1808.

62. CWM/LMS, South China, Journals: Journal 5, January 24, 1808.
63. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1B, Folder 1, Jacket C, June 21, 1809.
64. *Ibid.*: Box 1B, Folder 2, Jacket A, March 9, 1811.
65. To provide but one example: after explaining the divinity of Jesus to some of the boys, he was frustrated to hear that they thought Jesus was similar to their sage, 'Kong-fu-tsi' (Confucius). Morrison felt compelled to provide an outline of his understanding of the differences between the divine Jesus and the human Kong-fu-tsi, 'the one intended for Europe and the other for China', but it fell upon deaf ears. According to Morrison, the men simply 'were unwilling to learn the right way [so] the conversation was dropt [*sic*]' (CWM/LMS, South China, Journals: Journal 6, July 5, 1808). Another example of a frustrating misunderstanding, but on the topic of 'God', can be found at CWM/LMS, South China, Journals: Journal 7, July 30, 1808.
66. CWM/LMS, South China, Journals: Journal 5, February 2, 1808.
67. Bogue Lecture Notes, DWL L.14/9: 'Lectures for the Missionary Office', Lecture 12.
68. *Ibid.*: 'Lectures for the Missionary Office', Lecture 12.
69. Bogue Lecture Notes, DWL L.14/8: Appendix, Lecture 3.
70. See the example of A Tsoi lying about his credentials, knowing Morrison was unable to check (CWM/LMS, South China, Journals: Journal 4, October 31, 1807; November 2, 1807).
71. See the example of Abel Yun's proposal for (and Morrison's rejection of) a raise to 360 dollars (CWM/LMS, South China, Journals: Journal 4, December 11, 1807).
72. See the example of the unnamed 'person who has come frequently' but who acted out of conduct and was removed from the premises (CWM/LMS, South China, Journals: Journal 5, May 24, 1808).
73. See, for example, the fears expressed by Man Qua prior to his disappearance (CWM/LMS, South China, Journals: Journal 5, January 11, 1808). Alternatively, read about the disappearance of 'the Roman Catholic Chinese' (*Ibid.*: Journal 6, January 7, 1807). Additionally, there was the case of the 'gentleman who has hitherto known me [that] seems now unwilling to see me and merely I believe though fear of being involved in my account' (*Ibid.*: Journal 6, October 6, 1808). As if these did not suffice, yet another example can be found at (*Ibid.*: Journal 6, June 26, 1808) where all of his servants temporarily abandoned him; 'I have been today completely deserted by my assistants'.
74. *Ibid.*: Journal 5, January–February.
75. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1B, Folder 1, Jackets A–D.
76. *Ibid.*: Box 1B, Folders 1–3.
77. Morrison 1839, 1: 187.
78. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1B, Folder 1, Jacket B.

79. Milne 1820: 64–65.
80. CWM/LMS, South China, Journals: Journal 6, May 31, 1808–June 2, 1808.
81. CWM/LMS, South China, Journals: Journal 6, June 27, 1808.
82. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1B, Jacket B, Folder 1, July 10, 1808.
83. CWM/LMS, South China, Journals: Journal 7, August 23, 1808.
84. *Ibid.*: Journal 7, August 28, 1808; August 30, 1808.
85. *Ibid.*: Journal 6, October 17, 1808.
86. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1B, Folder 1, Jacket C: October 20, 1808.
87. CWM/LMS, South China, Journals: Journal 6, November 6, 1808.
88. *Ibid.*: Journal 6, November 10, 1808.
89. *Ibid.*: Journal 7, December 1, 1808.
90. *Ibid.*: Journal 7, December 1, 1808.
91. *Ibid.*: Journal 7, November 28, 1808.
92. *Ibid.*: Journal 7, December 15, 1808.
93. *Ibid.*: Journal 7, December 1, 1808.
94. *Ibid.*: Journal 7, December 15, 1808.
95. *Ibid.*: Journal 7, December 30, 1808.
96. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1B, Folder 1, Jacket C, January 21, 1809.
97. *Ibid.*: Box 1B, Jacket C, Folder 1, June 21, 1809.
98. *Ibid.*: Box 1B, Folder 1, Jacket C, April 1, 1809.
99. *Ibid.*: Box 1B, Folder 1, Jacket C, April 30, 1809.
100. *Ibid.*: Box 1B, Folder 1, Jacket C, December 4, 1809.
101. *Ibid.*: Box 1B, Folder 1, Jacket C, December 4, 1809.
102. *Ibid.*: Box 1B, Folder 1, Jacket C, December 4, 1809.
103. For more on the East India Company's unsympathetic attitude towards missionaries, see Chancey 1998.
104. Bogue Lecture Notes, DWL L.14/9: 'Lectures for the Missionary Office', Lecture 22.
105. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1B, Folder 1, Jacket C, December 4, 1809.
106. *Ibid.*: Box 1B, Folder 1, Jacket C, December 10, 1809.
107. It is evident that Morrison resented the long hours of labour and intense political involvement that this position required of him because it got in the way of his translation work. See, for example, CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1B, Folder 2, Jacket A, November 1811. When William Milne arrived at Macau only to be forced out by Catholic priests, Morrison—who faced similar obstacles upon his arrival in 1807—discouraged Milne from following in his footsteps and instructed him not to seek employment with the East India Company in order to obtain legal status. Morrison wrote to Milne, ' . . . confined to a room and debarred from free intercourse with the natives, is not so desirable for the seat of the mission

- as may at first light appear . . . [and] I strongly dissuade from embarrassing connexions in secular affairs for the sake of mere residence . . . the result of this is not my Brother much to regret in leaving this place for one where more liberty shall be enjoyed' (Ibid.: Box 1B, Folder 3, Jacket A, July 15, 1813). Clearly, then, this was not a working relationship that Morrison enjoyed.
108. Ibid.: Box 1B, Folder 2, Jacket A, January 7, 1811.
 109. Ibid.: Box 1B, Folder 2, Jacket A, January 7, 1811.
 110. Ibid.: Box 1B, Folder 1, Jacket C, June 21, 1809.
 111. Ibid.: Box 1B, Folder 2, Jacket A, November 1811.
 112. Ibid.: Box 1B, Folder 1, Jacket C, December 14, 1809.
 113. Ibid.: Box 1B, Folder 1, Jacket C, December 14, 1809.
 114. Ibid.: Box 1B, Folder 1, Jacket C, December 14, 1809.
 115. Ibid.: Box 1B, Folder 1, Jacket C, December 4, 1809.
 116. Ibid.: Box 1B, Folder 2, Jacket B, October 11, 1812.
 117. Bogue Lecture Notes, DWL L.14/9: 'Lectures for the Missionary Office', Lecture 11.
 118. For a survey of all of Morrison's publications in Chinese, see Wylie 1867: 3–7.
 119. CWM/LMS, South China, Journals: Journal 6, January 10, 1808.
 120. Bogue Lecture Notes, DWL L.14/9: 'Lectures for the Missionary Office', Lecture 4.
 121. Ibid.: 'Lectures for the Missionary Office', Lecture 4.
 122. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1B, Folder 2, Jacket A, November 1811.
 123. Ibid.: Box 1B, Jacket B, Folder 1, July 3, 1808.
 124. Ibid.: Box 1B, Jacket B, Folder 1, July 3, 1808.
 125. Ibid.: Box 1B, Jacket B, Folder 1, July 3, 1808.
 126. Ibid.: Box 1B, Jacket B, Folder 1, July 3, 1808.
 127. Ibid.: Box 1B, Folder 1, Jacket C, June 21, 1809.
 128. Milne 1820: 232–33. For more on Morrison's early investigation into Chinese printing, see Su 1996: 48–50.
 129. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1B, Jacket D, Folder 1, December 28, 1810.
 130. Ibid.: Box 1B, Jacket D, Folder 1, December 28, 1810.
 131. Morrison described Wen-Chang to the directors as 'a deified literary character, now honoured by literary men' (CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1B, Jacket A, Folder 2, January 7, 1811). For the most part, this is accurate. Wen-Chang is the Taoist god of literature and writing, typically invoked by scholars or those sitting examinations.
 132. Ibid.: Box 1B, Jacket A, Folder 2, January 7, 1811.
 133. Ibid.: Box 1B, Jacket A, Folder 2, January 18, 1811.
 134. Ibid.: Box 2, Folder 1, Jacket C, November 25, 1819.
 135. Ibid.: Box 2, Folder 1, Jacket C, November 25, 1819.
 136. Ibid.: Box 2, Folder 1, Jacket C, November 25, 1819. Although unnamed by Morrison's report this latter critic is clearly Morrison's missionary rival Joshua

