

THE OLD PROTESTANT CEMETERY IN MACAO

A lecture delivered on 7 May, 1962

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*There are worse ways of occupying leisure than
tours on foot through noteworthy cemeteries—*

EDMUND BLUNDEN in *Cricket Country*.

Macao is of fundamental interest to all of us here tonight because, in the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth centuries, as well as being a Portuguese base, it was the Far Eastern home of those who were unconsciously but surely laying the foundations of the community which was to become known as the Colony of Hong Kong. It was also the main gateway through which flowed the influence that the west was exerting on the whole of China; and of all its non-Portuguese foreign residents responsible for this influence, the most valuable cross-section accessible to us today is the group of 162 members of many nations who lie buried in its Old Protestant Cemetery. Their personal histories, read in and between the lines carved on their weathering memorials, give us the most accurate picture it is possible to paint today of the parent community they represent; deciphering these lines and filling in their gaps, has been the spare-time hobby of my wife and myself now for over seven years; it has given us interest in members of divers nationalities and professions, and has introduced us to the fascinating lives of scores of people who lived in earlier times. It has directed our searching into many corners of the globe, and earned us a host of interesting friends and correspondents the world over.†

In the time at my disposal this evening it is impossible to describe in any detail any one of the life histories which it took individuals decades to weave and us years to unravel, but if I can give you even a general understanding of their community and their home, of their lives and their times, I shall be content.

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†The results of these researches will be published shortly by the Hong Kong University Press in a volume provisionally entitled *Macao's Old Protestant Cemetery*.

Let us first go to the top of Monte Fort and view this historic spot where so many foreigners lived their eastern lives and not a few found eternal rest. From the Fort we can see practically the whole of the peninsula and the city of Macao. To the east, beyond the Guia lighthouse, stretches the South China Sea, studded by the Ladrone Islands of which the two nearest—Taipa and Coloane—form part of this overseas Province of Portugal. Between these islands and the peninsula lie the Macao Roads and the Outer Harbour. To the west can be seen the narrow neck of land with its barrier gate which bars access to the large delta island of Heung Shan and to the mainland of China. Separating the main portion of this island from the city of Macao, is the Inner Harbour whose two lines of junks, Communist and Macanese, are separated only by the narrow fairway used by the larger sea-going junks, launches and the Hong Kong ferries. Just below us as we view this busy scene, stands, stately and calm, the façade of all that remains of the Jesuit Church of St. Paul, commenced in the sixteenth century, completed in the seventeenth and destroyed by fire in the nineteenth century.

Behind it, almost at the harbour's edge, is a low wooded hill whose trees shelter the Camoens Grotto and on whose lower slopes nestle the Camoens Gardens and the neighbouring cemetery.

It is but a short walk from the Fort to the cemetery and gardens, access to both of which is gained from a small grassed and treed square—the Praça Luis de Camões. On the extreme right as we enter this square, is a high stucco wall pierced by a most unimpressive gateway over which is mounted a small tablet; on which is carved:

PROTESTANT CHURCH
AND
OLD CEMETERY
(EAST INDIA COMPANY 1814)

This inscription poses a number of questions, a characteristic which, as you will find out later, it shares with many of the inscriptions in the cemetery itself; in fact it is the attempt to solve these problems that supplies much of the fascination and the interest of this cemetery. What was the British East India

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Company doing in Portuguese territory? Why did the Protestants need a separate cemetery? What is the significance of the date 1814? These are but a sample of the problems that these few words pose.

The first Europeans to set up permanent maritime contacts with the Chinese were the Portuguese, and by 1557 they had been granted permission to settle on a small peninsula of the delta island of Heung Shan. This peninsula, covering an area of only about five square miles, thus became the first permanent European trading base in China.

Later came the Dutch, the Spanish and the British traders and navigators; the first and the second of these national groups eventually made their oriental headquarters elsewhere, but the British, through their highly organized East India Company, were more persistent and more successful as far as trade with the mainland of China was concerned.

But the China of those days was, in the eyes of her own people, the centre of the universe, and all those who lived outside the confines of her ancient and well tested civilization were considered barbarians. They could only be admitted inside the fold as tribute bearers to the Imperial Court to receive the ethical instruction of the Son of Heaven, and were then sent back home. When such admissions were allowed, portals of entry were carefully chosen and rigidly controlled, and in the case of seafaring people, the port appointed was Canton, situated ninety miles up the river from Macao, and thus the barbarians were kept as far as possible from the sacred heart of the Middle Kingdom.

But even at Canton there were further restrictions, geographical as well as political. The ships could only get up as far as Whampoa, which was the deep sea port for Canton, and about eleven miles down river from it. The foreign merchants were allowed to go on to Canton itself but they had to reside in a place set apart outside the city — the Factories; nor could they remain there permanently; the length of residence permitted was determined by the time it took to dispose of the cargo brought in their ships and to load the return cargo of silk or tea. The time of the year at which these operations took place was determined by the monsoon; foreign trade was therefore completely seasonal — from September to March approximately, and as soon

as the season was over all foreigners had to leave Canton and return to their barbarian homes. It mattered not to the Chinese officials that it was a physical impossibility for the foreigners to go to their homes on the other side of the world and be back again in time for the next trading season. When the ships sailed from Whampoa, the Factories at Canton closed, and the merchant staff called Writers, Factors and Supercargoes, all left too. They went as far as Macao, and while the cargo laden ships sailed on to Europe, the merchants waited there for the coming of the next season's ships.

One other restriction that we must mention is that no European women were allowed to go up river at all, so the annual expulsion of the men from Canton was really not so very hard to bear for most people. It meant reunion with one's wife and family for those married men whose families were in Macao, and the pleasure of European female company for the bachelors. Macao was thus the foreigners' home away from home. They worked strenuously in isolation in Canton while the season lasted, and then between seasons they repaired to the more natural abode of the families in the only equivalent of a health and holiday resort that the Far East then knew. Social life in Macao was strenuous, especially for women folk who were few in number; many of the men were either bachelors or grass widowers and for approximately six months in each year, they had very little official work to do at all; at any rate this was certainly true for the juniors.