- Marshman, who published a criticism, quoted in Zetsche 1999: 51, which counted the variations between the two translations. For more on the tense relationship that ensued between Morrison and Marshman, see Zetsche 1999: 49–54. In general, the fights centred upon who was more fluent in Chinese, but Morrison concluded that ‘The question is not important. It is sufficient to know that it is not impracticable to acquire it to a degree that it is useful in propagating Christianity’ (CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1B, Folder 2, Jacket B, December 22, 1812). Considering the aim of his mission, the observation of this conclusion seemed to be a sensible stopping point.
137. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 2, Folder 1, Jacket C, November 25, 1819.
 138. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1B, Folder 2, Jacket B, December 22, 1812.
 139. Su 1996: 53.
 140. Zetsche 1999: 35–37.
 141. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1B, Folder 1, Jacket C, December 14, 1809.
 142. *Ibid.*: Box 2, Jacket C, Folder 1, November 25, 1819.
 143. *Ibid.*: Box 1B, Folder 2, Jacket A, November 1811.
 144. See, for example, Zetsche 1999: 19–57, or Reilly 2004: 56–61.
 145. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 2, Folder 1, Jacket C, November 25, 1819.
 146. *Ibid.*: Box 1B, Folder 2, Jacket A, January 7, 1811.
 147. *Ibid.*: Box 1B, Folder 2, Jacket A, November 1811.
 148. *Ibid.*: Box 1B, Folder 2, Jacket B, April 2, 1812.
 149. *Ibid.*: Box 1B, Folder 1, Jacket C, December 4, 1809.
 150. *Ibid.*: Box 1B, Folder 2, Jacket B, April 2, 1812. Morrison never saw the original edict, but it was translated into Spanish by a Catholic missionary in Macau. Dr. Pearson translated the Spanish version into English and passed it along to Morrison. Morrison, in turn, transcribed the English version of the Spanish translation of the original Qing edict. For a copy of Morrison’s third-degree translation, see CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1B, Folder 2, Jacket B, April 2, 1812. Although he did not translate the edict from Chinese directly to English, he was able to confirm the contents by reading ‘several papers in the Peking Gazette’ of which the edict was the topic (*Ibid.*: Box 1B, Folder 2, Jacket B, April 2, 1812).
 151. *Ibid.*: Box 1B, Folder 2, Jacket B, April 2, 1812.
 152. *Ibid.*: Box 1B, Folder 2, Jacket B, April 2, 1812.
 153. *Ibid.*: Box 1B, Folder 2, Jacket B, December 19, 1812.
 154. *Ibid.*: Box 1B, Folder 2, Jacket B, December 22, 1812.
 155. *Ibid.*: Box 1B, Folder 2, Jacket B, February 27, 1812.
 156. CWM/LMS, South China, Journals: Journal 8, September 2, 1812.
 157. Milne narrates the frustrating delay in South Africa, as well as the rest of this surprisingly lengthy voyage at CWM/LMS, South China, Journals: Journals 9 and 10.

158. *Ibid.*: Journal 9, September 13 & September 24, 1812.
159. *Ibid.*: Journals 8, 9, and 10.
160. *Ibid.*: Journal 8, September 20, 1812.
161. *Ibid.*: Journal 8, September 31, 1812.
162. *Ibid.*: Journal 9, October 8, 1812.
163. *Ibid.*: Journal 9, September 10, 1812.
164. *Ibid.*: Journal 9, September 10, 1812.
165. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1B, Folder 3, Jacket A, July 15, 1813.
166. *Ibid.*: Box 1B, Folder 3, Jacket A, July 15, 1813.
167. Harrison 1979: 14.
168. CWM/LMS, South China, Journals: Journal 10, January 1814.
169. Milne was equipped with 2,000 copies of Morrison's Acts, 10,000 copies of Morrison's tract and 5,000 copies of his Chinese catechism (CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1B, Folder 3, Jacket B, January 16, 1814).
170. *Ibid.*: Box 1B, Folder 3, Jacket B, January 16, 1814.
171. *Ibid.*: Box 1B, Folder 3, Jacket C, September 24, 1814; *ibid.*: December 17, 1814; see also Milne 1820: 127. The detailed account of the ritual can be found at *ibid.*: Box 1B, Folder 3, Jacket C, December 17, 1814.
172. CWM/LMS, South China, Journals: Journal 13, December 27, 1816.
173. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 2, Folder 1, Jacket C, November 25, 1819.
174. For Morrison's account of his Embassy adventures, see his January 16, 1817 letter to the LMS Board of Directors at CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1, Folder 4, Jacket D. For an account recorded by Sir Henry Ellis, Third Commissioner of the Embassy, particularly interesting for its outsider's view on Morrison, see Sir Henry Ellis 1817.
175. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 2, Folder 1, Jacket C, November 25, 1819.
176. *Ibid.*: Box 2, Folder 1, Jacket C, November 25, 1819.
177. *Ibid.*: Box 2, Folder 1, Jacket C, November 26, 1819.
178. *Ibid.*: Box 2, Folder 1, Jacket C, November 25, 1819.
179. *Ibid.*: Box 1, Folder 4, Jacket E.
180. Morrison 1839, 1: 421.
181. For a survey of Morrison's publications in English, see Wylie 1867: 7–10.
182. Bogue Lecture Notes, DWL L.14/9: 'Lectures for the Missionary Office', Lecture 2.
183. Bogue Lecture Notes, DWL L.14/9: 'Lectures for the Missionary Office', Lecture 11.
184. *Ibid.*: 'Lectures for the Missionary Office', Lecture 11.
185. The Westminster Shorter Catechism was composed in 1647 by the Westminster Assembly and was subsequently adopted by Congregationalist, Presbyterian, Scottish, and Calvinist churches. It clarified issues of Protestant doctrine and belief by stating, among other things, the meanings of sin, baptism, creation, and the Ten Commandments. It was intended for lay persons, especially youth; taking a

- question-answer format, it stated, in a simple manner, the basic rudiments of post-Reformation Protestant theology and was commonly memorised at the early stages of religious education in Britain. Today, it remains an important document for the Presbyterian Church. For a study and copy of the original catechism, see Hall 1859.
186. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1B, Folder 2, Jacket A, November 1811.
 187. *Ibid.*: Box 1B, Folder 2, Jacket B, February 27, 1812.
 188. *Ibid.*: Box 1B, Folder 2, Jacket B, December 22, 1812.
 189. Milne 1820: 85.
 190. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1B, Folder 3, Jacket B, January 27, 1814.
 191. *Ibid.*: Box 1B, Folder 2, Jacket A, March 9, 1811.
 192. *Ibid.*: Box 1B, Folder 2, Jacket A, November 1811.
 193. *Ibid.*: Box 1B, Folder 2, Jacket A, January 7, 1811.
 194. *Ibid.*: Box 1B, Folder 2, Jacket 1, November 1811.
 195. See, for example, CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1B, Folder 3, Jacket A, January 15, 1813; January 24, 1813; or February 10, 1813.
 196. *Ibid.*: Box 1B, Folder 2, Jacket B, October 17, 1812.
 197. *Ibid.*: Box 1B, Folder 2, Jacket B, October 25, 1812.
 198. *Ibid.*: Box 1B, Folder 2, Jacket B, October 1, 1812.
 199. *Ibid.*: Box 1B, Folder 2, Jacket B, October 17, 1812.
 200. *Ibid.*: Box 1B, Folder 2, Jacket B, December 22, 1812.
 201. *Ibid.*: Box 1B, Folder 2, Jacket B, October 11, 1812.
 202. *Ibid.*: Box 1B, Folder 3, Jacket A, February 14, 1813.
 203. Bogue Lecture Notes, DWL L.14/9: 'Lectures for the Missionary Office', Lecture 11.
 204. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1B, Folder B, Jacket B, December 22, 1812.
 205. *Ibid.*: Box 1B, Folder 2, Jacket B, April 2, 1812.
 206. *Ibid.*: Box 1B, Folder 2, Jacket B, December 22, 1812.
 207. *Ibid.*: Box 1B, Folder 2, Jacket B, December 22, 1812.
 208. *Ibid.*: Box 1B, Folder 2, Jacket B, December 22, 1812.
 209. As demonstrated by Su (1996), before the Company could begin printing part one of Morrison's Chinese dictionary it had to find a way to print Chinese characters with the English letter type on the same page. Since there existed no cast metal Chinese type, there was not an easy or inexpensive way to reproduce the text. They considered using a mixture of wooden type with English type but, under George Staunton's suggestion, the Company decided to use cut metal type for the Chinese since it could correspond better to English type, be reused for future printing projects, and could produce the same shade of black ink as the English type (62–63).
 210. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1B, Folder 2, Jacket B, December 22, 1812; *ibid.*: Box 1B, Folder 3, Jacket C, September 24, 1814.

- However, Morrison was able to use the East India Company press for a few other cultural projects, such as his *A Voyage around the World*, a geographical short story that included a map of the world. For more on his use of the East India Company press in Canton, see Su 1996: 62–69.
211. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1B, Folder 4, Jacket B, November 4, 1815.
 212. *Ibid.*: Box 1B, Folder 4, Jacket B, November 4, 27 and 28, 1815. This was no lost cause for the missionaries because the operations of the Company press came to a deadlock in July 1815 after losing its staff who were fearful of being caught printing the dictionary. It remained at a standstill until February 1817 when it was raided by the Chinese authorities, who confiscated some of the equipment. The Company was able to get the press running again but recovery was slow, taking the new team of typesetters over two years to complete the second part (Su 1996: 65–66).
 213. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1B, Folder 3, Jacket B, January 16, 1814.
 214. Despite having gained experience with the East India Company's moveable type, Morrison still thought it best to use wooden stereotype for the printing of his Bible and religious texts. For more on the form of equipment that Morrison requested, see Su 1996: 70. For a letter to the LMS within which Morrison weighs the advantages and disadvantages of wooden types and metal blocks for the printing of Chinese books, see CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1B, Folder 4, Jacket B, November 4, 1815.
 215. *Ibid.*: Box 1B, Folder 4, Jacket B, November 27, 1815; see also November 28, 1815.
 216. *Ibid.*: Box 1B, Folder 4, Jacket B, November 28, 1815.
 217. *Ibid.*: Box 1B, Folder 4, Jacket B, November 28, 1815.
 218. *Ibid.*: Box 1B, Folder 3, Jacket C, April 21, 1814.
 219. For more on the political and financial policies that restricted the LMS from dispatching printing presses across the globe prior to 1815, see Su 1996: 13, 58–60. According to Su (1996), the end of the Napoleonic War, the success of the earlier Baptist Missionary Society presses in India, and the introduction of machine-made paper, resulting in cheaper paper, all contributed to the LMS's 1815 decision to found their own mission presses (13, 58–60).
 220. Harrison 1979: 14.
 221. Chinese contact with the region of Southeast Asia dates as far back as the second century but due to political reasons Southeast Asia had gained a considerable population of Chinese expats over time, many of whom had resided there for multiple generations. The Chinese community in Southeast Asia grew to economic and social heights during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, probably attracting the LMS missionaries to the region even more. For a broad survey of the history of Chinese in the Southeast Asian region, see Su 1996: 98–100.
 222. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1B, Folder 3, Jacket C, August 4, 1814.

223. Hussin 2002, 1: 57. For a study on the characteristics (morphological, geographical, sociological, and political) of Dutch Malacca and how it compared with English Penang, see Hussin 2002, 2.
224. According to Hussin (2002, 1), by the 1820s Malacca had 233 European residents, most of whom were descendants of Dutch European families that had lived in Malacca for multiple generations. Hussin noted that the Dutch European families typically kept to themselves and intermarried. As a consequence, the ruling class in Malacca consisted of a network of rich and powerful immediate families related not only by marriage but also by family lineage (27).
225. *Ibid.*: 56–59.
226. *Ibid.*: 57.
227. *Ibid.*: 56–59.
228. *Ibid.*: 57.
229. For an analysis of the Chinese expat community specifically in Malacca, see Hussin 2002, 1: 64–65.
230. CWM/LMS, South China, Journals: Journal 12, August 11–19, 1814.
231. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1B, Folder 4, Jacket B, October 11, 1815. Bengal was a reputable place from which one could obtain printing equipment because there was, in Bengal, a group of Baptist missionaries who operated a Chinese printing press with Chinese moveable type. Amongst the group was Morrison's translating rival Joshua Marshman. For more on the Baptist missionaries' Chinese press in Bengal, see Su 1996: 71–77.
232. CWM/LMS, South China, Journals: Journal 13, November 20, 1816.
233. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1B, Folder 4, Jacket C, December 1816.
234. *Ibid.*: Box 1B, Folder 4, Jacket C, December 1816.
235. *Ibid.*: Box 1B, Folder 4, Jacket D, February 23, 1817.
236. *Ibid.*: Box 1B, Folder 4, Jacket C, December 1816.