Another significant fact which had important implications was that the Chinese, at the time of which I speak, recognized only one foreign official body other than the Portuguese — namely the British East India Company, and they made all the official contacts with the other nationalities through the controlling body of this Company in Canton — the Select Committee. As may well be imagined, this situation led to difficulties between the British and the various other foreign communities whose trade with China had increased tremendously towards the end of the eighteenth century. This was particularly true of the new maritime power, the United States of America. After their independence, the Americans were naturally no longer willing to depend on the British shipping for their foreign trade; Britain made it particularly difficult for them to retain any of their trade with their former sister colonies in the West Indies, and they were thus forced to

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explore trade possibilities outside the Americas. The New England states especially took the lead in this expansion of maritime trade, and towns like Salem and Boston soon became busy ship-building and oversea ports. Boston ships sailed east to the Pacific via the Cape of Good Hope, while those from Salem sailed west round the Horn; when, as was inevitable on a globe, east met west in the Far East, they agreed to an east-west boundary line which ran south of Canton and the Philippines; the area of South China was thus in the Salem sphere, and hence most of the early American traders in this area belonged to early Salem, Beverly and Danvers families.

The procedure that had to be followed by foreign ships trading with Canton was briefly this. They made their first China landfall amongst the Ladrone Islands; here they took on a pilot from a junk and he brought them to Macao; anchoring in the roads off Taipa, they made contact with the Chinese officials who were at that time established on the Praya Grande at Macao; on being cleared by them for Canton, the ships were allowed to proceed to Bocca Tigris at the river mouth, where, after a further delay, they were eventually given a Grand Chop which was the permit to sail up river. The ships anchored at Whampoa, and the almost endless negotiations for discharging their cargoes and reloading with their purchases began. In the early part of the nineteenth century, the foreign floating population of Whampoa ran into thousands, and the sickness, accident and mortality rates were very high.

Up river, disposal of the dead was one of the easiest of all local business transactions; the Chinese had no such things as enclosed cemeteries, and neither had the foreigners; burials involved no legal or civil procedures, one merely negotiated with a Chinese landowner for a hillside plot and hired a few labourers. On Danes Island, French Island, at Whampoa, Lintin, Capsingmoon and Cumsingmoon there lie, buried thus, hundreds of foreigners whose frail memorials, if they ever existed, have long since disappeared.* In westernized Macao however, the situation was different. There were enclosed cemeteries there, but they were consecrated by the Roman Catholic Church and therefore were not available to the other Europeans who were

* For a map of the Pearl River estuary see p. 93.

predominantly Protestant, or to the Indians and Chinese who were not Christians. The Portuguese officials for a long time could not be persuaded to sell land to the Protestants for use as a recognized cemetery, and so, as on the islands up the river, the bereaved foreigners in Macao had to bury their dead on the hillsides beyond the city walls. In 1821 however, on the occasion of the death of Mary Morrison, wife of Dr. Robert Morrison, the Portuguese authorities at last agreed to let the East India Company have some land for burial purposes. The Morrisons had lost their first born, James, ten years before and he had been buried on Mesenburg Hill. During her last illness, Mary Morrison had expressed the wish to be buried with her first born, but the Chinese were reluctant to open an old grave. Strong representations were made by the Select Committee to the Portuguese and although they could not let her be buried in their cemetery, the pleadings plus the popularity of Dr. Morrison won the day, and a plot of land near one of the Company's official residences, now the Museum, was sold to the East India Company for use as a burial ground. Later, the East India Company allowed it to be used by all foreigners, and then a number of people sought permission for the remains of those formerly buried on hillsides to be moved into the newly established cemetery; that is why, if one looks carefully at the memorials, it will be found that a number of them have dates of death earlier than 1821, when the cemetery was opened. The earliest death recorded was of George W. Biddle of Philadelphia, U.S.A., he died in 1811, so that the date over the gate referred to earlier is neither that of the opening of the cemetery nor of the first death recorded there. It is probably that of the year in which the new charter came into force under which the East India Company operated in China at the time of the opening of the Cemetery.

The name "Old Cemetery" came into use after 1858 when the Portuguese authorities decided that no more burials were to take place within the city limits. This decision necessitated the closing of the cemetery and the opening of another, The New Protestant Cemetery, outside the city walls. A property named Carneiro's Gardens was bought at a public auction in 1858 by Osmund Cleverly (Cleverly Street in Hong Kong was named after him), acting on behalf of the Protestant community in Macao, and a Board of Trustees was set up to administer the property as a

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cemetary. Membership of the Board is open to the Consular Authorities in Macao of certain European Protestant nations, plus protestant residents in Macao. In 1924 the Rev. John Galloway, a Canadian missionary, was appointed a Trustee; he still lives in Macao and it is to him that we are indebted for much of our information concerning the later history of these two cemeteries in Macao, the Old and the New. When the East India Company ceased operating in China in 1834, its property in Macao reverted to His Majesty's Government in England. But in 1870, it was thought wiser that the two cemetery properties in Macao should come under the ownership of one body, and the Old Cemetery property was transferred to the New Cemetery Trustees, under whose control it rests to this day.

Entrance to the Old Cemetery. The door in the wall already mentioned gives entrance to the property which is on three levels; the highest or first level is a courtyard in which a simple chapel stands; the burial plots are on the two lower levels which we refer to as the Upper and Lower Terraces. A wide cement path leads down from the Chapel level to the Lower Terrace and a break in the lefthand wall on the way down gives access to the Upper Terrace. In the chapel are two wall memorials of interest; one is to a British merchant named Margesson who originally came from Surrey, and who was drowned on 17 June 1869 when the ship in which he was travelling struck a rock just a mile or two off the coast of Japan; the disaster occurred on a clear evening and in a perfectly calm sea, but the ship sank almost immediately with a big loss of life.

The other chapel memorial is to James B. Endicott who died of typhoid in 1870 after living for 35 years in Hong Kong, Macao and Canton. He is actually buried in the Colonial Cemetery in Happy Valley, Hong Kong, but he has two daughters, an uncle, and many friends in the churchyard in Macao. Endicott was born in Danvers, Massachusetts, U.S.A. in 1814, and is a direct lineal descendant of John Endicott who sailed from the harbour of Weymouth, England, in 1628 in the ship *Abigail* on an adventurous voyage to the New World where he became the founder and first governor of the State of Massachusetts. James B. Endicott introduces us to the important American section of the foreigners who lived in Macao more than one hundred years ago, over fifty of whom rest in this cemetery.

As we leave the church level to visit the terraces below, it is worth noticing that the corner of the ballustrate behind the chapel is adorned with an old piece of Chinese porcelain in the form of a large peach. It is about a foot in diameter and carries on top, another small, almost parasitic one, about two inches in diameter; both have a delightful bluish-grey underglaze. These peaches, Chinese emblems of longevity, are most fitting and reassuring adornments to the approach of a Christian burial ground.

The three most widely known personalities, and the most frequently visited memorials, in the cemetery are undoubtedly those of Dr. Robert Morrison, D.D., Captain Lord Henry John Spencer Churchill, R.N., the brother of Sir Winston's great-grandfather, and George Chinnery; but these people are so well known that they need neither introduction nor lengthy consideration. Chinnery will be mentioned again in connection with his portraits and we shall have to be content therefore with just one or two observations on the artist himself when we come to his memorial. *The Memorials.* The Upper Terrace contains forty memorials; thirty-eight of them are to be found on either side of a small central avenue, and the other two are at its far end; they are of Chinnery and Drinker. All these memorials mark the resting places of those most recently buried in the cemetery, from 1850 to 1859, as well as one relatively very recent one who unaccountably gained entrance in 1889, thirty years after the cemetery was closed!

On the left, as we move along the central avenue from the entrance, the memorials nearly all stand back under palms and shrubs near the retaining wall below the chapel. They include American naval and merchant personnel, an Armenian and a few British. The majority of the Upper Terrace memorials however are on the right, their backs to the Lower Terrace. They include more American seafarers both naval and merchant, missionaries both British and American, a member of Perry's historic mission to Japan, and Joseph Adams, the grandson of the second President and the nephew of the sixth President, of the United States of America.

Names associated with early Hong Kong, for example Duddell of Duddell Street, will be found in this row, as will also that of a famous Danish family of sea captains; in fact Captain Jpland has two memorials!

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Towards the far end of the terrace a number of children lie buried in a row and this is undoubtedly responsible for the oft repeated comment on the high infant mortality amongst the Europeans living in Macao in those days.

The two memorials at the far end of the central avenue are very conspicuous; the first is the altar-tomb of Sandwith Drinker, an American sea captain, business man and consul. The other is built into the wall at the end of the avenue, and carries only these two words: GEORGE CHINNERY. He was Macao's great canvas historian.

He is generally referred to as an Irish artist. If this is correct, it is not because of his place of birth. He was born in 1774 in Gough Square, Fleet Street, London, and not in Ireland. He went to Dublin when a young man, probably because a branch of the family had moved there from East Anglia a few generations previously. Nor is it certain that he was, as is usually claimed, a Member of the Royal Hibernian Academy which was not founded till twenty-one years after Chinnery left Dublin.

While in Dublin he formed two attachments which were mainly responsible for the pattern of his future life; one had political repercussions which led to his sudden departure from Ireland and eventually from England to India. The other attachment was a wife; after an all too short period of blissful happiness, he spent the rest of his life trying to evade her. In this he was finally successful, but only by eventually settling in Macao with its haven of refuge from females close at hand in nearby Canton.

Chinnery came to Macao in 1825 and died there in 1852. During that time he must have painted hundred of portraits and pictures of local scenes. Practically no foreigner and certainly no ship's captain left Macao without at least one portrait of himself by Chinnery, and the number of these scattered throughout the world must be vast. Yet it used to be said that this part of the world possessed no examples of his art. However true that was, it is certainly not so now, for the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, acting on the expert advice of our President, has built up a most valuable collection of his paintings. Although Chinnery never did like Hong Kong very much, many examples of his art certainly have a permanent home in our midst now.

In the Lower Terrace there are 122 memorials and in our experience the most popular one amongst visitors is that of

Dr. Robert Morrison. It is easily found, for if one continues straight on through the terrace from the end of the path one comes upon it amongst a group of altar tombs in the south-east corner of the cemetery. Morrison was a member of the London Missionary Society and was the first Protestant missionary in China, arriving from England via the States in 1807. He was a great Chinese scholar, wrote a Chinese grammar, compiled an English-Cantonese dictionary, and, along with a colleague, translated the whole Bible into Chinese. He became the indispensable interpreter and translator of the Select Committee of the East India Company, was taken by Lord Amherst in that capacity on his embassy to Peking in 1816, and was appointed in 1834 by Lord Napier to his staff when he assumed office in place of the East India Company in China. In 1825 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in virtue of his outstanding scholastic achievements, and was also a member of the society under whose auspices we meet tonight—the Royal Asiatic Society.

Morrison was buried alongside his wife, and next to her lies their very gifted son, John Robert Morrison, who died just as he was appointed the first Colonial Secretary in Hong Kong. Nearby lies another colleague from the same missionary society, Samuel Dyer, who did much to introduce metallic movable type to replace wooden blocks in the printing of Chinese books and tracts.

Along the eastern wall are to be found a number of members of East India Company families, and in the second row parallel to this wall is the second most frequently photographed memorial in the cemetery, that of Sir Winston Churchill's great-great-grand uncle, the 4th son of the 5th Duke of Marlborough, Lord Henry John Spencer Churchill, Captain, R.N. Near him lies a group of naval officers—Lieut. John Astell, Lieut. FitzGerald of the H.M.S. *Modeste*, and Captain Sir Humphrey le Fleming Senhouse, Senior Naval Officer in the China Seas during the attack on Canton in 1841.

The most conspicuous monument in the whole of the cemetery is a tall column near the north wall. It commemorates the life and death of Captain John Crockett who must have made a fortune when in command for some years of an opium storeship at Lintin. Nearby lies one of America's great ambassadors, Edmund Roberts, who served in the West Indies, South America, Muscat, Zanzibar,

Cochin China, Siam, and who died in Macao while en route to Japan in an attempt to open that country to American trade.