Chapter 5 The Ultra Ganges Mission Station, a Printing Centre, and the Final Educational Step of the Template

1. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1B, Folder 3, Jacket B, January 16, 1814.
2. CWM/LMS, South China, Journals: Journal 13, December 27, 1816.
3. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1B, Folder 3, Jacket B, February 4, 1814.
4. *Ibid.*: Box 1B, Folder 3, Jacket B, January 27, 1814.
5. CWM/LMS, South China, Journals: Journal 10, May 16, 1813; see also CWM/LMS, Morrison: 'Dr. Morrison's Day Book'.
6. Terpstra 1959: 40–41.
7. CWM/LMS, Morrison: 'Dr. Morrison's Day Book'.

8. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1B, Folder 3, Jacket B, January 16, 1814.
9. Ibid.: Box 1B, Folder 3, Jacket B, January 27, 1814.
10. Ibid.: Box 1B, Folder 3, Jacket B, January 27, 1814.
11. Ibid.: Box 1B, Folder 3, Jacket B, January 27, 1814.
12. For the complete resolution, see Milne 1820: 137–39.
13. Ibid.: 137–39.
14. Ibid.: 138–39.
15. Ibid.: 161.
16. Ibid.: 158–62; CWM/LMS, South China, Journals: Journal 13, November 28, 1816.
17. CWM/LMS, South China, Journals: Journal 13, November 28, 1816.
18. Milne 1820: 158.
19. Ibid.: 158–59.
20. CWM/LMS, South China, Journals: Journal 13, November 3, 1816. The complete baptismal ceremony that Milne performed for Liang Afa, consisting mostly of a question and answer dialogue, is transcribed by Milne. See CWM/LMS, South China, Journals: Journal 13, November 3, 1816.
21. Ibid.: Journal 13, November 28, 1816.
22. Ibid.: Journal 13, November 28, 1816.
23. CWM/LMS, South China, Journals: Journal 13, November 28, 1816; see also Milne 1820: 154–57. For a study of the contents, developments, and printing of Milne's *Chinese Magazine*, see Su 1996: 105–12.
24. Milne 1820: 149–50.
25. CWM/LMS, South China, Journals: Journal 13, February 5, 1816. For a full history and description of both schools by Milne, see CWM/LMS, South China, Journals: Journal 13, February 5, 1816.
26. CWM/LMS, South China, Journals: Journal 13, February 5, 1816; Milne 1820: 149–50; Harris 1979: 132–43.
27. Ibid.: Journal 13, January 18, 1816 and January 26, 1816; Milne 1820: 171–72.
28. CWM/LMS, South China, Journals: Journal 13, January 18, 1816 and January 26, 1816; Milne 1820: 171–75.
29. Milne 1820: 174–75; 187–88.
30. Ibid.: 181.
31. Ibid.: 182.
32. CWM/LMS, South China, Journals: Journal 13, May 2, 1816.
33. Ibid.: Journal 13, May 3, 1816.
34. Box 1904: 118–19.
35. Su 1996: 118.
36. CWM/LMS, Ultra Ganges, Malacca, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1, Folder 1, Jacket C, August 29, 1816.
37. Harrison 1979: 32.
38. For more on Medhurst's printing career in Malacca, see Su 1996: 118–26.

39. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1B, Folder 4, Jacket C, December 1816.
40. LMS *Missionary Register* 1819: 336–37; CWM/LMS, Ultra Ganges, Malacca, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1, Folder 3, Jacket C, November 23, 1819.
41. CWM/LMS, Ultra Ganges, Malacca, Incoming Correspondence: Folder 4, Jacket A, ‘Various Documents’, Documents 1–10; see also Milne 1820: 198–203.
42. *Ibid.*: Folder 4, Jacket A, ‘Various Documents’, Document 3.
43. *Ibid.*: Folder 4, Jacket A, ‘Various Documents’, Document 3; Milne 1820: 200.
44. *Ibid.*: Folder 4, Jacket A, ‘Various Documents’, Document 3; Milne 1820: 200.
45. Henry Thomsen matriculated his Gosport Academy education at the end of 1811 and remained there until 1814, when he was ordained by the LMS and subsequently deployed to the Ultra Ganges station (CWM/LMS, Board Minutes: FBN 1, Slide 24, November 11, 1811).
46. CWM/LMS, Ultra Ganges, Malacca, Incoming Correspondence: Folder 4, Jacket A, ‘Various Documents’, Document 3; Milne 1820: 202–03.
47. *Ibid.*: Folder 4, Jacket A, ‘Various Documents’, Document 3; Milne 1820: 198.
48. *Ibid.*: Folder 4, Jacket A, ‘Various Documents’, Document 6; Milne 1820: 201–03.
49. CWM/LMS, Ultra Ganges, Malacca, Incoming Correspondence, Folder 4, Jacket A, ‘Various Documents’, Document 3; Milne 1820: 201–03; *Indo-Chinese Gleaner*, February 1808, 68–69.
50. CWM/LMS, Ultra Ganges, Malacca, Incoming Correspondence, Folder 4, Jacket A, ‘Various Documents’, Document 3; *Indo-Chinese Gleaner*, February 1808, 68–69.
51. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1B, Folder 4, Jacket E, December 7, 1817.
52. *Ibid.*: Box 2, Folder 1, Jacket A, July 18, 1818.
53. *Ibid.*: Box 2, Folder 1, Jacket A, October 10, 1818.
54. CWM/LMS, Ultra Ganges, Malacca, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1, Folder 2, February 19, 1818; March 27, 1818; and May 10, 1818.
55. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 2, Folder 1, Jacket A, January 18, 1818.
56. CWM/LMS, Ultra Ganges, Malacca, Incoming Correspondence: Folder 3, Jacket C, January 10 and January 12, 1819.
57. *Ibid.*: Folder 3, Jacket C, January 10, 1820.
58. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 2, Folder 2, Jacket B, April 11, 1822.
59. *Ibid.*: Box 2, Folder 1, Jacket B, February 8, 1819.
60. *Ibid.*: Box 2, Folder 1, Jacket B, February 12, 1819.
61. CWM/LMS, Board Minutes: FBN 1, January 25, 1819.
62. *Ibid.*: FBN 1, Slide 43, February 8, 1819.
63. *Ibid.*: FBN1, Slide 43, February 22, 1819.
64. *Ibid.*: FBN1, Slide 43, February 22, 1819.
65. *Ibid.*: FBN1, Slide 43, February 22, 1819.

66. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 2, Folder 1, Jacket C, December 21, 1819.
67. *Ibid.*: Box 2, Folder 1, Jacket C, December 22, 1819.
68. *Ibid.*: Box 2, Folder 1, Jacket C, December 22, 1819.
69. *Ibid.*: Box 2, Folder 1, Jacket D, November 14, 1820.
70. *Ibid.*: Box 2, Folder 1, Jacket D, November 14, 1820.
71. *Ibid.*: Box 2, Folder 2, Jacket A, October 11, 1821.
72. CWM/LMS, Ultra Ganges, Malacca, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1, Folder 4, Jacket D, August 26, 1820.
73. See CWM/LMS, Ultra Ganges, Malacca, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1, Folder 4, Jacket D, November 15, 1820; *ibid.*: Box 2, Folder 1, Jacket C, December 5, 1821. See also, CWM/LMS, Ultra Ganges, Penang, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1, Folder 2, Jacket B, October 10, 1820; *ibid.*: Box 1, Folder 3, Jacket A, January 5, 1821; *ibid.*: Box 1, Folder 5, Jacket D, December 21, 1821.
74. CWM/LMS, Ultra Ganges, Penang, Incoming Correspondence: Box 1, Folder 2, Jacket A, Penang 1820, 'Private'.
75. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 2, Folder 2, Jacket E, December 19, 1820.
76. *Ibid.*: Box 2, Folder 1, Jacket E, December 20, 1820.
77. See, for example, CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 2, Folder 1, Jacket B, March 9, March 18, and November 8, 1819.
78. CWM/LMS, China, Personal: Robert Morrison Papers, Box 3, 'Anglo-Chinese College Deed'.
79. *Ibid.*: Robert Morrison Papers, Box 3. For a lengthy description of the architecture and arrangement of the College house, see the 'Anglo-Chinese College Prospectus' at CWM/LMS, China, Personal: Robert Morrison Papers, Box 3.
80. Ince and Beighton removed to Penang in 1819, only to be followed by Medhurst, who took with him a portable press and some English and Malay types from the Malacca station and set up camp in Penang, where he remained until 1821 (Harrison 1979: 63; Su 1996: 126–27). Angered by this development, Ince and Beighton wrote to the LMS to complain that they had been 'greatly imposed upon and deceived by Mr Medhurst' (quoted in Harrison 1979: 63). Medhurst, in turn, established a separate mission on the island, only to the annoyance of Ince and Beighton. Thomsen tried to follow Medhurst but Beighton stopped him, writing, 'I beg of you not to come here . . . I left Malacca with hope of finding peace and quietude at my own station, but you and Medhurst seem determined to overturn all rule whatever [*sic*]' (*ibid.*: 63). As a result, Thomsen bypassed Penang and moved to Singapore, where Milton resided (*ibid.*: 63).
81. CWM/LMS, Ultra Ganges, Malacca, Incoming Correspondence: Box 2, Folder 1, November 30, 1821.
82. Su 1996: 133.

83. *Ibid.*: 134–35; For more on the conversion from block to type printing in Malacca, see Su 1996: 132–35. For a complete history of printing in Malacca to the First Opium War, see Su 1996: 101–51.
84. CWM/LMS, China, Personal: Robert Morrison Papers, Box 3, 'Anglo-Chinese College Prospectus'.
85. *Ibid.*: Robert Morrison Papers, Box 3, 'Anglo-Chinese College Prospectus'.
86. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 2, Folder 2, Jacket A, June 12, 1821.
87. *Ibid.*: Box 2, Folder 2, Jacket B, April 11, 1822.
88. *Ibid.*: Box 2, Folder 2, Jacket B, April 11, 1822.
89. *Ibid.*: Box 2, Folder 2, Jacket B, July 5, 1822.
90. Morrison 1823: 5–6.
91. *Ibid.*: 6, 19.
92. *Ibid.*: 20.
93. *Ibid.*: 6.
94. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 2, Folder 2, Jacket B, July 5, 1822; see also *ibid.*: November 14, 1822.
95. *Ibid.*: Box 2, Folder 2, Jacket B, November 14, 1822.
96. *Ibid.*: Box 2, Folder 2, Jacket B, November 14, 1822.
97. *Ibid.*: Box 2, Folder 2, Jacket B, November 12, 1822.
98. *Ibid.*: Box 2, Folder 2, Jacket C, January 5, 1823.
99. For more on the development Batavia's printing operations, which came to favour the lithographic method by the 1830s, see Su 1996: 198–231.
100. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 2, Folder 2, Jacket C, January 5, 1823.
101. Su 1996: 204.
102. CWM/LMS, Ultra Ganges, Malacca, Incoming Correspondence: Box 2, Folder 3, Jacket A, February 19, 1823.
103. Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles is best known today for founding Singapore, but he was also a prolific scholar, collector, and writer who had an impact on the way Britain perceived parts of East and Southeast Asia, particularly Indonesia (Java), Malaysia, and Japan. For more on the intellectual and cultural influences of Raffles amongst the British, see Barley 1999. For more on Raffles's political career in Southeast Asia, see Steinberg 1987: 141, 156–59. For an analysis of Raffles's interest in printing, see Su 1996: 151–58.
104. CWM/LMS, Ultra Ganges, Malacca, Incoming Correspondence: Box 2, Folder 3, Jacket A, February 19, 1823.
105. Thomsen and Milton, with the help of Raffles, also established a printing press in Singapore that was modelled after the Malacca printing station. For more on the Singapore Institution press, see Su 1996: 151–65.
106. CWM/LMS, Ultra Ganges, Malacca, Incoming Correspondence: Box 2, Folder 3, Jacket B, June 18, 1823; see also Harrison 1979: 74 or Morrison 1839, 2: 186–92.

107. CWM/LMS, Ultra Ganges, Malacca, Incoming Correspondence: Box 2, Folder 3, Jacket A, February 19, 1823.
108. *Ibid.*: Box 2, Folder 3, Jacket A, February 19, 1823.
109. *Ibid.*: Box 2, Folder 3, Jacket A, February 19, 1823.
110. *Ibid.*: Box 2, Folder 3, Jacket A, February 19, 1823.
111. *Ibid.*: Box 2, Folder 3, Jacket A, March 1823.
112. *Ibid.*: Box 2, Folder 3, Jacket A, February 19, 1823; and *ibid.*: Box 2, Folder 3, Jacket A, April 29, 1823; see also Su 1996: 140.
113. Su 1996: 140. For more on the post-Huttmann Malacca press, run by non-Europeans who came from a variety of Asian backgrounds, see Su 1996: 140–200.
114. CWM/LMS, Ultra Ganges, Malacca, Incoming Correspondence: Box 2, Folder 3, Jacket A, February 19, 1823.
115. *Ibid.*: Box 2, Folder 3, Jacket B, June 13, 1823 and June 18, 1823; CWM/LMS, China, Personal, Robert Morrison Papers, Box 3; A similar yet slightly longer version of the pamphlet was circulated amongst the British public while Morrison visited London in 1825 under the title, *To the British Public, Interested in the Promotion of Christianity, Morals, and Useful Knowledge, among Heathen Nations, this Account of the Anglo-Chinese College is Respectfully Addressed*. It was published with the hope that people would give donations prior to his departure (Morrison 1825, 3: 23).
116. Morrison 1823: 26.
117. Bogue Lecture Notes, DWL L.14/9: ‘Lectures for the Missionary Office’, Lecture 12.
118. CWM/LMS, China, Personal: Robert Morrison Papers, Box 3, ‘Anglo-Chinese College Deed’ and ‘Anglo-Chinese College Prospectus’.
119. *2nd Annual Report for the Anglo-Chinese College* 1824: 13.
120. A complete inventory of the non-Chinese titles (with the corresponding number of volumes per title) can be found in this report, held in the SOAS Special Collections under the requisition code CWML 0198 (17–23).
121. *2nd Annual Report for the Anglo-Chinese College* 1824: 13.
122. *Ibid.*: 13.
123. *Ibid.*: 17–23.
124. *Ibid.*: 8–9.
125. *Ibid.*: 13.
126. *Ibid.*: 8.
127. *Ibid.*: 13.
128. *3rd Annual Report of the Anglo-Chinese College* 1825: 12–18.
129. *3rd Annual Report of the Anglo-Chinese College* 1825: outside back cover.
130. *4th Annual Report of the Anglo-Chinese College* 1827: 11–12.
131. *3rd Annual Report of the Anglo-Chinese College* 1825: 9.
132. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 2, Folder 2, Jacket D, April 5, 1824.
133. West 1998: vii–xii. For more on the history and contents of Morrison’s Chinese library, see West 1998: vii–xii.