To the south of Crockett is Ljungstedt, a Swedish merchant, a philanthropist, an educationalist, and a Knight of Wasa, and along side him are three small humble altar-tombs of the three children of an American girl, Caroline Shillaber of Danvers, Massachusetts, who married an English doctor, Thomas Richardson Colledge in Macao in 1833. After their return to England in 1838/39, Dr. Colledge practised his profession in Cheltenham, Gloucestershire, for about forty years, and both he and his wife are buried in the churchyard of the small village of Shurdington just outside Cheltenham. Their tombstone supplied us with the Christian names of one of their children buried in Macao whose memorial does not give the child's name, for it merely refers to "the infant son of" Dr. and Mrs. Colledge. The name was Lancelot Dent, the head of a famous merchant house here in those days.

One cannot mention Mrs. Colledge without referring also to her school friend Harriet Low. She came out to Macao in 1829 as a companion to her aunt. Her uncle was William Henry Low, head of the American firm of Russell & Co. Together they all three left Macao to return to the States in 1834, but the uncle died in Cape Town while on the journey home. Harriet, fortunately for us, kept a diary from the day she left Massachusetts, and it gives us most valuable information of the community life in Macao in the early thirties, as well as of many of the individual members of the community itself.

Along the eastern wall near the north-east corner of the Lower Terrace is the grave of another Boston merchant, Captain Nathaniel Kinsman. His wife too was a diarist, but whereas Harriet looked at everything through the sparkling and bewitching eyes of a gaiety-loving girl of twenty-one, Rebecca Kinsman viewed the life amongst the members of this predominantly masculine society from the viewpoint of a married middle-aged Quakeress.

Yet a third feminine writer to whom we also owe much was the widow of Dr. Robert Morrison. She wrote a biography of her husband which was published in two volumes, and although it necessarily deals mainly with the Morrison family, it nevertheless gives much information too about their contemporaries in Macao.

But the interest of the cemetery is not by any means confined to biographies of those buried there. There are the histories of the ships that brought them there, clippers, men-of-war, whalers and countrymen (ships engaged in the "country trade", a term usually applied to the trade which had grown up between India, South East Asia and Canton) there are the interesting professions they followed as merchants, missionaries, military men, beach-combers, diplomats or opium traders; there are the mysteries behind the nameless memorial or the undecipherable or partly decipherable inscription, or the absentees. Of these latter we know of at least two, whose sojourns in our cemetery were but temporary; they are Lord Napier whose final resting place is amongst his shepherds in Ettric, Scotland, and Thomas T. Forbes who is with his family in the Forrest Hills Cemetery in Boston, leaving his companion who was drowned with him in a typhoon, alone in Macao.

May I conclude my talk this evening by now completing the quotation with which I began —

*There are worse ways of occupying leisure than
tours on foot through noteworthy cemeteries,
so long as one does not overstay one's welcome —*

and by praying that I have not detained you too long this evening in the restful peace of the Old Protestant Cemetery of Macao.

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APPENDIX

Below are two lists of those known, or believed, to have been buried in the cemetery or memorialized in its Chapel. The first list is arranged alphabetically, and the second according to the numerical order used in the official list in the Chapel. The first list gives the location and number of the memorial, while the second gives in addition the sex, age at death, date of death and nationality. In those cases where the exact age is not known and it is certain that the individual was an adult, the evidence is given in brackets e.g. Able-seaman, Ship's captain, &c. "40+" means "40 at least".

The following abbreviations are used:

LIST I

U = Upper Terrace; L = Lower Terrace; C = Chapel.

A.	ADAMS, Joseph Harod	38	U
	ALLEYN, Frederick Perceval	55	L
	ASTELL, John	131	L
B.	BACON, Francis W.	59	L
	BALLS, Sarah Anne	79	L
	BARNETT, William	49	L
	BARTON, Charles John Wood	11	U
	BARTON, Euphemia Isabel	12	U
	BATEMAN, James	121	L
	BATES, Edwards Whipple	2	U
	BEALE, Daniel	160	L
	BEALE, Thomas	159	L
	BIDDLE, George Washington	58	L
	BOECK, Christian	46	L
	BOVET, Margaret	105	L
	BRIDGES, Henry Gardner	108	L
	BROOKE, John F.	68	L
	BUTTIVANT, John Henry	154	L
C.	CAMPBELL, Archibald S.	89	L
	CANNING, James	162	L
	CAPPER, Cawthorne	116	L
	CHINNERY, George	40	U
	CHURCHILL, Henry John Spencer	133	L
	COLLEDGE, Lancelot Dent	94	L
	COLLEDGE, Thomas Richardson	96	L
	COLLEDGE, William Shillaber	95	L
	COOPER, Mark Beale	22	U
	CROCKETT, Ann	100	L
	CROCKETT, Caroline Rebecca	98	L
	CROCKETT, John	87	L
	CRUTTENDEN, George	151	L
	CUSHMAN, Daniel	7	U

D.	DAVID, J. Ferdinand	125 L
	DAVIES, Joseph	130 L
	DE VOGEL, Emile Willem Eugene	25 U
	DANIELL, Edmond Murray	97 L
	DENSON, Thomas A.	5 U
	DINNEN, John	17 U
	DRINKER, Sandwith	39 U
	DUDELL, Frederick	27 U
	DUDELL, Harriet	21 U
	DUFF, Daniel	138 L
	DUNCAN, George H.	14 U
	DUNCAN, J. George	48 L
	DURANT, Euphemia	111 L
	DYER, Samuel	146 L
E.	ELLIS, William	9 U
	ENDICOTT, Fidelia Bridges	33 U
	ENDICOTT, James Bridges	165 C
	ENDICOTT, Rosalie	34 U
	ENGLE, Isaac E.	73 L
	EVANS, William Thomas Bowen	10 U
F.	FEARON, Elizabeth	84 L
	FITZGERALD, Edward	132 L
	FRASER, Sir William	62 L
	FRENCH, Maria Ball	26 U
	FORBES, Thomas T.	56aL
	FORREST, Andrew	123 L
G.	GAILLARD, Helen Baptista	32 U
	GANGER, Charles F.	77 L
	GANTT, Benjamin	6 U
	GILLESPIE, Elizabeth McDougal	92 L
	GILMAN, Agnes	30 U
	GOVER, Samuel	53 L
	GRAHAM, Charles	66 L
	GRIFFIN, John P.	64 L
H.	HADDON, Elizabeth Lewis	28 U
	HAMILTON, Lewis	72 L
	HARRISON, George W.	103 L
	HAVELOCK, William	47 L
	HAWKINS, Charles	51 L
	HICKMAN, Washington F.	18 U
	HIGHT, John Francis	102 L
	HIGHT, Matthew James	118 L
	HOKER, James	139 L
	HOWARD, Jane	149 L
I.	ILBERY, Frederick	110 L
	ILBERY, Louisa	57 L
	INNES, James	137 L
J.	JPLAND, Christian	20 U
	JPLAND, Christian Johann Friedrich	16 U
	JONES, Henry	3 U

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K.	KENNEDY, George	83	L
	KERR, Abby L.	29	U
	KEY, Peter	107	L
	KINSMAN, Nathaniel	112	L
L.	LARKINS, Edward G.	90	L
	LARKINS, John Henry	122	L
	LEACH, Benjamin Ropes	52	L
	LEATHLEY, John	78	L
	LEGGETT, William Henry	70	L
	LIVINGSTONE, Charlotte M.	41	L
	LJUNGSTEDT, Anders	60	L
M.	MACKENZIE, Donald	86	L
	MARKWICK, Richard	104	L
	MARGESSON, Henry Davies	164	C
	MARQUIS, William	124	L
	MARTIN, Robert Francis	126	L
	McCALLY, Arthur Hamilton	148	L
	McCARTHY, Robert	119	L
	McDOUALL, James	129	L
	MEDHURST, —	35	U
	MILNER, Emily	91	L
	MITCHELL, Oliver	1	U
	MONSON, Samuel H.	56	L
	MORGAN, William	120	L
	MORRISON, John Robert	143	L
	MORRISON, Mary	142	L
	MORRISON, Robert	141	L
N.	NAPIER, William John	141a	L
O.	ORTON, Maria J.	85	L
	OSBORNE, Henry James	71	L
	OSBORNE, Thomas J.	69	L
P.	PATERSON, Andrew	82	L
	PATTLE, Thomas Charles	42	L
	PIEROT, Jacques	45	L
	FLOWDEN, Catherine	161	L
	FLOWDEN, R. Chicheley	158	L
	PRESTON, Charles Hodge	31	U
R.	RABINEL, John Henry	43	L
	RAWLE, Samuel Burge	134	L
	REES, George	127	L
	REES, Maria	109	L
	REYNVAAN, Clazina van Valkenburg	106	L
	RIDDLES, Thomas William	63	L
	RITCHIE, John Hamilton	61	L
	ROBARTS, James Thomas	157	L
	ROBERTS, Edmund	88	L
	ROBERTSON, Roderick Frazer	54	L

S.	SCHAEFFER, Walther	24 U
	SCOTLAND, Thomas	80 L
	SCOTT, Frank	50 L
	SENHOUSE, Humphrey Le Fleming	136 L
	SENN VAN BASEL, Hugo Rudolph Jacobus	99 L
	SETH, Dishkoone	8 U
	SIMPSON, Nathaniel	128 L
	SLATE, Shamgar H.	13 U
	SMITH, Frederick	135 L
	SMITH, Samuel	147 L
	SPEER, Cornelia Brackenridge	140 L
	SPEER, Mary Cornelia	140 L
	SPENCER, Jane	81 L
	STEWART, Louisa	44 L
	STEWART, Patrick	44 L
	SUTHERLAND, Isabella	113 L
	SUTHERLAND, Mary Clark	15 U
	SWEARLIN, Valentine	65 L
T.	T	101 L
	TARBOX, Hiram	76 L
	TEMPLETON, Isabella Anne	153 L
	TURNER, Richard	93 L
U.	UNKNOWN	156 L
	URMSON, Arthur Wilham	37 U
	URMSTON, George B.	115 L
V.	VROOMAN, Elizabeth C.	36 U
W.	WALDRON, Thomas Westbrook	75 L
	WALKER, Christian Cathro	144 L
	WARREN, R.V.	74 L
	WEDDERBURN, Eliza S.	145 L
	WEST, Joseph James	4 U
	WHELER, Charles J.	152 L
	WILLIAMS, John P.	23 U
	WILSON, John	67 L
	WINTLE, Frederick	155 L
	WISHART, John Key	117 L
	WOODBERRY, Charles	19 U
	WOODBERRY, Joel	163 L
Y.	YOUNG, Margaret Hutchison	150 L
Z.	ZEEMAN, Bernardus	114 L

PROTESTANT CEMETERY IN MACAO

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LIST II

Amer. = American; *Arm.* = Armenian; *Br.* = British; *Dan.* = Danish;
Dut. = Dutch; *Ger.* = German; *Swd.* = Swedish.

UPPER TERRACE

No.	Name	Sex	Row	Age	Date of Death	Nationality
1.	MITCHELL, Oliver	M	Western	43	23 July 1850	<i>Amer.</i>
2.	BATES, Edwards Whipple	M	Western	32	11 Sept. 1850	<i>Amer.</i>
3.	JONES, Henry	M	Western	37	13 March 1851	<i>Amer.</i> (formerly <i>Dan.</i>)
4.	WEST, Joseph James	M	Western	Adult (Able- seaman)	12 Nov. 1851	<i>Amer.</i>
5.	DENSON, Thomas A.	M	Western	24	31 Aug. 1852	<i>Amer.</i>
6.	GANTT, Benjamin S.	M	Western	30+	14 March 1852	<i>Amer.</i>
7.	CUSHMAN, Daniel	M	Western	23	12 May 1852	<i>Amer.</i>
8.	SETH, Dishkoone	F	Western	43	15 July 1857	<i>Amer.</i> (or <i>Br.</i>)
9.	ELLIS, William	M	Western	49	20 July 1853	<i>Br.</i>
10.	EVANS, William Thomas Bowen	M	Western	33	3 Sept. 1851	<i>Br.</i>
11.	BARTON, Charles John Wood	M	Western	28	2 Sept. 1851	<i>Br.</i>
12.	BARTON, Euphemia Isabel	F	Eastern	20	10 Sept. 1853	<i>Br.</i>
13.	SLATE, Shamgar H.	M	Eastern	47	29 Nov. 1857	<i>Amer.</i>
14.	DUNCAN, George H.	M	Eastern	32	9 May 1857	<i>Br.</i>
15.	SUTHERLAND, Mary Clark	F	Eastern	51	10 Jan. 1858	<i>Br.</i>