134. *3rd Annual Report of the Anglo-Chinese College* 1825: 19–20; Morrison 1839, 2: 288.
135. Morrison 1839, 2: 288.
136. *Ibid.*: 335.
137. *Ibid.*: 296–309.
138. Su 1996: 78–79.
139. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 2, Folder 2, Jacket D, May 12, 1826.
140. *Ibid.*: Box 2, Folder 2, Jacket E, August 16, 1826.
141. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 2, Folder 2, Jacket E, August 16, 1826.
142. *Ibid.*: Box 2, Folder 2, Jacket E, August 16, 1826.
143. Morrison 1839, 2: 355.
144. Harrison 1979: 75.
145. *Ibid.*: 75.
146. Su 1996: 79.
147. *Ibid.*: 79, 88.
148. *Ibid.*: 79.
149. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 3: Folder 1, Jacket A, March 25, 1830; *ibid.*: March 26, 1830.
150. *Ibid.*: Box 3, Folder 1, Jacket A, March 25, 1830.
151. *Ibid.*: Box 3, Folder 1, Jacket A, March 25, 1830.
152. Su 1996: 86–87.
153. *Ibid.*: 87.
154. *Ibid.*: 88.
155. *Ibid.*: 88–90, 145–46. For more on the Morrises' experiments with lithographic and letter-press printing, surveying all of their publications which led up to the establishment of 'The Morrison's Albion Press', see *ibid.*: 88–95.
156. *Ibid.*: 88.
157. *Ibid.*: 89.
158. Bogue Lecture Notes, DWL L.14/9: Appendix, Lecture 6.
159. *Ibid.*: Appendix, Lecture 6.
160. For more on Liang Afa and Keuh Agong's experience with The Morrison's Albion Press, see Su 1996: 95–96. After Morrison's death in 1834, the two natives moved to Malacca and worked on the press there. For more on their printing experiences in Malacca, see Su 1996: 147.
161. According to Morrison, in 1828 alone Liang composed an essay on objections to be expected from the Chinese as well as eleven tracts entitled: 'Objections to the Heathen'; 'A Christian Catechism for Children'; 'Conversations with the Heathen'; 'A Tract on Redemption by Jesus Christ'; 'Notes on the 3rd Chapter of Colossians'; 'Short Essays on Important Texts'; 'On the Being and Perfections of God'; 'Metrical Paraphrases or Hymns, on Texts of Scripture'; 'An Essay against False gods and demons'; 'Against the Transmigration of Souls'; and 'Against

- Buddhism' (CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Folder 3, Jacket C, November 3, 1828).
162. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Folder 3, Jacket B, January 16, 1828; February 4, 1828; September 18, 1828.
163. *Ibid.*: Box 2, Folder 3, Jacket B, February 3, 1828; *ibid.*: Box 2, Folder 3, Jacket C, November 3, 1828.
164. *Ibid.*: Box 2 Folder 3, Jacket B, February 4, 1828.
165. *Ibid.*: Box 2, Folder 3, Jacket C, November 3, 1828.
166. *Ibid.*: Box 3, Folder 1, Jacket A, November 1830, 'Tracts Circulated in China Proper'.
167. Bogue Lecture Notes, DWL L.14/9: Appendix, Lecture 6.
168. CWM/LMS, South China, Incoming Correspondence: Box 3, Folder 1, Jacket A, November 1830, 'Tracts Circulated in China Proper'; *ibid.*: Box 3, Folder 1, Jacket B, May 31, 1831; *ibid.*: Box 3, Folder 1, Jacket B, December 22, 1831; *ibid.*: Box 3, Folder 2, Jacket A, December 5, 1833.
169. *Ibid.*: Box 3, Folder 1, Jacket B, May 31, 1831.
170. *Ibid.*: Box 3, Folder 1, Jacket B, May 31, 1831.
171. *Ibid.*: Box 3, Folders 2–3.
172. *Ibid.*: Box 3, Folder 2, Jacket A, December 22, 1833.
173. *Ibid.*: Box 3, Folder 1, Jacket B, September 26, 1831; *ibid.*: Box 3, Folder 2, Jacket A, October 9, 1833.

Index

- Abeel, David, 186–87
Accum, Friedrich Christian, 95, 117
A-Fo, *see* Tsae-a-ko
Africa, 24, *see also* South Africa Mission
American Board of Commissioners for
Foreign Missions (ABCFM),
186–87
Amherst Mission, 145, 227n174
Amherst, William Pitt, Earl Amherst of
Arakan, 145
Anglicanism, 15–18, 25, 203n1, 203n5,
204n24
Anglo-Chinese College, 2, 4, 6, 12,
159–60, 164, 166, 168–74,
176–87, 197–98
daily schedule, 177
founding, 168–74
Morrison's visit 178–86
Armstrong, Eliza, *see* Eliza Morrison
Arnauld, Antoine, 60
Ashworth, Caleb, 68–69
A-Tsoi, 110, 223n70

Basset manuscript, 88, 93, 95, 98–99, 104,
133, 135–39, 145–46, 217n40
Batavia, 155, 178, 234n99
Bates, William, 58, 182
Baxter, Richard, 58, 182
Bayle, Pierre, 69
Beighton, Thomas, 75, 172–73, 233n80

Bengal, 45, 84, 155, 157, 164, 230n231
Berkeley, George, 60
Bethune, John, 103
Bligh, Captain William, 22, 24
Bogue, David, *see also* Gosport Academy
and Church of Scotland, 42
early life, 38–42
education, 38–42
mission strategy, 26–27, 61–82,
215n196
pedagogy, 51–54, 209n61
theology, 58
works, 75, 100–1, 115–16, 164
Bone, James, 176
Book of Common Prayer, 16, 150
Boston, Thomas, 58
Boyle, Sir Robert, 65
Brainerd, David, 59, 64, 73, 78–80, 85,
211n83
Bridgman, Elijah Coleman, 186–87
The British and Foreign Bible Society, 88,
136, 217n32
British East India Company
attitude towards Christian missions,
86, 88, 127, 219n88, 224n103
in China, 86, 107, 115–16, 125, 136,
154, 229n212, 229n214
in India, 80, 82, 215n192
in Malacca, 185