UPPER TERRACE—*Cont'd.*

<i>No.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Row</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Date of Death</i>	<i>Nationality</i>
16.	JPLAND, Christian Johann Friedrich	M	Eastern	39	5 Oct. 1857	<i>Dan.</i>
17.	DINNEN, John	M	Eastern	29	20 June 1855	<i>Amer.</i>
18.	HICKMAN, Washington F.	M	Eastern	32	21 June 1855	<i>Amer.</i>
19.	WOODBERRY, Charles	M	Eastern	36	26 June 1854	<i>Amer.</i>
20.	JPLAND, Christian	M	Eastern	Adult (Ship's Captain)	5 Oct. 1857	<i>Dan.</i>
21.	DUDELL, Harriet	F	Eastern	Adult	31 July 1857	<i>Br.</i>
22.	COOPER, Mark Beale	M	Eastern	Adult (Major)	26 July 1857	<i>Br.</i>
23.	WILLIAMS, John P.	M	Eastern	31	25 July 1857	<i>Amer.</i>
24.	SCHAEFFER, Walther	M	Eastern	28	1 July 1857	<i>Ger.</i>
25.	DE VOGEL, Emile Willem Eugène	M	Eastern	19	11 Jan. 1857	<i>Dut.</i>
26.	FRENCH, Maria Ball	F	Eastern	1 ³ / ₁₂	18 Aug. 1857	<i>Amer.</i>
27.	DUDELL, Frederick	M	Eastern	38	1 Nov. 1856	<i>Br.</i>
28.	HADDON, Elizabeth Lewis	F	Eastern	28	1 Sept. 1856	<i>Br.</i>
29.	KERR, Abby L.	F	Eastern	26	26 Aug. 1855	<i>Amer.</i>
30.	GILMAN, Agnes	F	Eastern	1 ⁴ / ₁₂	8 Sept. 1889	<i>Amer.</i>
31.	PRESTON, Charles Hodge	M	Eastern	2 ¹ / ₁₂	6 Dec. 1857	<i>Amer.</i>

PROTESTANT CEMETERY IN MACAO

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UPPER TERRACE — *Cont'd.*

<i>No.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Row</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Date of Death</i>	<i>Nationality</i>
32.	GAILLARD, Helen Baptista	F	Eastern	1 ¹¹ / ₁₂	2 Sept. 1857	<i>Amer.</i>
33.	ENDICOTT, Fidelia Bridges	F	Eastern	6	15 Sept. 1859	<i>Amer.</i>
34.	ENDICOTT, Rosalie	F	Eastern	1 ⁵ / ₁₂	15 March 1856	<i>Amer.</i>
35.	MEDHURST —	F	Eastern	1 day	9 Nov. 1854	<i>Br.</i>
36.	VROOMAN, Elizabeth C.	F	Eastern	28	17 June 1854	<i>Amer.</i>
37.	URMSON, Arthur William	M	Eastern	3 ¹ / ₁₂	1 March 1854	<i>Br.</i>
38.	ADAMS, Joseph Harod	M	Eastern	36	4 Oct. 1853	<i>Amer.</i>
39.	DRINKER, Sandwith (B)	M	Central Avenue	49	18 Jan. 1858	<i>Amer.</i>
40.	CHINNERY, George	M	Central Avenue	79	30 May 1852	<i>Br.</i>

LOWER TERRACE

41.	LIVINGSTONE, Charlotte M.	F	Bamboo Row	5 ¹ / ₁₂	5 Jan. 1818	<i>Br.</i>
42.	PATTLE, Thomas Charles	M	Bamboo	44	26 Nov. 1815	<i>Br.</i>
43.	RABINEL, John Henry	M	Bamboo	56	24 March 1816	<i>Dut.</i>
44.	STEWART, Patrick	M	Bamboo	50+	20 April 1857	<i>Br.</i>
44.	STEWART, Louisa	F	Bamboo	55	19 April 1857	<i>Br.</i>

LOWER TERRACE — *Cont'd.*

<i>No.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Row</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Date of Death</i>	<i>Nationality</i>
45.	PIEROT, Jacques	M	Bamboo	29	16 Aug. 1841	<i>Dut.</i>
46.	BOECK, Christian	M	Bamboo	43	10 Sept. 1836	<i>Dan.</i>
47.	HAVELOCK, William	M	Bamboo	41	13 Aug. 1835	<i>Br.</i>
48.	DUNCAN, J. George	M	Bamboo	38	10 Aug. 1833	<i>Br.</i>
49.	BARNETT, William	M	Bamboo	40	4 June 1836	<i>Br.</i>
50.	SCOTT, Frank	M	Bamboo	31	13 July 1833	<i>Br.</i>
51.	HAWKINS, Charles	M	Bamboo	24	18 Jan. 1830	<i>Br.</i>
52.	LEACH, Benjamin Ropes	M	Bamboo	37	26 Aug. 1838	<i>Amer.</i>
53.	GOVER, Samuel	M	Bamboo	40	26 Oct. 1829	<i>Br.</i>
54.	ROBERTSON, Roderick Frazer	M	Bamboo	20	16 Jan. 1839	<i>Br.</i>
55.	ALLEYN, Frederick Perceval	M	Bamboo	50 (Approx)	3 Oct. 1837	<i>Br.</i>
56.	MONSON, Samuel H.	M	Bamboo	28	9 Aug. 1829	<i>Amer.</i>
56a.	FORBES, Thomas T.	M	Reinterred in Boston, Mass.	26	9 Aug. 1829	<i>Amer.</i>
57.	ILBERY, Louisa	F	Bamboo	20+	21 Aug. 1837	<i>Br.</i>
58.	BIDDLE, George Washington	M	Bamboo	33	16 Aug. 1811	<i>Amer.</i>
59.	BACON, Francis W.	M	Bamboo	25	1 Nov. 1849	<i>Amer.</i>

PROTESTANT CEMETERY IN MACAO

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LOWER TERRACE — *Cont'd.*

<i>No.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Row</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Date of Death</i>	<i>Nationality</i>
60.	LJUNGSTEDT, Anders (Andrew)	M	Bamboo	76	10 Nov. 1835	Swed.
61.	RITCHIE, John Hamilton	M	Bamboo	11/12	14 March 1844	Amer.
62.	FRASER, Sir William	M	Bamboo	40	22 Dec. 1827	Br.
63.	RIDDLES, Thomas William	M	Riddles	41	21 Aug. 1856	Br.
64.	GRIFFIN, John P.	M	Riddles	35	19 June 1849	Amer.
65.	SWEARLIN, Valentine	M	Riddles	27	20 June 1849	Amer.
66.	GRAHAM, Charles	M	Riddles	50	3 Oct. 1821	Br.
67.	WILSON, John	M	Riddles	21	21 Nov. 1844	Br.
68.	BROOKE John F.	M	Riddles	59	17 Oct. 1849	Amer.
69.	OSBORNE, Thomas J.	M	Riddles	30	2 June 1847	Br.
7.	LEGGETT, William Henry	M	Riddles	43	23 Sept. 1845	Br.
71.	OSBORNE, Henry James	M	Riddles	26	23 July 1845	Br.
72.	HAMILTON, Lewis	M	Riddles	67	14 May 1845	Amer.
73.	ENGLE, Isaac E.	M	Riddles	46	3 Nov. 1844	Amer.
74.	WARREN, R. V.	M	Riddles	22	29 Oct. 1844	Br.
75.	WALDRON, Thomas Westbrook	M	Riddles	30	8 Sept. 1844	Amer.

LOWER TERRACE — *Cont'd.*

No.	Name	Sex	Row	Age	Date of Death	Nationality
76.	TARBOX, Hiram	M	Riddles	40+	31 May 1844	Amer.
77.	GANGER, Charles	M	Crockett Group	50	15 Oct. 1844	Amer.
78.	LEATHLEY, John	M	Crockett Group	28	15 Jan. 1844	Br.
79.	BALLS, Sarah Anne	F	Crockett Group	23	23 June 1844	Br.
80.	SCOTLAND, Thomas	M	Crockett Group	21	10 July 1844	Br.
81.	SPENCER, Jane	F	Crockett Group	29	27 Aug. 1844	Br.
82.	PATERSON, Andrew	M	Crockett Group	43	22 July 1842	Br.
83.	KENNEDY, George	M	Crockett Group	40	28 Sept. 1844	Br.
84.	FEARON, Elizabeth	F	Crockett Group	43	31 March 1838	Br.
85.	ORTON, Maria J.	F	Crockett Group	21	23 Sept. 1839	Amer.
86.	MACKENZIE, Donald	M	Crockett Group	49	30 Oct. 1839	Br.
87.	CROCKETT, John	M	Crockett Group	50	25 June 1837	Br.
88.	ROBERTS, Edmund	M	Crockett Group	50	12 June 1836	Amer.
89.	CAMPBELL, Archibald S.	M	Crockett Group	40	3 June 1836	Amer.
90.	LARKINS, Edward G.	M	Crockett Group	28	15 June 1839	Amer.
91.	MILNER, Emily	F	Crockett Group	Adult	29 Nov. 1843	Br.
92.	GILLESPIE, Elizabeth McDougal	F	Crockett Group	23	6 Dec. 1837	Amer.
93.	TURNER, Richard	M	Crockett Group	53	28 March 1839	Br.

PROTESTANT CEMETERY IN MACAO

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LOWER TERRACE — *Cont'd.*

No.	Name	Sex	Row	Age	Date of Death	Nationality
94.	COLLEDGE, Lancelot Dent	M	Crockett Group	$\frac{8}{12}$	16 Dec. 1838	Br.
95.	COLLEDGE, William Shillaber	M	Crockett Group	$1\frac{8}{12}$	29 Sept. 1838	Br.
96.	COLLEDGE, Thomas Richardson	M	Crockett Group	$1\frac{6}{12}$	26 July 1837	Br.
97.	DANIELL, Edmond Murray	M	Crockett Group	$\frac{8}{12}$	15 May 1836	Br.
98.	CROCKETT, Caroline Rebecca	F	Crockett Group	5	21 Dec. 1835	Br.
99.	SENN VAN BASEL, Hugo Rudolph Jacobus	M	Crockett Group	2 days	20 June 1839	Dut.
100.	CROCKETT, Ann	F	Crockett Group	21 days	21 July 1835	Br.
101.	T.	?	Crockett Group	?	?	?
102.	HIGHT, John Francis	M	Crockett Group	Adult	9 Feb. 1844	Br.
103.	HARRISON, George W.	M	Crockett Group	20	6 June 1844	Amer.
104.	MARKWICK, Richard	M	Crockett Group	44	30 Jan. 1836	Br.
105.	BOVET, Margaret	F	Crockett Group	23	6 Jan. 1837	Br.
106.	REYNVANN, Clazina van Valkenburg	F	Crockett Group	24	9 Nov. 1846	Dut.
107.	KEY, Peter	M	Crockett Group	42	8 Oct. 1835	Br.
108.	BRIDGES, Henry Gardner	M	Crockett Group	61	19 Dec. 1849	Amer.