- British Museum Manuscript, *see* Basset manuscript
- Broomwell, Benjamin, 32
- Brown, William, 93–97, 218n68, 219n81
- Buller's Green, 8
- Burder, George, 97, 166, 182
- burgh schools, *see* Scottish education system
- Bushmen, *see* South Africa Mission
- Butler, Joseph, 103
- Calcutta, 98, 134, 209n55
- Calvinism, 19, 25, 52, 58, 69, 205n50
- Campbell, George, 52, 146–47, 182
- Cape of Good Hope, 33
- Carey, William, 45, 137
- Cavalier Parliament, 15–17, 203n3
- Chalmers, William, 107, 182
- Charles II, 15–17, 203n3–4
- Charnock, Stephen, 58
- Chinese Bible, *see* Robert Morrison, translation work; *see also* William Milne, translation work
- Chinese Classics, 1, 110, 118, 129–30, 221n21
- The Chinese Magazine*, 163, 178, 231n23
- Chinese Miscellany*, 184
- The Chinese Repository*, 187
- Church of England, *see* Anglicanism
- Clarendon Code, *see* Dissent, discrimination against
- Coldingham, 42
- Collegio dei Cinesi, 88
- Collie, Rev. David, 176, 179–80, 183, 189
- Committee on Missionary Training (LMS), 34–35
- common sense philosophy, *see* Thomas Reid
- Confucian Classics, *see* Chinese Classics
- Confucius, 118, 129, 223n65, *see also* Chinese Classics
- Con-se-quence, John, 110
- conventicles, 16–17
- Cook, Captain James, 22, 24
- Cooshing, 111
- Coromandel, 80–82, 84, 174
- Cradock, Samuel, 58
- Cranz, David, 79
- Crawford, John, 185
- Cruden, Alexander, 151
- Danish missions, 62, 66, 75, 78–79, 130–31, 215n192
- Daventry Academy, 69
- Dialogues and Detached Sentences in the Chinese Language*, 148, 161, 212n129
- A Dictionary of the Chinese Language*, 115–32, 145–48, 154, 161, 168–69, 176, 194–97, 228n209, 229n212
- Dissent, 11
- discrimination against, 16–18, 203n12, 204n15
- see also* dissenting academies
- dissenting academies, 17–18, 204n18–19, 204n21
- Doddridge, Phillip, 52, 58, 60, 69, 100, 103, 146–47, 164
- Duff*, 28–29, 207n100
- Duncan, William, 60
- Dunse (Duns), Scotland, 41–42
- Dutch East India Company, 156
- Dutch Reformed Church, 33, 156
- Dyer, Samuel, 75
- East India Company, *see* British East India Company; *see also* Dutch East India Company
- Eclectic Review*, 115, 222n49
- Edmond, John, 33–34
- Edwards, Jonathan, 58, 79–80, 85, 211n83
- Edwards, William, 33
- Elder, James, 31

- Eliot, John, 65, 73, 78
 Elliot, Richard, 52, 209n55, 210n64
 Elphinstone, John, 120
 Enfield, William, 57
 English Interregnum, 15–16
 Evangelical Academy, *see* Rev. Dr. Robert Simpson; *see also* Hoxton Academy
Evangelical Magazine, 9, 22–23, 45, 61, 162
 Evangelical Revival, 9, 18–21, 42, 204n23–24

 Farquhar, William, 179, 185
 Flavel, John, 58, 103
 Fleming, Robert, 175–76
 Frey, Joseph, 51–52, 209n55, 210n64

 Gill, John, 58, 182
 godly mechanics, *see* South Seas Mission
 Goldsmith, Oliver, 103
 Gosport Academy
 curriculum, 44, 54–82, 210n64
 daily schedule, 53–54
 early history, 42–45, 208n22, 208n35
 Gosport Independent Seminary, 43–45, 47
 library, 52
 official LMS seminary, 45–58, 61–82, 209n52
 theological influences, 52, 58–59
 under third-party sponsorship, 43–47, 54–58
 Gosport Independent Church, 42
A Grammar of the Chinese Language, 119–20, 124, 128–32, 145–48, 154, 161, 194
 Grant, Charles, 88
 Griesbach, Johann Jakob, 53, 210n68
 Gützlaff, Karl, 187
 Guyse, John, 52

 Hager, Dr. Giuseppe (Joseph), 104
 Haldane, Robert, 44
 Hampshire Association of Ministers, 44, 47, 54
 Hardcastle, Joseph, 90–91, 97, 108
 Harris, Howel, 18
 Harris, John, 32
 Haweis, Thomas, 11, 23–29, 34–35, 46, 50, 195, 205n50
 Hayward, James, 32
 Henry, Matthew, 52, 55, 116, 146
 High Church, *see* Anglicanism
Hillsborough, 33
 Hopkins, Samuel, 58
Horae Sinicae, 148
 Horne, Melvill, 21, 25, 28
 Horne, Thomas Hartwell, 182
 Howe, John, 58–59
 Hoxton Academy, 9–10, 20–21, 47–48
 Hume, David, 60
 Humphreys, James, 175–77, 179–80
 Huttman, George Henry (G.H.), 175, 177, 179

 Ince, John, 75, 172, 233n80
 India, 24, 207n101, *see also* British East India Company, in India
 Ingham, Benjamin, 18

 Jakarta, *see* Batavia
 James, John Angell, 52, 209n55, 210n64
 Java, 84, 143–44, 155–56, 178, 185, 234n103
 Jefferson, John, 30
 Jesuits, *see* Roman Catholic missions
 Jones, Sir William 103–4

 Keuh Agong, 188–90, 198, 236n160
 Keuteenching, 189, 198
 Khoisan, *see* South Africa Mission
 Kicherer, Johannes Jacobus, 33
 King James Bible, 53

- King Otoo, 206n99
 King Pomare I, 32, 206n99
 Knox, John, 38
 Ko-sien-sang (*xiansheng*), 126, 129–30
- Lancaster, Joseph, 164
 Lawson, George, 59
 Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm, 60
 Legge, James, 198
 Lei-tsak-tink, 221n21
 Le Sèensang (*xiansheng*), 113–14
 Lewis, Thomas, 32
 Liang Afa
 in China, 188–90, 198, 236n160–161
 in Malacca, 162–63, 177, 231n20
 Locke, John, 60
 London Missionary Society (LMS)
 formation, 21, 204n40
 printing presses, 229n219, *see also*
 Ultra Ganges Mission, printing
 station
 Low Heen, 125–26, 129–31, 133–35,
 151–52
 Lowndes, Isaac, 52, 210n64
 Low Saam, 125
- Macartney, Lord George, 86–87, 216n21
 Malacca, 141–44, 154–80, 185–91,
 229n221, 230n223–224
 Malebranch, Nicolas, 60
 Manning, Thomas, 107
 Man Qua, 223n73
 Marquesas Islands, 28, 30, 206n100, *see*
 also South Seas Mission
 Marsden, Samuel, 26, 29
 Marsden, William, 183
 Marshman, Joshua, 137, 225n136,
 230n231
 Mason, John M., 103
 Matavai Bay, *see* Tahiti; *see also* South Seas
 Mission
 Matheson, Alexander, 187
 Medhurst, Walter
 deployment, 157
 in Java, 177–78, 185
 in Malacca, 165–67, 172, 174, 231n38
 in Penang, 223n80
Memoirs of the Life and Labours of Robert
Morrison, *see* Eliza Morrison
 Methodism, 19, 25, 27, 205n50
 Milne, David, 165
 Milne, Rachel, 142
 Milne, William
 and the Anglo-Chinese College,
 159–61, 176–77, *see also* Anglo-
 Chinese College
 book collecting, 160–61
 death, 176
 deployment, 139–42
 journey to China, 142–43, 224n107,
 226n157
 language acquisition, 72, 163
 legacy, 1–2, 191
 printing projects, *see* Robert Morrison,
 printing projects; *see also* Ultra
 Ganges Mission, printing station
 school for children, 163–64, 231n25
 tour of Southeast Asia, 143–45,
 155–57
 translation work, 75, 144–47, 159, 197
 Milton, Samuel, 75, 172, 179, 233n80,
 234n105
 Minto, The Lord (Gilbert Elliot Murray
 Kynynmound, 1st Earl of Minto),
 124–27
 Moffatt, Robert, 52, 210n64,
 Montucci, Dr. Antonio, 87, 130
 Moravian missions, 25, 28, 50, 62, 73, 80
 Morrison, Eliza, 3–8, 90, 93, 185, 190,
 193, 202n9
 Morrison, Hannah, 8
 Morrison, James, 8
 Morrison, John Robert (J.R.), 4–6,
 186–88, 191
 Morrison, Mary, 126–28, 142, 176