LOWER TERRACE — *Cont'd.*

<i>No.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Row</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Date of Death</i>	<i>Nationality</i>
109.	REES, Maria	F	Crockett Group	35	27 Dec. 1836	Br.
110.	ILBERY, Frederick	M	Crockett Group	19	23 Nov. 1833	Br.
111.	DURANT, Euphemia	F	Crockett Group	26	13 July 1834	Br.
112.	KINSMAN, Nathaniel	M	Crockett Group	48	30 April 1847	Amer.
113.	SUTHERLAND Isabella	F	Crockett Group	31	25 May 1836	Br.
114.	ZEEMAN, Bernardus	M	Churchill Row	54	22 July 1821	Dut.
115.	URMSTON, George B.	M	Churchill	$\frac{8}{12}$	20 May 1813	Br.
116.	CAPPER, Cawthorne	M	Churchill	30	14 Jan. 1844	Br.
117.	WISHART, John Key	M	Churchill	33	2 Nov. 1843	Br.
118.	HIGHT, Matthew James	M	Churchill	27	6 Sept. 1843	Br.
119.	McCARTHY, Robert	M	Churchill	39	17 Aug. 1843	Br.
120.	MORGAN, William	M	Churchill	40+	14 July 1843	Br.
121.	BATEMAN, James	M	Churchill	29	1843	Br.
122.	LARKINS, John Henry	M	Churchill	Adult	30 March 1843	Br.
123.	FORREST, Andrew	M	Churchill	43	19 Jan. 1843	Br.
124.	MARQUIS, William	M	Churchill	42	4 Dec. 1842	Br.
125.	DAVID, J. Ferdinand	M	Churchill	Adult	14 Nov. 1842	Amer.
126.	MARTIN, Robert Francis	M	Churchill	42	25 Oct. 1842	Br.

PROTESTANT CEMETERY IN MACAO

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LOWER TERRACE — *Cont'd.*

<i>No.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Row</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Date of Death</i>	<i>Nationality</i>
127.	REES, George	M	Churchill	Adult	26 Sept. 1842	<i>Br.</i>
128.	SIMPSON, Nathaniel	M	Churchill	Adult (Able- seaman)	24 Aug. 1842	<i>Amer.</i>
129.	McDOUALL James	M	Churchill	27	27 July 1842	<i>Br.</i>
130.	DAVIES, Joseph	M	Churchill	21	14 June 1842	<i>Br.</i>
131.	ASTELL, John	M	Churchill	27	26 Oct. 1840	<i>Br.</i>
132.	FITZGERALD Edward	M	Churchill	Adult (Lt. R.N.)	22 June 1841	<i>Br.</i>
133.	CHURCHILL, Henry John Spencer	M	Churchill	43	2 June 1840	<i>Br.</i>
134.	RAWLE, Samuel Burge	M	Churchill	72	2 Sept. 1858	<i>Amer.</i>
135.	SMITH, Frederick	M	Churchill	39	17 June 1850	<i>Br.</i>
136.	SENHOUSE, Humphrey Le Fleming	M	Churchill	60	13 June 1841	<i>Br.</i>
137.	INNES, James	M	Churchill	54	1 July 1841	<i>Br.</i>
138.	DUFF, Daniel	M	Churchill	39	7 July 1841	<i>Br.</i>
139.	HOOKER, James	M	Churchill	42	11 July 1841	<i>Br.</i>
140.	SPEER, Cornelia Brackenridge	F	Morrison Group	24	16 April 1847	<i>Amer.</i>
140.	SPEER, Mary Cornelia	F	Morrison Group	5 ¹ / ₁₂	8 July 1847	<i>Amer.</i>
141.	MORRISON, Robert	M	Morrison Group	52	1 Aug. 1834	<i>Br.</i>

LOWER TERRACE — *Cont'd.*

<i>No.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Row</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Date of Death</i>	<i>Nationality</i>
141a.	NAPIER, William John	M	Reinterred in Scotland	48	11 Oct. 1834	<i>Br.</i>
142.	MORRISON, Mary	F	Morrison Group	29	10 June 1821	<i>Br.</i>
143.	MORRISON, John Robert	M	Morrison Group	29	29 Aug. 1843	<i>Br.</i>
144.	WALKER, Christian Cathro	F	Morrison Group	24	18 Oct. 1838	<i>Br.</i>
145.	WEDDERBURN, Eliza S.	F	Morrison Group	Adult	23 Aug. 1838	<i>Br.</i>
146.	DYER, Samuel	M	Morrison Group	39	24 Oct. 1843	<i>Br.</i>
147.	SMITH, Samuel	M	Cruttenden	Adult (Able- seaman)	26 Aug. 1849	<i>Amer.</i>
148.	McCALLY, Arthur Hamilton	M	Cruttenden	27	25 Sept. 1835	<i>(Amer.)</i>
149.	HOWARD, Jane	F	Cruttenden	22	23 Feb. 1823	<i>Br.</i>
150.	YOUNG, Margaret Hutchison	F	Cruttenden	25	19 June 1848	<i>Br.</i>
151.	CRUTTENDEN, George	M	Cruttenden	54	23 March 1822	<i>Br.</i>
152.	WHELER, Charles J.	M	Cruttenden	21	4 Dec. 1822	<i>Br.</i>
153.	TEMPLETON, Isabella Anne	F	Cruttenden	34	29 July 1835	<i>Br.</i>
154.	BUTTIVANT, John Henry	M	Cruttenden	30	9 Sept. 1823	<i>Br.</i>
155.	WINTLE, Frederick B.	M	Cruttenden	24	6 Sept. 1817	<i>Br.</i>
156.	UNKNOWN.	?	?	?	?	?

PROTESTANT CEMETERY IN MACAO

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LOWER TERRACE—*Cont'd.*

<i>No.</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Row</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Date of Death</i>	<i>Nationality</i>
157.	ROBARTS, James Thomas	M	Cruttenden	40	28 Jan. 1825	Br.
158.	PLOWDEN, R. Chicheley	M	Cruttenden	21	21 Sept. 1825	Br.
159.	BEALE, Thomas	M	Cruttenden	60+	Dec. 1841	Br.
160.	BEALE, Daniel	M	Cruttenden	29	4 Jan. 1827	Br.
161.	PLOWDEN Catherine	F	Cruttenden	35	18 Jan. 1827	Br.
162.	CANNING, James	M	Cruttenden	48	28 April 1832	Br.
163.	(WOODBERRY, Joel)	M	<i>Unknown</i>	Adult (Sea Captain)	9 May 1855	Amer.

CHAPEL MEMORIALS

164.	MARGESSION, Henry Davies	M	Chapel Wall	45	17 June 1869 (in Japan)	Br.
165.	ENDICOTT, James Bridges	M	Chapel Wall	56	5 Nov. 1870 (in Hong Kong)	Amer.