- Morrison, Robert
 assignment to China, 84–91
 book collecting, 104–5, 110–12, 118, 186, 221n21
 death, 191
 distributing texts, 135, 151–53, 227n169
 early life and childhood, 8–10
 employment for British East India Company, 127–29, 140, 224n107, 229n210
 entrance into LMS, 20–21, 47–48
 at Gosport, 47–54, 196, 209n54
 at Hoxton Academy, 20–21, 47–48
 journey to China, 98–105, 219n88, 220n1
 language acquisition, 71–72, 91–93, 95, 102–3, 108–15, 119–26, 129–31, 213n167
 legacy, 1–4, 7–8, 191, 193–94, 201n2–4
 ordination, 97
 printing projects, 134–35, 153–55, 157, 184–88, 228n209–210, 229n212, 229n214
 training in London, 91–93, 95, 97–98, 196
 translation work, 74–75, 120–21, 124, 131–40, 145–51, 176, 197, 225n136, 226n150
 visit to Great Britain, 184–85
 visit to Ultra Ganges station, 178
- Morton, Mary, *see* Mary Morrison
- Morton, William, 126–27
- Moseley, William, 84, 87–92
- Netherlands Missionary Society, 187
- Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 8–9
- Newcome, Bishop William, 146–47
- Newton, John, 18
- Newton, Sir Isaac, 60
- Nicholson, Hannah, *see* Hannah Morison
- nonconformity, *see* Dissent
- Nott, Henry, 32
- Old English Factory, 112–14
- Old French Factory, 108–9, 112, 119, 123
- Orwell*, 185
- Otaheitean Journals*, *see* South Seas Mission
- Owen, Dr. John, 52, 59
- Paley, William, 9, 182, 189
- parish schools, *see* Scottish education system
- Parkhurst, John, 146, 160
- Pearson, Dr. Alexander, 115–16, 120, 123–24, 226n150
- Penang, 125–26, 119, 134, 144, 155, 157, 164, 223n80
- Port Jackson, 31
- Presbyterianism, 8–9, 17, 26, 40, 58–59, 116, 203n8, 228n185
- Protestant Reformation, 38
- Puritanism, 15, 26, 58–59, 203n5
- Qing dynasty, 8, 107, 110, 125, 140, 151, 153, 164, 216n28, 220n2
- Raffles, Sir Thomas Stamford, 178–79, 185, 234n103, 234n105
- Reformed Church, 33, *see also* Dutch Reformed Church
- Reid, Thomas, 40–41, 60, 66, 74
- Remittance*, 98–102, 122
- Ricci, Matteo, 94, 214n185, *see also* Roman Catholic missions
- Richardson, John, 103
- Roberts, John William, 112–13
- Roman Catholic missions, 62, 64, 73, 85–86, 91, 94, 132, 217n41, *see also* Matteo Ricci

- Scottish education system, 38–40
 Scottish Presbyterian Church, 38–40
 Scottish realism, *see* Thomas Reid
 Seamen's Friend Society (SFC), 186
 Selina, Countess of Huntingdon, 19–20, 204n34
 Senefelder, Aloys, 184
 Shamian Island, China, 107, 220n2
 Simpson, Rev. Dr. Robert, 20
 Singapore, 178–80, 185, 233n80, 234n103
 Singapore Institution, 179–80, 185–86, 234n105
 Slater, John, 178
 The Society for Missions to Africa and the East, 88, 92
 Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 88
 Solemn League and Covenant, 16, 203n8
 South Africa Mission, 11, 45–46, 51, 65, 94, 195, 207n101, 207n112
 South Seas Mission, 11, 22–32, 45–46, 51, 65, 79, 195, 206–7n99–101, 215n196
 Staunton, Sir George Thomas, 86–87, 107, 111–13, 115, 182–83, 228n209
 Stewart, Dugald, 60
 Stockius, Christian, 180

 Tahiti, 22–25, 27–28, 29–32, *see also* South Seas Mission
 Taunton, John, 95
 Taylor, Dr. John, 96, 209n55
 Taylor, Thomas, 52
Textus Receptus, 53
 Thirty Years' War, 15
 Thomsen, Claudius Henry, 75, 164, 166, 172, 179, 232n45, 233n80, 234n105
 Ting Qua (Teen Qua), 110, 114
 Tongatabu (Tonga), 11, 28, 30, 206n100, *see also* South Seas Mission

Translations from the Original Chinese, 148
 Trevecca, South Wales, 19–20
Trident, 98, 102–4, 107
 Tsae-a-ko, 144
Tung-hsi-yang k'ao mei-yueh t'ung-chi-chuan (*Eastern Western Monthly Magazine*), 187

 Ultra Ganges Mission
 after the death of Milne, 177
 disagreements within, 172–75, 223n80
 establishment, 161–62
 launch pad of early Southeast Asian missions, 174–75
 library, 176, 179–83, *see also* Anglo-Chinese College
 printing station, 157, 164, 174–75, 179, 197, 235n113
 under Milne's administration, 166–77
 Unitarianism, 43
 University of Cambridge, 16, 19, 39, 184
 University of Edinburgh, 42
 University of Oxford, 16, 19, 39, 184

 van der Kemp, Dr. Johannes, 33–34, 94
 van Limborch, Philipp, 59
 A View of China for Philological Purposes, essay, 148

 Wallis, Captain Samuel, 22, 24
Warley, 125
 Watts, Isaac, 60, 66, 149–50, 161, 182
 Waugh, Alexander, 47
 Welch, George, 43–44
 Wen-Chang, 135, 225n131
 Wesley, Charles, 18
 Wesley, John, 18
 Westminster Shorter Catechism, 149, 227n185
 Whitefield, George, 18
 Wilberforce, William, 18
 Williams, Samuel W., 187
 Willison, John, 63, 161

Wilson, Captain Henry, 92–93

Wilson, Captain James, 28–31

Xhosa, *see* South African Mission

Yong, Saam (Sam) Tak, 92–93, 95, 97,
104, 111–12, 123

Youl, John, 31

Yun, Abel, 112–14, 223n71

Zetsche, Jost, 136, 139, 201n1